BIOGRAPHIA SCOTICANA;

OR,

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIVES, CHARACTERS, AND MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE MOST EMINENT

SCOTS WORTHIES,

NOBLEMEN, GENTLEMEN, MINISTERS, and others, from Mr PATRICK HAMILTON, who was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and ſuffered Martyrdom at St Andrew's, February 1527, to Mr JAMES RENWICK, who was executed in the Graſsmarket of Edinburgh, February 17. 1688.

TOGETHER WITH

A Succinct Account of the Lives of other ſeven eminent Divines, and Sir ROBERT HAMILTON of Preſton, who died about or ſhortly after the Revolution.

AS ALSO,

An APPENDIX, containing a ſhort Hiſtorical Hint of the Wicked Lives and Miſerable Deaths of ſome of the most Remarkable Apoſtates and Bloody Perſecutors in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution.

The righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance, PSAL. CXII. 6.

And of Zion it ſhall be ſaid, This and that man was born in her, PSAL. LXXXVII. 5.

THE THIRD EDITION,

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

Edinburgh:

PRINTED BY SCHAW AND BLANS, HASTIE'S CLOSE; AND SOLD BY THEM, AND A. MACLAREN, BOOKSELLER, HORSE WYND.

1796.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE EDITOR's PREFACE.

THE design of the following work was, to collect, from the beſt authorities, a ſummary account of the lives, characters, and contendings, of a certain number of our moſt RENOWNED SCOTS WORTHIES, who, for their faithful ſervices, ardent zeal, conſtancy in ſufferings, and other Chriſtian graces and virtues, deſerve a moſt honourable memorial in the church of Chriſt;—and for which their names both have andwill be ſavoury to all the true lovers of our Zion, while Reformation-principles are regarded in Scotland.

The Editor having for ſome time had a deſire to ſee ſomething of this kind publiſhed, but finding nothing thereof, except a few broken accounts interſperſed throughout different publications, yet in print, at laſt took up a reſolution to collect into one volume, the moſt material relations of as many of our Scots Worthies as could be obtained, from ſuch of the hiſtorical records, biographical accounts, and other authenticated manuſcripts, as he could have acceſs unto, with the ſubſtance of theſe lives already in print, which, being put altogether, it was thought would not only prove more uſeful, in giving the reader the pleaſure of viewing them all at once, but alſo at the ſame time, would be free of the inconveniencies that little pamphlets often fall under. In this publication, it is not pretended to give an account of all our Scots Worthies, or their tranſactions: For that were a task now altogether impracticable, and that upon ſeveral accounts. For,

1*ſt*, There have been many, of different ranks and degrees of men, famous in the church of Scotland, of whom little more is mentioned in hiſtory than their names, places of abode, and age wherein they exiſted, and ſcarcely that. Again, there are many others, of whom the moſt that can be ſaid is only a few faint hints, which of neceſſity muſt render their lives (if they may properly be ſo called) very imperfect, from what they might and would have been, had they been collected and wrote near a century ago, when their actions and memories were more freſh and recent; ſeveral perſons being then alive, who were well acquainted with their lives and proceedings, whereby they might have been confirmed by many inconteſtible evidences that cannot now poſſibly be brought in; yea, and more ſo, ſeeing there is a chaſm in our hiſtory during the time of the Uſurpers; not to mention how many of our national records were about that time altogether loſt *.

2*dly*, There are ſeveral others, both in the reforming and ſuffering periods, of whom ſomewhat now is recorded, and yet not ſufficient to form a narrative of; ſo that, excepting by ſhort relations, or marginal

* Of theſe records belonging to the ſtate carried away by Cromwell, to ſecure our dependence on England, there were eighty-five hogſheads loſt, December 18. 1660, in a ſhip belonging to Kirkaldy, as ſhe was returning with them from London. And as for the church records and regiſters, a great many of them alſo (either through the confuſion of the then civil wars, or falling into the hands of the prelates, while prelacy prevailed in Scotland) are alſo amiſſing.

PREFACE to STEVENSON's Hiſtory.

notes, they cannot otherwiſe be ſupplied.—For it is with regret that the publiſhers have it to declare, that, upon application unto ſeveral places for farther information concerning ſome of theſe worthy men, they could find little or nothing in the moſt part of the regiſters, (excepting a few things by way of oral tradition), being, through courſe of time, either deſignedly or through negligence loſt.

3*dly*, Some few of theſe lives already in print, being ſomewhat prolix, it ſeemed proper to abridge them; which is done in a manner as comprehenſive as poſſible, ſo that nothing material is omitted, which it is hoped will be thought to be no way injurious to the memory of theſe worthy men.

Secondly, As to the utility of this ſubject, biography in general muſt be one of the moſt entertaining parts of hiſtory; and how much more, the lives and tranſactions of our NOBLE SCOTS WORTHIES, wherein is contained, not only a ſhort compend of the teſtimony and wreſtlings of the church of Scotland, for near the ſpace of 200 years, yea, from the earlieſt period of Chriſtianity in Scotland, (the introduction included), but alſo a great variety of other things, both inſtructing and entertaining, which at once muſt both edify and refreſh the ſerious and underſtanding reader.—For,

1*ſt*, In theſe lives we have a ſhort view of the actions, atchievements, and ſome of the failings, of our anceſtors ſet forth before us, as examples for our caution and imitation; wherein, by the experience, and at the expence of former ages, by a train of prudent reflections, we may learn important leſſons for our conduct in life, both in faith and manners, for the furniſhing ourſelves with the like Chriſtian armour of zeal, faithfulneſs, holineſs, ſtedfaſtneſs, meekneſs, patience, humility, and other graces.

2*dly*, In them we behold, what the wiſeſt of men could not think on without aſtoniſhment, that "God does in very deed dwell with men upon earth," (men a little too low for heaven, and much too high for earth); nay more, dealeth "ſo familiarly with them, as to make them previouſly acquainted with his ſecret deſigns, both of judgement and mercy, diſplaying his divine power, and the efficacy of his grace through their infirmities, ſubduing the moſt hardened ſinners to himſelf, while he, as it were, reſigns himſelf to their prayers, and makes them the ſubject of his divine care and ſuperintendency."

3*dly*, Here we have, as it were, a mirror, exemplifying and ſetting forth all the virtues and duties of a religious and a domeſtic life.—Here is the example of a virtuous nobleman, an active ſtateſman, a religious gentleman, a faithful and painful miniſter in the exerciſe of his office, "inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon," a wiſe and diligent magiſtrate, "one fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs," a courageous ſoldier, a good Chriſtian, a loving huſband, an indulgent parent, a faithful friend in every exigence; and, in a word, almoſt every character worthy of our imitation. And,

Laſtly, In them we have the various changes of ſoul-exerciſe, experiences, ſavoury expreſſions, and laſt words, of thoſe once living, now glorified, witneſſes of Chriſt. And "as the laſt ſpeeches of men are remarkable, how remarkable then muſt the laſt words and dying expreſſions of theſe NOBLE WITNESSES and MARTYRS of Chriſt be!". For the nearer the dying ſaint is to heaven, and the more of the preſence of Chriſt that he has in his laſt moments, when death looks him in the face, the more intereſting will his converſation be to ſurvivors, and particularly acceptable to real Chriſtians, becauſe all that he ſays is ſupported by his example, which commonly has conſiderable influence

upon the human mind.—It is true, there is an innate and latent evil in man's nature, that makes him more prone and obſequious to follow bad than good examples; yet ſometimes, yea often, there is a kind of compulſive energy ariſing from the good examples of ſuch as are eminent either in place or godlineſs, leading forth others to imitate them in the like graces and virtues. We find the children of Iſrael followed the Lord all the days of Joſhua, and the elders that outlived him; and Chriſt's harbinger, John Baptiſt, gained as much by his practice and example as by his doctrine: His apparel, his diet, his converſation, and all, did preach forth his holineſs. Nazianzen ſaith of him, "That he cried louder by the holineſs of his life, than by the ſincerity of his doctrine." And were it not ſo, the apoſtle would not have exhorted the Philippians unto this, ſaying, "Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk ſo, as ye have us for an enſample," &c. chap. iii. 17.—And ſo ſays the apoſtle James, "Take, my brethren, the prophets, who have ſpoken in the name of the Lord, for an enſample," &c. chap. v. 10. And no queſtion, that next to the down pouring of the Spirit from on high, the rapid and admirable ſucceſs of the goſpel, both in the primitive times, and in the beginning of our reformations from Popery and Prelacy, in a great meaſure muſt have been owing to the ſimplicity, holy and examplary lives, of the preachers and profeſſors thereof. A learned expoſitor, Mr Henry, obſerves, "That miniſters are likely to preach moſt to the purpoſe, when they can preſs their hearers to follow their example." For it is very obſervable, that without this the church of Chriſt is ſo far from gaining ground, that it loſes what it hath already gained in the world; of which the church of Scotland is a moſt glaring document; yea, truth itſelf ſuffers by this means, and can gain no credit from their mouths; and how deſpicable muſt that man's character be, whoſe authority is loſt, and his example goes for nothing! So that, upon the whole, it is hoped, that no ſmall advantage, through the divine bleſſing, might accrue to the public from this ſubject in general, and from the lives of our Scots Worthies in particular, providing theſe or the like cautions following were obſerved: And that is, 1. We are not to ſet down or reſt ourſelves upon the perſon, principle, or practice of any man, yea, the beſt ſaint we have ever read or heard of, but only to ſeek theſe gifts and graces that moſt eminently ſhone forth in them.—*Præceptis, non exemplis, ſtandum*; i. e. "we muſt not ſtand by examples, but precepts:" For it is the peculiar honour and dignity of Jeſus Chriſt only to be imitated by all men abſolutely; and for any perſon or perſons to idolize any man or men, in making them a pattern in every circumſtance or particular, were nothing elſe than to pin an implicit faith upon other men's ſleeves. The apoſtle to the Corinthians, in the forecited text gives a very good caveat againſt this, when he ſays, "Be ye followers" (or, as the Dutch annotators tranſlate, "Be ye imitators") "of me, as I am of Chriſt."—And, 2. Neither are we, on the other hand, to dwell too much upon the faults or failings that have ſometimes been diſcovered in ſome of God's own dear children; but at the ſame time to conſider with ourſelves, that although they were eminent men of God, yet at the ſame time were they the ſons of Adam alſo: For it is poſſible, yea, many times has been the caſe, for good men not only to make foul falls themſelves, but alſo, when ſtriking againſt the errors and enormities of others, to over-reach the mark, and go beyond the bounds of truth in ſome degree themſelves; perfection being no inherent plant in this life: ſo

ſays

ſays the apoſtle, " They are earthen veſſels, men of like paſſions with you," &c. 2 Cor. iv. 7. Acts xiv. 15.

Thirdly, As to the motives leading us to this publication; Can it be ſuppoſed, that there was ever an age, ſince reformation commenced in Scotland, that ſtood in more need of uſeful, holy, and examplary lives being ſet before them; and that both in reſpect to the actions and memories of theſe Worthies, and with regard to our preſent circumſtances. For in reſpect to the memories and tranſactions of theſe Worthies, it is now a long time ſince Biſhops Spottiſwood, Guthrie, and Burnet, (not to mention ſome Engliſh hiſtorians), in their writings, clothed the actions and proceedings of thoſe our anceſtors, both in the reforming and ſuffering period, in a moſt groteſque and frantic dreſs, whereby their names and noble attainments have been loaded with reproach, ſarcaſms, and ſcurrility; but, as if this had not been enough, to expoſe them, in rendering them, and their moſt faithful contendings, odious, ſome modern writers, under the character of Monthly Reviewers, [Edinburgh Monthly Review for February 1774], have ſet their engines again at work, to miſrepreſent ſome of them, and ſet them in ſuch a diſhonourable light, by giving them a character, that even the above-mentioned hiſtorians, yea, their moſt avowed enemies, of their own day, would ſcarcely have ſubſcribed. To ſuch a length is poor degenerate Scotland arrived! And is it not high time to follow the wiſe man's advice, " Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cauſe of all ſuch as are appointed to deſtruction?" Prov. xxxi. 8.

Again, with regard to our preſent circumſtances, there needs little more to prove the neceſſity of this collection at preſent, than to ſhow how many degrees we have deſcended from the worthy deeds or merit of our *Renowned Forefathers*, by running a parallel betwixt their contendings and attainments, and our preſent national defections and backſliding courſes, in theſe few particulars following.

Our venerable Reformers were not only highly inſtrumental, in the Lord's hand, in bringing a people out of the abyſs of groſs Popiſh darkneſs, under which they had for a long time continued, but alſo brought themſelves under moſt ſolemn and ſacred vows and engagements to the Moſt High; and whenever they were to ſet about any further piece of reformation in their advancing ſtate, they always ſet about the renovation of theſe covenants. They ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the divine right of Preſbytery, the headſhip of Chriſt, and intrinſic rights of his church, in the reign of James VI. and ſuffered much on that account—lifted arms once and again in the reign of Charles I.; and never ceaſed until they got an uniformity in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and church-government, brought out and eſtabliſhed betwixt the three kingdoms, for that purpoſe *, whereby both church and ſtate were enabled to exert themſelves in rooting out every error and hereſy whatever, until they obtained a complete ſettlement according to the word of God, and our covenants eſtabliſhed thereon; which covenants were then, by ſeveral excellent acts, both civil and eccleſiaſtic †, made the MAGNA CHARTA of theſe nations, with reſpect to every civil and religious privilege; none being admitted into any office or employment in church or ſtate, without ſcriptural and covenant

---

* See the Parliamentary Chronicle; or, God on the Mount.

† See act v. parl. 1640. act v. 1644. act xv. 1649.;—acts of the General Aſſembly, ſeſſ. 26. 1638. ſeſſ. 23. 1659. ſeſſ. 6. 1642. ſeſſ. ult. 1647. ſeſſ. 31. 1648, &c.

nant qualifications. And then was that part of the ancient prophecy further fulfilled, "In the wilderneſs ſhall waters break forth, and ſtreams in the deſart,—and the iſles ſhall wait for his law." Chriſt then reigned glorioufly in Scotland. His church appeared "beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jeruſalem: For from the outmoſt parts were heard ſongs, even glory to the righteous."

And although Charles II. and a ſet of wicked counſellors, overturned the whole fabric of that once-glorious ſtructure of reformation, openly diveſted the Son of God of his headſhip in and over his own church, as far as human laws could do, burned theſe ſolemn covenants by the hands of the hangman, (the owning of which was by act of parliament * made high treaſon afterward). Yet even then the ſeed of the church produced a remnant, who kept the word of Chriſt's patience, ſtood in defence of the whole of his perſecuted truths, in face of all oppoſition, and that to the effuſion of the laſt drop of their blood: "Theſe two prime truths, Chriſt's headſhip and our covenants, being in the mouths of all our late Martyrs, when they mounted their bloody theatres;" and in the comfort of ſuffering on ſuch clear grounds, and for ſuch valuable truths, they went triumphing off the ſtage of time to eternity.

But, alas! how have we, their degenerate and renegado poſterity, followed their example, or traced their ſteps; yea, we have rather ſerved ourſelves heirs to them who perſecuted and killed them, by our long acceſſion to their perjury and apoſtacy, in a general and avowed denial of our moſt ſolemn vows and oaths of allegiance to Jeſus Chriſt. To mention nothing more of the total extermination of our ancient and laudable conſtitution, during the two tyrants reigns, with the many grave-ſtones caſt thereon by the acts reſciſſory, &c. (which acts ſeem by no act in particular yet to he repealed) and claim of right at the revolution, whereby we have in a national way and capacity, whatever be the pretences, declared ourſelves to be on another footing than the footing of the once-famous covenanted church of Scotland. How many are the defections and encroachments annually and daily made upon our moſt valuable rights and privileges! For ſince the Revolution, the duty of national covenanting has not only been ſlighted and neglected, yea, ridiculed by ſome, but even ſome leading church-men, in their writings †, have had the effrontery to impugn (though in a very ſly way) the very obligation of theſe covenants, aſſerting, that there is little or no warrant for national covenanting under the New Teſtament diſpenſation: And what awful attacks ſince that time have been made upon the crown-rights of our Redeemer, notwithſtanding ſome faint acts then made to the contrary; as witneſs the civil magiſtrate's ſtill retaining his old uſurped power, in calling and diſſolving the ſupreme judicatories of the church, yea, ſometimes to an indefinite time. Likewiſe appointing diets of faſting and thankſgiving to be obſerved, under fines and other civil pains annexed; impoſing oaths, acts, and ſtatutes, upon church-men, under pain of eccleſiaſtic cenſure, or other Eraſtian penalties. And inſtead of our covenants, an unhallowed

---

* Act v. ſeſſ. 1. parl. 1. James VII. See James VII. and William and Mary's acts of parliament abridged, p. 42.

† Such as Meſſ. Currie, Ferguſon, and Smith of Newburn, &c. who, in order to palliate and extenuate the evil of the preſent backſliding courſes, ſeem to have left no ſtone unturned to expoſe or blacken the reforming period.

lowed union is gone into with England, whereby our rights and liberties are infringed not a little: "Bow down thy body as the ground, that we may paſs over." Lordly patronage, which was caſt out of the church in her pureſt times, is now reſtored, and practiſed to an extremity. A toleration bill * is granted, whereby all, and almoſt every error, hereſy, and deluſion, appears now rampant and triumphant, Prelacy is now become faſhionable and epidemical, and of Popery we are in as much danger as ever †; Socinian and deiſtical tenets are only in vogue with the wits of the age, *ſoli rationi cedo*, the old Porphyrian maxim having ſo far gained the aſcendant at preſent, that reaſon (at leaſt pretenders to it, who muſt needs hear with their eyes, and ſee with their ears, and underſtand with their elbows, till the order of nature be inverted) threatens not a little to baniſh revealed religion, and its moſt important doctrines, out of the profeſſing world. A latitudinarian ſcheme prevails among the majority, the greater part, with the Athenians, ſpending their time only to hear and ſee ſomething new, "gadding about to change their ways, going in the ways of Egypt and Aſſyria, to drink the waters of Shichor and the river;" unſtable ſouls, like ſo many light combuſtibles wrapt up by the eddies of a whirlwind, toſſed hither and thither till utterly diſſipated. The doctrine of original ſin ‡ is by ſeverals denied; others are pulling down the

---

* Although toleration-principles be now eſpouſed, boaſted of, and gloried in, by many, yea, by ſome from whom other things might be expected, yet it is contrary to ſcripture. See Gen. xxxv. 2. &c. Deut. xiii. 6. Jud. ii. 2. Ezek. xliii. 8. Prov. xvii. 15. Zech. xiii. 2. Rom. xiii. 6. Rev. ii. 14. &c. And how far the civil magiſtrate is to exert his power in puniſhing heretics, I ſhall not at preſent determine, or whether the word *extirpate* in our ſolemn league and covenant extends to the temporal or ſpiritual ſword only, there are different ſentiments and expoſitions; yet ſure I am, according to the nature of things, that which is morally good, being a commanded duty, needs no toleration; and that which is morally evil, no mortal on earth can lawfully grant an immunity unto. And betwixt theſe there is no medium in point of truth and duty. And it is obſervable, that where toleration or toleration-principles prevail, real religion never proſpers much. And beſides all, it is of woful conſequence; for as in natural bodies antipathies of qualities cauſe deſtruction, ſo in bodies politic different religions, or ways of worſhip in religion, cauſe many diviſions and diſtractions, whereby the ſeamleſs coat of Chriſt is like to be torn in pieces, and this oftentimes terminates in the ruin of the whole. "For a kingdom, city, or houſe, divided againſt itſelf, (ſaith Chriſt), cannot ſtand." And yet ſome will ſay, that toleration is a good thing, for by it people may live as good as they pleaſe. I anſwer, It is true, but they may alſo live as bad as they pleaſe; and that we have liberty and freedom to ſerve God in his own appointed way, we have him primarily to thank for it, as for all his other mercies and goodneſs towards us.

† Witneſs the Quebec act, for eſtabliſhing Popery in Canada, 1777. The Catholic bills granting a toleration to Papiſts in England and Ireland, 1778, with the gloomy aſpect that affairs bear to Scotland ſince that time.

‡ This doctrine of original ſin is plainly evinced from ſcripture, canonical and apocryphal, Job xiv. 4. Pſal. li. 5. Rom. v. 12. &c. 1 Cor. xv.

the very hedges of church-government, refuſing all church-ſtandards, "covenants, creeds, and confeſſions, whether of our own or of other churches, yea, and national churches alſo, as being all of them carnal, human, or Antichriſtian inventions," contrary to many texts of ſcripture, particularly 2 Tim. i. 13. "Hold faſt the form of ſound words:" and the old Pelagian and Arminian errors appear again upon the ſtage, the merit of the creature, free will, and good works †, being taught

---

xv. 21. John iii. 6. Apocrypha, Eccleſ. xxv. 26.; aſſerted in our church-ſtandards, illuſtrated and defended by many able divines, both ancient and modern and by our Britiſh poets, excellently deſcribed: Thus,

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and firſt behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In ſome, to ſpring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted tree, nor with the ſnake conſpir'd,
Nor ſinn'd thy ſin; yet from that ſin derive
Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.

PARADISE LOST, Lib. ix.

Conceiv'd in ſin, (O wretched ſtate!)
before we draw our breath:
The firſt young pulſe begins to beat
iniquity and death.

DR WATTS.

† However much theſe leading articles in the Arminian and Pelagian ſcheme be now taught and applauded, yet ſure they are God diſhonouring and ſoul-ruining tenets, contrary to ſcripture, God's covenant, and everſive of man's ſalvation. For,

(1.) They are contrary to ſcripture, which teaches us, that we are no leſs dependent in working than in being, and no more capable to act from a principle of life of ourſelves, than to exiſt: "The way of man is not in himſelf, neither is it in man that walketh to direct his ſteps. What haſt thou, O man, but what thou haſt received? How to perform that which is good I find not," Jer. x. 23. 1 Cor. iv. 7. Rom. vii. 18. "So that a man can do nothing, except it be given him from above; and no man can come unto me, except the father draw him," ſaith Chriſt, John iii. 27. vi. 44. See Conf. ch. ix. § 3. Articles of the church of England, art. 10. And for good works, however far they may be acceptable to God in an approbative way, as being conformable to his command, and agreeable to the holineſs of his nature, yet we are aſſured from his word, that moral rectitude, in its very ſummit, can never render one acceptable in his ſight in a juſtifying way; "for by the works of the law ſhall no man be juſtified; not by works of righteouſneſs that we have done," &c. Rom. iii. 28. Gal. ii. 16. Tit. iii. 5. For though good works, or goſpel-obedience and true holineſs, be abſolutely neceſſary unto ſalvation, as being the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith in every believer, the greateſt ſaint being the beſt moraliſt; yet theſe are no ways meritorious of man's ſalvation; no, this depends upon God's eternal purpoſes, Rom. ix. 11. Eph. i. 4. We find it often ſaid in ſcripture, that it ſhall be rendered to every man "according to his works," Rom. iii. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. &c. but never for their works; yea, works, though otherwiſe materially good in themſelves, in an unregenerate man, become ſinful before God, "for whatſoever is not of faith is ſin," Rom. xiv. 23.; although the omitting of them be more diſhonouring to him, Rom. viii. 8. Pſal. xxvi. 5.

taught from preſs and pulpit almoſt every where, to the utter diſcarding of free grace, Chriſt's imputed righteouſneſs, and the power of true godlineſs. All which pernicious errors were expunged, and caſt over the hedge, by our reforming forefathers: And is it not highly requiſite,

---

Matth. xxiii. 23. See Conf. chap. xvi. § 2. 3. 7.: And ſo Luther, Calvin, Diodati, Beza, Perkins, Fiſher, Flavel, Owen, Simſon, Binning, Dickſon, Gray, Rutherford, Durham, Gilleſpie, Guthrie, Renwick, Pool, Henry, Halyburton, Boſton, Marſhall, and many others.

(2.) They are antipodes to reaſon, and ſtrike eminently againſt the very nature of God's covenant; for, according to the tenor of the covenant of works, nothing but perfect, perſonal, and perpetual obedience, can merit, (if any thing in a degenerate creature may be ſo called); and can any reaſonable man look his own conſcience in the face and ſay, that he is the perſon that can perform this. Again, if we betake ourſelves unto the covenant of grace, reaſon itſelf might bluſh, and be aſhamed once to ſuppoſe, that the blood of the immaculate Son of God ſtood in any need of an addition of man's imperfect works, in order to complete ſalvation. See Catechiſing on the Heidelberg Catechiſm on queſtion lii. page 180. Blackwall's *Ratio ſacro*, page 17. &c.

(3.) They muſt be very dangerous, ſoul-ruining, and Chriſt diſhonouring errors; for it might be counted altogether ſuperfluous for a perſon to come to a phyſician for a cure, while he is not in the leaſt ſuſpicious of being infected with any malady. So in like manner, can it be expected that any ſoul can cordially come, or be brought, to Chriſt, without a due ſenſe of its infinite diſtance from God by nature? of the impoſſibility of making any ſuitable approaches to him? and of the utter diſability to do any thing that may anſwer the law, holineſs, and righteouſneſs of God therein? &c. "For they that be whole" (at leaſt think themſelves ſo) "need not a phyſician," ſaith Chriſt, "and I came, not to call the righteous," (or ſuch as think themſelves ſo), "but ſinners to repentance," Mark ix. 12.

From hence obſerve, that whoſoever intends to forſake his ſin, in order to come to Chriſt, or effectually to correct vice, before he believes on him, muſt needs meet with a miſerable diſappointment, for "without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God," Heb. xi. 6. and in the end ſink himſelf into an immenſe and bottomleſs chaos of uncertainties, like one lopping the branches off a tree to kill the root: "No man cometh to the Father but by me, and without me ye can do nothing," ſays Chriſt himſelf, John xiv. 6. xv. 5. The love of God being the *prima cauſa*, the obedience and meritorious righteouſneſs of Chriſt the foundation, ſource, and ſpring of man's ſalvation, and all true happineſs, "for by grace ye are ſaved," Eph. ii. 8. And whoſoever has been made rightly to know any thing of the depravity of his nature in a lapſed ſtate, or experienced any thing of the free grace of a God in Chriſt, will be made to acknowledge this, "That it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do of his good pleaſure," Phil. ii. 13. And yet I know it is objected, That it is highly diſhonouring to the Author of nature, to argue man to be ſuch a mean and inſufficient creature, and that it can never be ſuppoſed, that a gracious and merciful God would make ſuch a number of intelligent beings to damn them, or command a ſinner to repent and come to Chriſt, and condemn him for not doing it, if it were not in his own

requiſite, that their faithful contendings, orthodox and examplary lives, ſhould be copied out before us, when walking ſo repugnant to "acknowledging the God of our fathers, and walking before him with a perfect heart."

Again, if we ſhall run a compariſon betwixt the practice of thoſe who are the ſubject-matter of this collection, and our preſent prevailing temper and diſpoſition, we will find how far they correſpond with one another. How courageous and zealous were they for the cauſe and honour of Chriſt! How cold and lukewarm are we, of whatever ſect or denomination! How willing were they to part with all for him! And what honour did many of them count it, to ſuffer for his name! How unwilling are we to part with any thing for him, much leſs to ſuffer ſuch hardſhips for his ſake! Of that we are aſhamed, which they counted their ornament; accounting that our glory, which they looked on as a diſgrace! How eaſy was it for them to chooſe the greateſt ſuffering, rather than the leaſt ſin! How hard is it for

---

power upon moral ſuaſion to obey, &c. It is true, indeed, that in compariſon of the irrational inſect, and inanimate creation, man is a noble creature, both as to his formation, "I am wonderfully made," Pſal. cxxxix. 14. and alſo in his intellectual parts, but much more in his primeval ſtate and dignity, when all the faculties of the mind and powers of the ſoul ſtood entire, being endued not only with animal and intelligent, but alſo heavenly life, "Thou haſt made him a little lower than the angels," Pſal. viii. 5. But then, in what follows, theſe objectors ſeem, either inadvertently or willingly, to have forgot, (1.) "That man in honour abideth not," Pſal. xlix. 12. (or, as the Rabbins read, and ſome tranſlate it, as Cartwright, Ainſworth, Leigh and Broughton "Adam in honour abideth not one night)." Adam, by his diſobedience, not only introduced a jar into the whole creation, rendered his poſterity decrepit and lame, but alſo loſt all power to any ſpiritual good, the whole of his intellectual parts concreated with him being either corrupted, darkened, obliterated, or loſt. Indeed Dr Taylor would have us believe, that what Adam loſt, and more, was reſtored to Noah, Gen. ix.; and that man's mental capacities are now the ſame as Adam's in innocence, ſaving ſo far as God ſees fit to ſet any man above or below his ſtandard; ſome are below Adam in rational endowments, and ſome are above him; of the latter he thinks Sir Iſaac Newton was one, (Doctrine of Original Sin, p. 235. Supplement, p. 85.) The fallacy of which is ſo obvious and abſurd, that it deſerves no obſervation, for every man, to his dear-bought experience, may know, that man now, aſſiſted by all the dark remains of original, moral, and political knowledge he is maſter of, can acquire no certain knowledge of any part of his duty, as to moral good or evil, but by a gradation of labour, ſlow, and multiplied deductions; and much leſs is he able to bind the ſtrong man, and caſt him out. And yet all this is no way diſhonouring to the great Author of nature as to the works of his hands; for although he made man at firſt, he made him not originally a ſinful man; ſo that it is our ſin that is diſhonouring to him. "Lo, this have I found out," ſays the wiſeſt of men, "that God at firſt made man upright, but he ſought out many inventions." (2.) That, in a proper ſenſe, God neither made man to ſave nor to damn him, but only for his pleaſure, and the manifeſtation of his own power and glory, Rev. iv. 11. Conf. chap. ii. § 3.

for us to refuſe the greateſt ſin, before the leaſt ſuffering! How active were they for the glory of God and the good of ſouls, and diligent to have their own evidences clear for heaven! But how little concern have we for the cauſe of Chriſt, his work and intereſt, and how dark are the moſt part with reſpect to their ſpiritual ſtate and duty! They were ſympathiſing Chriſtians; but, alas! how little fellow-feeling is to be found among us: it is rather "Stand by, for I am holier than thou." Oh! that their Chriſtian virtues, conſtant fidelity, unfeigned love, and unbiaſſed loyalty to Zion's King and Lord, could awaken us from our neutrality and ſupine ſecurity, wherein, inſtead of imitating the goodneſs and virtuous diſpoſitions of theſe our anceſtors, we have, by our defections and vicious courſes, invited neglect and contempt on ourſelves, being, as a philoſopher once obſerved of paſſionate people, like men ſtanding on their heads, who ſee all things the wrong way; giving up with the greater part of theſe our moſt valuable rights and liberties, all which were moſt eſteemed by our RENOWNED PROGENITORS.—"The treacherous dealers have dealt very treacherouſly."

And if we ſhall add unto all theſe, in our progreſſive and increaſing apoſtacy, our other heinous land-crying ſins and enormities, which prevail and increaſe among all ranks and denominations of men; few mourning over the low ſtate of our Zion, and the daily decay of the intereſt

---

(3.) Altho' we have loſt power to obey, yet he ſtill retains his right to demand obedience; and nothing can be more ſuitable to the juſtice, wiſdom, and ſovereignty of God, than to maintain his right to perfect obedience from man, whom he originally endued with all power and abilities for what he commanded; neither is he any ways bound to reſtore that power again to man, which he by his diſobedience loſt. (4.) All mankind by the fall ſtand condemned by God's judicial act, "In the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die," Gen. ii. 17. And you'll ſay, a judge does a malefactor no injury in condemning him, when by the law he is found guilty of death; "and curſed is every one who confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them," Deut. xxvii. 26.; and much leſs the ſupreme Judge of all, who can do nothing wrong to any, in condemning man, "for the wages of ſin is death," Rom. vi. 13. "and hath not the potter power over the clay?" &c.—And, finally, if the firſt Adam's poſterity be thus naturally endued with a power to do that which is ſpiritually good, pray what need was there for the ſecond Adam to die to quicken his elect? Eph. ii. 1. Indeed we are commanded to repent, and turn from our iniquities, "turn ye, turn ye, and live," Ezek. xxxiii. 11.; and ye "will not come unto me that ye might have life," John v. 40. But who, excepting a bold Arminian, will ſay, that theſe texts imply a natural power in man to turn, come or not as he pleaſes. If this were the caſe, the ſame Spirit of God would not have ſaid elſewhere, "Draw me, and we will run after thee; turn thou us, and we ſhall be turned," Cant. i. 4. Jer. xxxi. 18.; "ſurely after I was turned, I repented," ver. 19.; "it was not before I was turned, I repented:" No, this command and complaint only points out our duty; but the prayers and promiſes in the word ſhew us our ability for the performance thereof. And yet after all, proud ignorant man muſt needs be his own Saviour, and if God ſay not ſo too, Cain will be wroth, and his countenance fall, Gen. iv. 5. "But let the potſherds ſtrive with the potſherds of the earth; but woe unto him that ſtriveth with his Maker."

reft of Chriſt and religion. Then we not only may ſay, as the poet once ſaid of the men of Athens, Thebes, and Oedipus, "That we live only in fable, and nothing remains of ancient Scotland but the name;" but alſo take up this bitter complaint and lamentation.

'Ah! Scotland, Scotland!' "How is the gold become dim, how is the moſt fine gold changed?" 'Ah! where is the God of Elijah, and where is his glory? Where is that Scottiſh zeal that once flamed in the breaſts of thy nobility, barons, miniſters, and commoners of all ſorts? Ah! where is that true courage and heroic reſolution for religion and the liberties of the nation, that did once animate all ranks in the land? Alas! alas! true Scots blood now runs cool in our veins! The cloud is now gone up in a great meaſure from off our aſſemblies; becauſe we have deſerted and relinquiſhed the Lord's moſt noble cauſe and teſtimony, by a plain, palpable, and perpetual courſe of backſliding.'—"The crown is fallen from our head, wo unto us, for we have ſinned."

For ſurely we may ſay of theſe our times, and with as much propriety, what ſome of theſe Worthies ſaid of theirs, *Quam graviter ingemeſcerent illi fortes viri qui eccleſiæ Scoticanæ pro libertate in acie decertarunt, ſi noſtram nunc ignaviam (ne quid gravius dicam) conſpicerent*, ſaid Mr Davidſon, in a letter to the General Aſſembly, 1601; *i. e.* 'How grievouſly would they bewail our ſtupenduous ſlothfulneſs, could they but behold it, who of old thought no expence of blood and treaſure too much for the defence of the church of Scotland's liberties.'—Or, to uſe the words of another * in the perſecuting period, 'Were it poſſible that our reformers (and, we may add our late Martyrs), who are entered in among the glorious choriſters in the kingdom of heaven, ſinging their melodious harps about the throne of the Lamb, might have a furlough for a ſhort time, to take a view of their apoſtatiſing children, what may we judge would be their conceptions of theſe courſes of defection, ſo far repugnant to the platform laid down in that glorious work of reformation.' For if innocent Hamilton, godly and patient Wiſhart, apoſtolic Knox, eloquent Rollock, worthy Davidſon, the courageous Melvills, prophetic Welch, majeſtic Bruce, great Henderſon, renowned Gilleſpie, learned Binning, pious Gray, laborious Durham, heavenly-minded Rutherford, the faithful Guthries, diligent Blair, heart-melting Livingſton, religious Wellwood, orthodox and practical Brown, zealous and ſtedfaſt Cameron, honeſt-hearted Cargill, ſympathiſing M'Ward, perſevering Blackadder, the evangelical Traills, conſtant and pious Renwick, &c. 'were filed off from the aſſembly of the firſt-born, ſent as commiſſioners to haſte down from the mount of God, to behold how quickly their offspring are gone out of the way, piping and dancing after a golden calf: Ah! with what vehemency would their ſpirits be affected, to ſee their laborious ſtructure almoſt razed to the foundation, by thoſe to whom they committed the cuſtody of the word of their great Lord's patience; they in the mean time ſheltering themſelves under the ſhadow of a rotten lump of fig-tree-leaf diſtinctions, which will not ſconce againſt the wrath of an angry God in the cool of the day,' &c.

And, *finally*, What can have a more gloomy aſpect in the midſt of theſe evils, (with many more that might be noticed), "when our pleaſant things are laid waſte," than to ſee ſuch a ſcene of ſtrife and diviſion

---

* Mr John Dickſon, in a letter, while priſoner in the Baſs.

diviſion carried on, and maintained among Chriſt's profeſſing witneſſes in theſe lands, whereby true love and ſympathy is eradicated, the very vitals of religion pulled out, and the ways of God and godlineſs lampooned and ridiculed, "giving Jacob to the curſe, and Iſrael to the reproaches."—And it is moſt lamentable, that while malignants (now as well as formerly) from without are cutting down the carved work of the ſanctuary, Chriſt's profeſſed friends and followers from within are buſied in contention and animoſities among themſelves, by which means the enemy ſtill advances and gains ground, ſimilar to the caſe (exteriorly) of that once famous and flouriſhing city and temple of Jeruſalem, when it was by Titus Veſpaſian utterly demoliſhed *.—All which ſeem to prelude or indicate, that the Lord is about to inflict theſe long-threatened, impending, but protracted jndgments †, upon ſuch a ſinning land, church, and people. And as many of theſe Worthies have aſſured us, that judgements are abiding this church and nation; ſo our preſent condition and circumſtances ſeem to ſay, that we are the generation ripening for them apace.—How much need have we then of the Chriſtian armour that made them proof againſt Satan, his emiſſaries, and every trial and tribulation they were ſubjected unto? "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withſtand in the evil day."

But by this time ſomewhat might have been ſaid concerning the teſtimony of the church of Scotland, as it was carried on and handed down by theſe witneſſes of Chriſt to poſterity, in its different parts and periods.—But as this has been ſomewhat (I may ſay needleſsly) controverted in theſe our times, it were too large a ſubject for the narrow limits of a preface to enter upon at preſent, any further than to obſerve, that,

(1.) The teſtimony of the church of Scotland is not only a free, full, and faithful teſtimony, yea, more extenſive than the teſtimony of any one particular church ſince Chriſtianity commenced in the world, but alſo a ſure and coſtly teſtimony, confirmed and ſealed with blood; 'and that of the beſt of our nobles, miniſters, gentry, burgeſſes, and commons of all ſorts;'—"who loved not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the word of their teſtimony.—Bind up the teſtimony, ſeal the law."

(2.) Although there is no truth whatſoever, when once controverted, but it becomes the word of Chriſt's patience, and ſo ought to be the word of our teſtimony, Rev. v. 10. xii. 11.; truth and duty being always the ſame in all ages and periods of time, ſo that what injures one truth, in ſome ſenſe, injures and affects all; "For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty

---

* See Joſephus' *De bello Jud.* lib. v. and vi.; and of this deſtruction, Euſebius, lib. iii. chap. 6.; and the life of Titus Veſpaſian.

† *Well may we tremble now! what manners reign?*
But wherefore aſk we? when a true reply
Would ſhock too much. Kind Heaven, avert events,
Whoſe fatal nature might reply too plain!
——Vengeance delay'd but gathers and ferments;
More formidably blackens in the wind,
Brews deeper draughts of unrelenting wrath,
And higher charges the ſuſpended ſtorm.

YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.

guilty of all," Jam. ii. 10. Yet at the ſame time it is pretty evident, that the church of Chriſt in this world is a paſſing church, ſtill circulating through ages and periods of time, ſo that ſhe ſeldom or never turns back under the ſame point, there being ſcarcely a century of years elapſed without an alteration of circumſtances; yea, and more, I ſuppoſe that there is no certain book that has or can be written, that will ſuit the caſe of one particular church at all times, and in all circumſtances: This pre-eminency the holy ſcriptures only can claim as a complete rule for faith and manners, principle and practice, in all places, ages, and times.

(3.) Theſe things premiſed, let it be obſerved, that the primitive witneſſes had the divinity of the Son of God, and an open confeſſion of him, for their teſtimony; our reformers from Popery had Antichriſt to ſtruggle with, in aſſerting the doctrines of the goſpel, and the right way of ſalvation in and through Jeſus Chriſt. Again, in the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. Chriſt's REGALIA *, and the divine right of preſbytery, became the ſubject-matter of their teſtimony. Then, in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. until he got the whole of our ancient and laudable conſtitution effaced and overturned, our WORTHIES only ſaw it their duty to hold and contend for what they had already attained unto.—But then, in the end of this and ſubſequent tyrant's reign, they found it their duty (a duty which they had too long neglected) to advance one ſtep higher, by caſting off their authority altogether, and that as well on account of their manifeſt uſurpation of Chriſt's crown and dignity, as on account of their treachery, bloodſhed, and tyranny. And yet as all theſe faithful witneſſes of Chriſt did harmoniouſly agree in promoting the kingdom and intereſt of the Meſſiah, in all his threefold offices, they ſtood in defence of religion and liberty (and that not only in oppoſition to the more groſs errors of Popery, but even to the more refined errors of Engliſh hierarchy), we muſt take their teſtimony to be materially all and the ſame teſtimony, only under different circumſtances, which may be ſummed up thus: 'The primitive Martyrs ſealed the prophetic office of Chriſt, in oppoſition to Pagan idolatry.—The reforming Martyrs ſealed his prieſtly office with their blood, in oppoſition to Popiſh idolatry.—But laſt of all, our late Martyrs have ſealed their kingly office with their beſt blood, in deſpite of ſupremacy and bold Eraſtianiſm. They indeed have cemented it upon his royal head, ſo that to the world's end it ſhall never drop off again.'

But, candid reader, to detain thee no longer upon theſe or the like conſiderations,—I have put the following ſheets into thy hands, wherein if thou findeſt any thing amiſs, either as to matter or method, let it be aſcribed unto any thing elſe, rather than want of honeſty or integrity of intention; conſidering, that all mankind are liable to err, and that there is more difficulty in digeſting ſuch a great maſs of materials into ſuch a ſmall compoſition, than in writing many volumes.

---

* Here Chriſt's crown-rights not only became the word of their teſtimony, but alſo the very motto of their civil and military banners, inſomuch as when that gallant Scots army lay at Dunſe muir, (*anno* 1639), each captain had his colours flying at his tent door, whereon was this inſcription in letters of gold, CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT.

STEVENSON'S HISTORY, Vol. II. p. 729.

volumes. Indeed there is but little probability, that a thing of this nature can altogether eſcape or evade the critical eye of ſome readers, particularly ſuch as are either altogether ignorant of reformation-principles, or of what the Lord hath done for covenanted Scotland; and thoſe who can bear with nothing but what comes from thoſe men who are of an uniform ſtature or perſuaſion with themſelves; and yet, were it poſſible to anticipate any thing ariſing here, by way of objection, theſe few things following might be obſerved.

Here ſome may object, That many things more uſeful for the preſent generation might have been publiſhed, than the deeds and public actings of thoſe men, who have ſtood ſo long condemned by the laws of the nation, being exploded by ſome, and accounted ſuch a reproach, as unfit to be any longer on record.—In anſwer to this, I ſhall only notice, (1.) That there have been ſome hundreds of volumes publiſhed of things fabulous, fictitious, and romantic, fit for little elſe than to amuſe the credulous reader; while this ſubject has been in a great meaſure neglected. (2.) We find it to have been the conſtant practice of the Lord's people in all ages, to hand down and keep on record what the Lord had done by and for their forefathers in former times. We find the royal Pſalmiſt, in name of the church, oftener than once at this work, Pſal. xliv. and lxxviii. "We have heard with our ears, O God; our fathers have told us, what works thou didſt in their days, in the times of old: We will not hide them from their children, ſhewing to the generation to come the praiſes of the Lord," &c. (3.) It has been the practice of almoſt all nations, yea, and our own alſo to publiſh the warlike exploits and martial atchievements of their moſt illuſtrious heroes, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in defence of their native country, for a little worldly honour, or a little temporary ſubſiſtence; and ſhall we be behind in publiſhing the lives, characters, and moſt memorable actions, of theſe NOBLE CHAMPIONS of Chriſt, who not only ſtood in defence of religion and liberty, but alſo fought the battles of the Lord againſt his and their avowed enemies, till, in imitation of their princely Maſter, their garments were all ſtained with blood, for which their names ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance. (4.) As to the laſt part of the objection, it muſt be granted, that, in *foro hominis*, their actions and attainments cannot now be pled upon; but, *in foro Dei* that which was lawful from the beginning cannot afterwards be made ſinful * or void; and the longer they have been buried under the aſhes of neglect and apoſtacy, the more need have they to be raiſed up and revived. It is uſual for men to keep that well which was left them by their fathers; and for us either to oppoſe or induſtriouſly conceal any part of theſe their contendings, were not only an addition to the contempt already thrown upon the memories of theſe RENOWNED SIRES, but alſo an injury done to poſterity.—'Your honourable anceſtors with the hazard of their lives, brought Chriſt into our lands; and it ſhall be cruelty to poſterity if ye loſe him to them,' ſaid one of theſe Worthies to a Scots nobleman †.

Again, ſome ſceptical nullifidian or other may be ready to object farther, 'That many things related in this collection ſmell too much of enthuſiaſm; and that ſeveral other things narrated therein, are beyond all credit.' But theſe we muſt ſuppoſe to be either quite ignorant

---

* See collection of acts of parliament, (ſaid to be Andrew Stevenſon's), preface to part II.

† Mr Rutherford, in a letter to the Earl of Caſſillis. See his Letters, part I. epiſt. 23.

rant of what the Lord did for our forefathers in former times, or elſe in a great meaſure deſtitute of the like gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, by which they were actuated and animated. For,

(1.) Theſe Worthies did and ſuffered much for Chriſt and his cauſe, in their day and generation, and therefore in a peculiar and ſingular manner were honoured and beloved of him; and although there are ſome things here narrated, of a pretty extraordinary nature, yet as they imply nothing contrary to reaſon, they do not forfeit a title to any man's belief, ſince they are otherwiſe well atteſted, nay, obviouſly referred to a Cauſe, whoſe ways and thoughts ſurmount the ways and thoughts of men, as far as the heavens are above our heads.—The ſacred hiſtory affords us ſtore of inſtances and examples of a more tranſcendant nature than any thing here related; the truth of which we are at as little liberty to queſtion, as the divinity of the book in which they are related.

(2.) As to the ſoul-exerciſe and pious devotion of theſe men herein related, they are ſo far ſupported by the authority of ſcripture, that there is mentioned by them, as a ground of their hope, ſome text or paſſage thereof, carried in upon their minds, ſuited and adapted to their caſes and circumſtances; by which faith they were enabled to lay claim to ſome particular promiſe, "as a lamp unto their feet, a light unto their path," and this neither hypocrite nor enthuſiaſt can do: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jeſus Chriſt," 1 Cor. iii. 11.

But then, it may be alledged by thoſe who have a high eſteem for this ſubject, that nothing is here given as a commendation ſuitable or adequate to the merit of theſe Worthies, conſidering their zeal, diligence, and activity in the diſcharge of their duty, in that office or ſtation which they filled. This indeed comes neareſt the truth; for it is very common for biographers to paſs eulogiums of a very high ſtrain in praiſe of thoſe whom they affect. But in theſe panegyrical orations, they oft-times rather exceed than excel.—It was an ancient, but true ſaying of the Jews, 'That great men (and we may ſay good men) commonly find ſtones for their own monuments;' and laudable actions always ſupport themſelves: And a thing, as an author obſerves on the like ſubject, (Fuller in the Preface to his Lives in the Holy State), 'if right, it will defend itſelf; if wrong, none can defend it: Truth needs not, falſehood deſerves not, a ſupporter.'

Indeed it muſt be regretted, that this Collection is not drawn out with more advantage to the cauſe of Chriſt, and the intereſt of religion, in commending the mighty acts of the Lord done for and by theſe worthy ſervants of his, in a way ſuitable to the merit and dignity of ſuch a ſubject. But in this caſe it is the greater pity, 'that thoſe who have a good will to ſuch a piece of ſervice cannot do it, while thoſe who ſhould and can do it, will not do it.'—But in this I ſhall make no other apology, than what our Saviour, in another caſe, ſaid to the woman, "She hath done what ſhe could."

All that I ſhall obſerve anent the form or method uſed in the following lives, is, that they are all, except one, ranged in order, according to the time of their exit, and not according to their birth; and that, in general, the hiſtorical account of their birth, parentage, and memorable tranſactions, is firſt inſerted; and with as few repetitions as poſſible: Yea, ſometimes, to ſave a repetition, a fact is related of one Worthy in the life of another, which is not in his own life. Then follows their characteriſtic part, which oft-times is juſt one's teſtimony ſucceſſively

of another; and laſt of all, their works.—That which is given in their own words, moſtly is printed within inverted commas.

I know it is uſual, when relating matters of fact, to make remarks or reflections, yet as this oft-times brings authors under ſuſpicion of party-zeal or partiality, they are deſignedly waved in the body of the book.—Any thing of this kind is placed among other things in the foot-notes, where the reader is at a little more freedom to chuſe or refuſe as he pleaſes, only with this proviſo, That truth be always regarded.

The laſt thing to be obſerved is, That as the credit due to this Collection depends ſo much upon the authors from whom it was extracted, their names ſhould have been inſerted. However, the reader will find the moſt part of them mentioned in the notes; ſo that if any doubt of the veracity of any thing here related, they may have recourſe to the original authors, ſome of whom, though enemies to reformation-principles, nevertheleſs, ſerve to illuſtrate the facts narrated in theſe Memoirs; as nothing ſerves more to confirmation of either truth or hiſtorical facts, than the teſtimony of its oppoſers.

But to conclude: May the Lord ariſe and plead his own cauſe, in putting a final ſtop to all manner of prevailing wickedneſs; and haſten that day when the glorious light of the goſpel may ſhine forth in purity, and with ſuch power and ſucceſs as in former times with an enlargement of the Mediator's kingdom.—" That his large and great dominion may be extended from the river to the ends of the earth," when all theſe heats, animoſities, and breaking diviſions that now prevail and increaſe among Chriſt's profeſſed friends and followers, may be healed; that being cemented and knitted to one another, they may join heart and hand together in the matters of the Lord, and the concerns of his glory; " when Ephraim ſhall no more envy Judah, and Judah ſhall no more vex Ephraim, but both ſhall fly upon the ſhoulders of the Philiſtines," Iſa. xi. 13.; with a further accompliſhment of theſe, with other gracious promiſes,—" And thine officers ſhall be peace, and thine exactors righteouſneſs," &c.; and they ſhall ſee eye to eye, when the Lord ſhall bring again the captivity of Zion."—And that when we are endeavouring to perpetuate the memory of theſe Worthies, and commemorare what the Lord did for and by our forefathers, in the days of old, we may be ſo auſpicious as to have ſomewhat to declare of his goodneſs and wonderful works done for us in our day and generation alſo.

And if the following ſheets ſhall in the leaſt, through divine grace, under the management of an over-ruling providence, (which claims the care of directing every mean to its proper end), prove uſeful to the reclaiming of neutrals from backſliding courſes, to the confirming of halters, and the encouraging of others to the like fortitude and vigorous zeal, to contend for our moſt valuable privileges, whether of a civil or a religious nature, then I ſhall think all my pains recompenſed, and the end gained. For that many be found " ſtanding in the way, to ſee and aſk for the good old paths, and walk therein, cleaving to the law and to the teſtimony," would be the joy, and is the earneſt deſire of one, impartial reader, who remains thy friend and well-wiſher in the truth,

THE EDITOR.

July 1775.

INTRODUCTION.

CHRISTIANITY ſeems to have made its appearance in Scotland in a very early period, being, according to ſome writers, propagated in this kingdom by the apoſtles themſelves; ſome ſaying, that Simon Zelotes, others that Paul, was ſome time in this part of the world; but as this opinion is not ſupported by proper vouchers, it merits only the regard due to conjecture, not the attention which an undoubted narrative calls for.

Another, and more probable account, is, that during the perſecution raiſed by Domitian, (who was the twelfth and laſt Cæſar, about A. D. 96.), ſome of the diſciples of the apoſtle John fled into our iſland, and there taught the religion of Jeſus. It does not ſeem that Chriſtianity made any very rapid progreſs for a conſiderable time. The firſt account of the ſucceſs of the goſpel that can be depended on, is that about A. D. 203. King Donald I. with his Queen, and ſeveral courtiers, were baptiſed, and continued afterwards to promote the intereſts of Chriſtianity, in oppoſition to Pagan idolatry. But the invaſion of the Emperor Severus ſoon diſturbed this king's meaſures; ſo that, for the ſpace of more than ſeventy years after, religion was on the decline, and the idolatry of the Druids prevailed: they were an order of heathen prieſts, who performed their rites in groves of oak-trees; this was a ſpecies of Paganiſm of great antiquity, being that kind of idolatry to which the Jews were often revolting, of which mention is made in the lives of Ahab, Manaſſeh, &c. in the books of the Kings. Theſe Druids likewiſe poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of civil power, being the ordinary arbitrators in almoſt all controverſies, and highly eſteemed by the people. This made it a very difficult taſk to eſtabliſh a religion ſo oppoſite to, and ſubverſive of that inſtitution: but the difficulties which Chriſtianity has in every age and country had to encounter, have ſerved its intereſt, and illuſtrated the power and grace of its divine Author. Theſe Druids were expelled by King Cratilinth, about the year 277, who took ſpecial care to obliterate every memorial of them; and from this period we may date the true æra of Chriſtianity in Scotland, becauſe from this time forward, until the perſecution under the Emperor Dioclefian, in the beginning of the fourth century, there was a gradual increaſe of the true knowledge of God and religion. That perſecution became ſo hot in the ſouth parts of Britain,

as to drive many, both preachers and profeſſors, into Scotland, where they were kindly received, and had the Iſle of Man, then in poſſeſſion of the Scots, given them for their reſidence, and a ſufficient maintenance aſſigned them. King Cratilinth built a church for them, which was called the church of our SAVIOUR, in the Greek, σωτηρ, and is now by corruption SODOR, in Icolumbkill, one of the weſtern iſles. They were not employed, like the Druidical prieſts, in whoſe place they had come, in ſettling the worldly affairs of men, but gave themſelves wholly to divine ſervices, in inſtructing the ignorant, comforting the weak, adminiſtering the ſacraments, and training up diſciples to the ſame ſervices.

Whether theſe refugees were the ancient Culdees, or a different ſet of men, is not eaſily determined; nor would it be very material, though it could. The Culdees (from *cultores Dei*, worſhippers of God) flouriſhed at this time, they were called μοναχοι, or Monks, from the retired religious lives which they led; the cells into which they had retired, were, after their deaths, moſtly converted into churches, and to this day retain their names, as Cell, or Kill, or church of Marnock; Kil-Patrick, Kil-Malcolm, &c. The Culdees choſe ſuperintendants from among themſelves, whoſe office obliged them to travel the country, in order to ſee that every one diſcharged his duty properly: but they were utter ſtrangers to the lordly power of the modern prelate, having no proper dioceſe, and only a temporary ſuperintendency, with which they were veſted by their brethren, and to whom they were accountable. It was an inſtitution, in the ſpirit of it, the ſame with the privy cenſures of miniſters among Preſbyterians.

During the reigns of Cratilinth, and Fincormac his ſucceſſor, the Culdees were in a flouriſhing ſtate: but after the death of the latter, both the church and ſtate of Scotland went into diſorder. Maximus, the Roman Præfect, ſtirred up the Picts to aid him againſt the Scots, who were totally defeated, their King Ewing, with moſt part of the nobility, being ſlain. This overthrow was immediately ſucceeded by an edict commanding all the Scots, without exception, to depart the kingdom againſt a certain day, under pain of death. This drove them entirely into Ireland, and the weſtern iſles of Denmark and Norway, excepting a few eccleſiaſtics, who wandered about from place to place. This bloody battle was fought about the year 380, at the water of Dunne in Carrick.

After an exile of forty-four, or, according to Buchanan, twenty-ſeven years which the Scots endured, the Picts became ſenſible of their miſtake, in aſſiſting the Romans againſt them, and accordingly ſtrengthened the hands of the few who remained,

mained, and invited the fugitives back into their own land. Theſe were joined by ſome foreigners, and returned, with Fergus II. (then in Denmark) upon their head. Their enterpriſe was the more ſucceſsful, that at this time many of the Roman forces were called home. Their king was crowned with the uſual rites in his own country, and the news of his ſucceſs drew great numbers to him; inſomuch that he recovered all the country out of which the Scots had been expelled. Moſt of the foreign forces returned home, except the Iriſh, who poſſeſſed the country of Galloway for their reward. This ſucceſsful undertaking happened about the year 404, or, as others would have it, 420.

The Culdees were now recalled out of all their lurking places, reſtored to their livings, and had their churches repaired. At this time they poſſeſſed the people's eſteem to a higher degree than ever: but this tranquillity was again interrupted by a more formidable enemy than before. The Pelagian hereſy had now gained conſiderable ground in Britain; it is ſo called from Pelagius, a monk at Rome; its chief articles are, 1. That original ſin is not inherent. 2. That faith is a thing natural. 3. That good works done by our own ſtrength, of our own free-will, are agreeable to the law of God, and worthy of heaven. Whether all, or only part of theſe errors, then infected the Scottiſh church, is uncertain; but Celeſtine, then Biſhop of Rome, embraced this opportunity to ſend Palladius among them, who, joining with the orthodox of South Britain, reſtored peace to that part of the church, by ſuppreſſing the hereſy. Eugenius the Second, being deſirous that this church ſhould likewiſe be purged of the impure leaven, invited Palladius hither, who obtaining liberty from Celeſtine, and being enjoined to introduce the hierarchy as opportunity ſhould offer, came into Scotland, and ſucceeded ſo effectually in his commiſſion, as both to confute Pelagianiſm and new-model the government of the church.

The church of Scotland knew no officers veſted with preeminence above their brethren, nor had any thing to do with the Roman Pontiff, until the year 450. Bede ſays, that "Palladius was ſent unto the Scots, who believed in Chriſt, as their firſt biſhop *." Boetius likewiſe ſays, "That Palladius was the firſt of all who did bear holy magiſtracy among the Scots, being made biſhop by the great Pope." Fordun, in his Chronicle, tells that, "before the coming of Palladius, the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and miniſters of the ſacraments, Preſbyters only, or monks, following the cuſtoms of the primitive church †."

But

* Vid. Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. ch. 13. Buchan. Hiſt. book v.
† Book iii. cap. 8.

But wé are not even to fix the æra of dioceſan biſhops ſo early as this; for there were no ſuch office-bearers in the church of Scotland, until the reign of Malcolm II. in the eleventh century. During the firſt 1000 years after Chriſt, there were no divided dioceſes, nor ſuperiorities over others, but they governed in the church in common with Preſbyters; ſo that they were no more than nominally biſhops, poſſeſſing little or nothing of that lordly dignity, which they now, and for a long time paſt have enjoyed. Spottiſwood (hiſtory, p. 29.) himſelf teſtifies, that the Scottiſh biſhops, before the eleventh century, exerciſed their functions differently in every place to which they came. Palladius may be ſaid to have rather laid the foundation of the after degeneracy of the church of Scotland, than to have built that ſuperſtructure of corruption and idolatry, which afterwards prevailed, becauſe ſhe continued for near two hundred years in a ſtate, comparatively pure and unſpotted, when we caſt our eyes on the following times.

About the end of the ſixth and beginning of the ſeventh century, a number of pious and wiſe men flouriſhed in the country, among whom was Kentigern, commonly called Mungo. Some of theſe perſons were employed by Oſwald, a Northumbrian King, to inſtruct his people; they are repreſented by Bede, as eminent for their love to God, and knowledge of the holy ſcriptures: the light of the goſpel, by their means, broke into other parts of the Saxon dominions, which long maintained an oppoſition to the growing uſurpation of the church of Rome, which after the middle of this century was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Auſtin's diſciples.

Beſides theſe men, the church of Scotland at this time ſent many other worthy and ſucceſsful miſſionaries into foreign parts, particularly France and Germany. Thus was Scotland early privileged, and thus were her privileges improven: But ſoon "the gold became dim, and the moſt fine gold was changed."

Popery came now by degrees to ſhow her horrid head; the aſſiduity of Auſtin, and his diſciples in England, was attended with melancholy conſequences to Scotland, by fomenting diviſions, corrupting her princes with Romiſh principles, and inattention to the lives of her clergy, the Papal power ſoon came to be univerſally acknowledged. In the ſeventh century, a hot conteſt aroſe, betwixt Auſtin and his diſciples on the one part, and the Scots and the northern Saxons on the other, about the time of keeping Eaſter, immerſing three times in baptiſm, ſhaving of prieſts, &c.; which theſe laſt would not receive, nor ſubmit to the authority that impoſed them: each refuſed miniſterial communion with the other party, until an arbitral deciſion was given by Oſway, king of

the

the Northumbrians, at Whitby in Yorkſhire, in favour of the Romaniſts, when the opinions of the Scots were exploded, and the modiſh fooleries of Papal hierarchy were eſtabliſhed. This deciſion, however, was far from putting an end to the confuſion which this diſſenſion had occaſioned; the Romaniſts urged their rites with rigour, the others rather choſe to yield their places than conform. Their diſcouragements daily increaſed, as the clerical power was augmented: in the year 886, they obtained the act exempting them from taxes, and all civil proſecutions before temporal judges, and ordaining that all matters concerning them ſhould be tried by their biſhops, who were at this time veſted with thoſe powers, which are now in the hands of commiſſaries, reſpecting matrimonial cauſes, teſtaments, &c. They were likewiſe, by the ſame ſtatute, impowered to make canons, try heretics, &c.; and all future kings were ordained to take an oath at their coronation, for maintaining theſe privileges to the church. The Convention of Eſtates which paſſed this act was held at Forfar, in the reign of that too indulgent prince, Gregory.

Malcolm III. Alexander, David, &c. ſucceſſively ſupported this dignity, by erecting particular biſhopricks, abbeys, and monaſteries; the ſame ſuperſtitious zeal ſeized the nobility of both ſexes, ſome giving a third, others more, and others their whole eſtates, for the ſupport of pontifical pride and ſpiritual tyranny; which ſoon became inſupportable, and opened the eyes of the nation, ſo that they diſcovered their miſtake in raiſing the clerical authority to ſuch a height. Accordingly, we find the nobles complaining of it to Alexander III. who reigned after the middle of the thirteenth century; but he was ſo far from being able to afford them redreſs, that when they were excommunicated by the church on account of this complaint, to prevent greater evils, he was obliged to cauſe the nobility ſatisfy both the avarice and arrogance of the clergy, who had now reſolved upon and begun a journey to Rome, with a view to raiſe as great commotions in Scotland, as Thomas Becket had lately made in England.

The Pope's power was now generally acknowledged over Chriſtendom, particularly in our nation, for which, in return, the church of Scotland was declared free from all foreign ſpiritual juriſdiction, that of the "Apoſtolic ſee only excepted." This bull was occaſioned by an attempt of one Roger, Biſhop of York, in the year 1159, to raiſe himſelf to the dignity of Metropolitan of Scotland, and who found means to be Legate of this kingdom, but loſt that office upon the remonſtrance of the Scottiſh clergy; which likewiſe procured the above bull in their favour, with many other favours of a

like

like nature at this time conferred upon them, by all which they were exempted from any other juriſdiction than that of Rome; inſomuch that we find Pope Boniface VIII. commanding Edward of England to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt the Scots, alledging that "the ſovereignty of Scotland belonged to the church;" which claim ſeems to have been founded in the Papal appointment for the unction of the Scots kings, which was firſt uſed on King Edgar, A. D. 1098. and at that time regarded by the people as a new mark of royalty; but which, as it was the appointment of the Pope, was really the mark of the beaſt.

There were now in Scotland all orders of Monks and Friars, Templars, or Red Monks, Trinity Monks of Aberdeen, Ciſternian Monks, Carmelite, Black and Grey Friars, Carthuſians, Dominicans, Franciſcans, Jacobins, Benedictines, &c.; which ſhows to what a height Antichriſt had raiſed his head in our land, and how readily all his oppreſſive meaſures were complied with by all ranks.

But the reader muſt not think, that during the period we have now reviewed, there were none to oppoſe this torrent of ſuperſtition and idolatry; for from the firſt appearance of the Romiſh Antichriſt in this kingdom, God wanted not witneſſes for the truth, who boldly ſtood forth for the defence of the bleſſed and pure goſpel of Chriſt. Mention is firſt made of Clemens and Samſon, two famous Culdees, who in the ſeventh century ſupported the authority of Chriſt as the only king and head of his church, againſt the uſurped power of Rome, and who rejected the ſuperſtitious rites of Antichriſt, as contrary to the ſimplicity of goſpel-inſtitutions. The ſucceeding age was no leſs remarkable for learned and pious men, to whom Scotland gave birth, and whoſe praiſe was in the churches abroad; particularly Joannes Scotus, who wrote a book upon the euchariſt, condemned by Leo IX. in the year 1030, long after his death. In the ninth century, a Convention of Eſtates was held at Scoon for the reformation of the clergy, their lives and converſations being at that time a reproach to common decency and good manners, not to ſay piety and religion. The remedies provided at this Convention, diſcover the nature of the diſeaſe. It was ordained, that church-men ſhould reſide upon their charge; that they ſhould not intermeddle with ſecular affairs, but inſtruct the people, and be good examples in their converſations; that they ſhould not keep hawks, hounds, nor horſes, for their pleaſure, &c. And if they failed in the obſervance of theſe injunctions, they were to be fined for the firſt, and depoſed for the ſecond tranſgreſſion. Theſe laws were made under King

Conſtantine II. but his ſucceſſor Gregory rendered them abortive by his indulgence. The age following this is not remarkable for witneſſes to the truth; but hiſtorians are agreed, that there were ſtill ſome of the Culdees, who lived and miniſtered apart from the Romaniſts, and taught the people that Chriſt was the only propitiation for ſin, and that his blood could only waſh them from the guilt of it, in oppoſition to the indulgences and pardons of the Pope. Mr Alexander Shields ſays, that the Culdees tranſmitted their teſtimony to the Lollards *; and Pope John XXII. in his bull for anointing King Robert Bruce, complains that there were many heretics in Scotland; ſo that we may ſafely affirm, there never was any very great period of time without witneſſes for the truth, and againſt the groſs corruptions of the church of Rome. Some of our kings themſelves oppoſed the Pope's ſupremacy, and prohibited his Legates from entering their dominions; the moſt remarkable inſtance of this kind is that of Robert Bruce. After his having defeated the Engliſh at Bannockburn, they became ſuppliants to the Pope for his mediation; who accordingly ſent a Legate into Scotland, propoſing a ceſſation of arms, till the Pope ſhould hear and decide the quarrel betwixt the two crowns, that he might be informed of the right which Edward had to the crown of Scotland. To this King Robert replied, "That the Pope could not be ignorant of that buſineſs, becauſe it had been often explained to his predeceſſors, in the hearing of many cardinals then alive, who could tell him, if they pleaſed, what inſolent anſwers Pope Boniface received from the Engliſh, while they were deſired to deſiſt from oppreſſing the Scots: And now (ſaid he) when it hath pleaſed God to give us the better by ſome victories, by which we have not only recovered our own, but can make them live as good neighbours, they have recourſe to ſuch treaties, ſeeking to gain time in order to fall upon us again with greater force: But in this his Holineſs muſt excuſe me, for I will not be ſo unwiſe as to let the advantage I have ſlip out of my hand." The Legate regarding this anſwer as contemptuous, interdicted the kingdom, and departed: but King Robert, paying little regard to ſuch proceedings, followed hard after the Legate, and, entering England, waſted all the adjacent countries with fire and ſword.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the reformation from Popery began to dawn in Scotland; at this time there was Pope againſt Pope, nay, ſometimes three of them at once, all excommunicating one another; which ſchiſm laſted for about thirty years, and by an over-ruling providence contributed much to the downfall of Antichriſt, and to the revival

* Hind let looſe, period II. p. 11. firſt edit.

of real religion and learning in Scotland, and many parts in Europe; for many embracing the opportunity now afforded to them, began to ſpeak openly againſt the hereſy, tyranny, and immorality of the clergy. Among thoſe who preached publicly againſt theſe evils, were John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague in Bohemia, John Wickliff in England, and John Reſby, an Engliſhman and ſcholar of Wickliff's, in Scotland, who came hither about the year 1407, and was called in queſtion for ſome doctrines which he taught againſt the Pope's ſupremacy; he was condemned to the fire, which he endured with great conſtancy. About ten years after, one Paul Craw, a Bohemian, and follower of Huſs, was accuſed of hereſy before ſuch as were then called Doctors of Theology. The articles of charge were, that he followed Huſs and Wickliff in the opinion of the ſacrament of the ſupper, who denied that the ſubſtance of bread and wine were changed by virtue of any words, or that auricular confeſſion to prieſts, or praying to ſaints departed, were lawful. He was committed to the ſecular judge, who condemned him to the fire at St Andrew's, where he ſuffered, being gagged when led to the ſtake, that he might not have the opportunity of making his confeſſion. Both the above-mentioned martyrs ſuffered under Henry Wardlaw, Biſhop of St Andrew's, who founded that univerſity, 1412; which might have done him honour, had he not imbrued his hands in innocent blood.

Theſe returnings of the goſpel-light were not confined to St Andrew's, but Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham, and other places in the weſt of Scotland, were alſo thus favoured about the ſame time; for we find that Robert Blackatter, the firſt archbiſhop of Glaſgow, *anno* 1494, cauſed ſummon before King James IV. and his great council at Glaſgow, George Campbell of Ceſſnock, Adam Reid of Barſkimming, and a great many others, moſtly perſons of diſtinction, opprobrioufly called the Lollards of Kyle, from one Lollard, an eminent preacher among the ancient Waldenſes, for maintaining, that images ought not to be worſhipped; that the relicts of ſaints ſhould not be adored, &c. But they anſwered their accuſers with ſuch conſtancy and boldneſs, that it was judged moſt prudent to diſmiſs them with an admonition, to content themſelves with the faith of the church, and to beware of new doctrines.

Thus have we brought this ſummary of church-affairs in Scotland down to the time of Mr Patrick Hamilton, whoſe life ſtands upon the head of this collection: for he was the next ſufferer on account of oppoſition to Romiſh tyranny and ſuperſtition in our country.

THE

THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THE SCOTS WORTHIES.

Mr PATRICK HAMILTON.

HE was born about the year of our Lord 1503, and was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his father, and to the Duke of Albany by his mother; he was alſo related to King James V. of Scotland. He was early educated with a deſign for future high preferment, and had the abbey of Ferm given him, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies; which he did with great aſſiduity.

In order to complete this laudable deſign, he reſolved to travel into Germany. The fame of the univerſity of Wittemberg was then very great, and drew many to it from diſtant places, among which our Hamilton was one. He was the firſt who introduced public diſputations upon faith and works, and ſuch theological queſtions, into the univerſity of Marpurg, in which he was aſſiſted by Francis Lambert; by whoſe converſation he profited not a little.—Here he became acquainted with theſe eminent reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon, beſides other learned men of their ſociety. By theſe diſtinguiſhed maſters he was inſtructed in the knowledge of the true religion, which he had little opportunity to become acquainted with in his own country, becauſe the ſmall remains of it which were in Scotland at this time, were under the yoke of oppreſſion which we have already ſhown in the cloſe of the introduction.—He made an amazing proficiency in this moſt important ſtudy, and became ſoon as zealous in the profeſſion of the true faith, as he had been diligent to attain the knowledge of it.—This drew the eyes of many upon him; and while they were waiting with impatience to ſee what part he would act, he came to this reſolution, to return into his own country, and there, in the face of all dangers, to communicate the light which he had received.

Accordingly, being as yet a youth, and not much paſt twenty-three years of age, he began ſowing the ſeed of God's word wherever he came, expoſing the corruptions of the Romiſh church, and pointing out the errors which had crept into the Chriſtian religion as profeſſed in Scotland.—He was favourably received and followed by many, unto whom he readily "ſhowed the way of God more perfectly." His reputation as a ſcholar, and courteous demeanour, contributed not a little to his uſefulneſs in this good work.

The city of St Andrew's was at this time the grand rendezvous of the Romiſh clergy, and may, with no impropiety, be called the metropolis of the kingdom of darkneſs. James Beaton was archbiſhop, Hugh Spence dean of divinity, John Waddel rector, James Simſon official, Thomas Ramſay canon and dean of the abbey, with the ſeveral ſuperiors of the different orders of monks and friars.—It could not be expected that Mr Hamilton's conduct would be long concealed from ſuch a body as this. Their reſentment againſt him ſoon roſe to the utmoſt heights of perſecuting rage; particularly the Archbiſhop, who was Chancellor of the kingdom, and otherwiſe very powerful, became his inveterate enemy. But being not leſs politic than cruel, the Archbiſhop concealed his wicked deſign againſt him, until he had drawn him into the ambuſh prepared for him, which he effected by prevailing on him to attend a conference at St Andrew's.—Being come thither, Alexander Campbell, prior of the black friars, who had been appointed to exert his faculties in reclaiming him, had ſeveral private interviews with him, in which he ſeemed to acknowledge the force of Mr Hamilton's objections againſt the prevailing conduct of the clergy, and errors of the Romiſh church. Such perſuaſions as Campbell uſed to bring him back to Popery, had rather the tendency to confirm him in the truth. The Archbiſhop and inferior clergy appeared to make conceſſions to him, allowing that many things ſtood in need of reformation, which they could wiſh had been brought about. Whether they were ſincere in theſe acknowledgments, or only intended to conceal their bloody deſigns, and render the innocent and unſuſpecting victim of their rage more ſecure, is a queſtion to which this anſwer may be returned, That had they been ſincere, the conſciouſneſs that Mr Hamilton ſpoke truth, would perhaps have warded off the blow for at leaſt ſome longer time, or divided their councils and meaſures againſt him.—That neither of theſe was the caſe, will now appear. He was apprehended under night, and committed priſoner to the caſtle: at the ſame time the young King was, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the clergy, prevailed upon to undertake

dertake a pilgrimage to St Dothefs in Rofs-fhire, that he might be out of the way of any applications made to him for the life of Mr Hamilton, which there was reafon to believe would be granted. This meafure affords full proof, that notwithftanding the friendly conferences which they kept up with him for fome time, they had refolved on his ruin from the beginning: but fuch inftances of Popifh diffembling were not new, even in Mr Hamilton's time.

The next day after his impriſonment, he was brought before the Archbifhop and his convention, and there charged with maintaining and propagating fundry heretical opinions; and though articles of the utmoft importance had been debated betwixt him and them, they reftricted their charge to fuch trifles as *pilgrimage*, *purgatory*, *praying to faints*, and *for the dead*; perhaps becaufe thefe were the grand pillars upon which Antichrift built his empire, being the moft lucrative doctrines ever invented by men. We muft, however, take notice, that Spottifwood, afterwards archbifhop of that fee, affigns the following reafons for his fuffering, 1. That the corruption of fin remains in children after their baptifm. 2. That no man by the power of his free-will can do any good. 3. That no man is without fin fo long as he liveth. 4. That every true Chriſtian may know himfelf to be in a ſtate of grace. 5. That a man is not juſtified by works, but by faith only. 6. That good works make not a man good, but that a good man doth good works, and that an ill man doth ill works; yet the fame ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man. 7. That faith, hope, and charity, are fo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all. 8. That God is the cauſe of fin in this fenſe, that he withdraweth his grace from man; and grace withdrawn, he cannot but fin. Theſe articles, with the following, make up the whole charge, (1.) That auricular confeffion is not neceffary to falvation. (2.) That actual penance cannot purchaſe the remiffion of fin. (3.) That there is no purgatory, and that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Chriſt's paſſion. (4.) That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every prieſt hath as much power as he.——For theſe articles, and becaufe he refuſed to abjure them, he was condemned as an obſtinate heretic, and delivered to the ſecular power by the Archbifhops of St Andrew's and Glaſgow, three biſhops, and fourteen underlings, who all ſet their hands to the ſentence; which, that it might have the greater authority, was likewiſe ſubſcribed by every perſon of note in the univerſity, among whom the Earl of Caſſillis was one, then not exceeding thirteen years of age. The ſentence follows as given by Mr Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, vol. II. p. 1108,

" *CHRISTI*

"*CHRISTI nomine invocato*: We James, by the mercy of God, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Primate of Scotland, with the counſel, decree, and authority, of the moſt reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, profeſſors of the holy ſcripture, and maſters of the univerſity, aſſiſting us for the time, ſitting in judgement, within our metropolitan church of St Andrew's, in the cauſe of heretical pravity, againſt Mr Patrick Hamilton, abbot or penſionary of Ferm, being ſummoned to appear before us, to anſwer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and ſo appearing before us, and accuſed, the merits of the cauſe being ripely weighed, diſcuſſed, and underſtood, by faithful inquiſition made in Lent laſt paſſed: We have found the ſame Mr Hamilton many ways infamed with hereſy, diſputing, holding and maintaining divers hereſies of Martin Luther and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils and moſt famous univerſities. And he being under the ſame infamy, we decerning before him to be ſummoned and accuſed upon the premiſes, he, of evil mind, (as may be preſumed), paſſed to other parts, forth of the realm, ſuſpected and noted of hereſy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licience or privilege, hath preſumed to preach wicked hereſy.

"We have found alſo, that he hath affirmed, publiſhed, and taught, divers opinions of Luther, and wicked hereſies, after that he was ſummoned to appear before us and our council: That man hath no free-will: That man is in ſin ſo long as he liveth: That children, incontinent after their baptiſm, are ſinners: All Chriſtians that be worthy to be called Chriſtians, do know that they are in grace: No man is juſtified by works, but by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: That faith, hope, and charity, are ſo knit, that he that hath the one hath the reſt, and he that wanteth one of them wanteth the reſt, &c. with divers other hereſies and deteſtable opinions; and hath perſiſted ſo obſtinate in the ſame, that by no counſel or perſuaſion he may be drawn therefrom, to the way of our right faith.

"All theſe premiſes being conſidered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counſel and advice of the profeſſors of the holy ſcripture, men of law, and others aſſiſting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare, the ſaid Mr Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confeſſing, and maintaining of the foreſaid hereſies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and moſt famous univerſities), to be

an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving, and sentencing him to be deprived, of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St Andrew's, the last day of the month of February, *anno* 1527, being present, the most Reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords, Gawand archbishop of Glasgow, George bishop of Dunkelden, John bishop of Brecham, William bishop of Dunblane, Patrick prior of St Andrew's, David abbot of Aberbrothock, George abbot of Duntermline, Alexander abbot of Cambuskeneth, Henry abbot of Lendors, John prior of Pittenweeme, the dean and subdean of Glasgow, Mr Hugh Spence, Thomas Ramsay, Allan Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and the people."

The same day that this doom was pronounced, he was also condemned by the secular power; and in the afternoon of that same day, (for they were afraid of an application to the King on his behalf), he was hurried to the stake, the fire being prepared, immediately after dinner, before the old college. Being come to the place of martyrdom, he put off his clothes, and gave them to a servant who had been with him a long time, saying, "This stuff will not help me in the fire, yet will do thee some good; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgement, yet it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit who deny Christ before this wicked generation." Having so said, he commended his soul into the hands of God, with his eyes fixed towards heaven, and being bound to the stake in the midst of some coals, timber, and other combustibles, a train of powder was made, with a design to kindle the fire, but did not succeed, the explosion only schorching one of his hands and face. In this situation he remained until more powder was brought from the castle, during which time his comfortable and godly speeches were often interrupted, particularly by Friar Campbell, calling upon him "to recant, pray to our Lady, and say, *Salve Regina.*" Upon being repeatedly disturbed in this manner, by Campbell, Mr Hamilton said, "Thou wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much didst thou confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgement-seat of Christ." By this time the fire

was

was kindled, and the noble martyr yielded his ſoul to God, crying out, "How long, O Lord, ſhall darkneſs overwhelm this realm? How long wilt thou ſuffer this tyranny of men?" And then ended his ſpeech, ſaying, with Stephen, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit."

Friar Campbell became ſoon after diſtracted, and died within a year after Mr Hamilton's martyrdom, under the moſt awful apprehenſions of the Lord's indignation againſt him.—The Popiſh clergy abroad congratulated their friends in Scotland, upon their zeal for the Romiſh faith diſcovered in the above tragedy. But it rather ſerved the cauſe of Reformation than retarded it, eſpecially when the people began to compare deliberately the behaviour of Mr Hamilton and Friar Campbell together, they were induced to inquire more narrowly into the truth than before. The reader will find a very particular account of the doctrines maintained by Mr Hamilton, in Knox's Hiſtory of the Reformation of Scotland, nigh the beginning.

MR GEORGE WISHART.

THIS gentleman was a brother of the Laird of Pittarro in Mearns, and was educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, where his diligence and progreſs in uſeful learning ſoon made him to be reſpected. From an ardent deſire to promote the truth in his own country, he returned to it in the ſummer of 1544, and began teaching a ſchool in the town of Montroſe; which he kept for ſome time with great applauſe. He is particularly celebrated for his uncommon eloquence, and agreeable manner of communication. The ſequel of this narrative will inform the reader, that he poſſeſſed the ſpirit of prophecy to an extraordinary degree, and was at the ſame time humble, modeſt, charitable, and patient, even to admiration. One of his own ſcholars gives the following picture of him, "That he was a man of a tall ſtature, black hair'd, long bearded, of a graceful perſonage, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and deſirous to learn; that he ordinarily wore a French cap, a frieze gown, plain black hoſe, and white bands and hand-cuffs; that he frequently gave away ſeveral parts of his apparel to the poor. In his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a-day, and faſting every fourth day; his lodging, bedding, and ſuch other circumſtances, were correſpondent to the things already mentioned." But as theſe particulars are rather curious than inſtructive, we ſhall ſay no more of them.

After he left Montroſe, he came to Dundee, where he acquired ſtill greater fame, in public lectures on the epiſtle to the

the Romans; insomuch that the Romish clergy began to think seriously on the consequences which they saw would inevitably ensue, if he was suffered to go on, pulling down that fabric of superstition and idolatry, which they with so much pains had reared; they were particularly disgusted at the reception which he met with in Dundee, and immediately set about projecting his ruin.

From the time that Mr Patrick Hamilton suffered, until this period, Papal tyranny reigned by fire and faggot without controul. In the year 1539, Cardinal David Beaton succeeded his uncle in the see of St Andrew's, and carefully trod the path his uncle had marked out. To show his own greatness, and to recommend himself to his superior at Rome, he accused Sir John Borthwick of heresy, whose goods were confiscated, and himself burnt in effigy (for being forewarned of his danger, he had escaped out of the country). After this he suborned a priest to forge a will of King James V. who died about this time, declaring himself, with the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray, to be Regents of the kingdom The cheat being discovered, the Earl of Arran was elected Governor, and the Cardinal was committed prisoner to the castle of Dalkeith; he soon found means to escape from his confinement, and prevailed with the Regent to break all his promises to the party who had elected him to that office, and to join with him in imbruing his hands in the blood of the saints. Accordingly, several professors of the town of Perth were arraigned, condemned, hanged, and drowned; others were sent into banishment, and some were strangled in private. We have departed thus far from the course of our narrative, to shew the reader, that the vacancies betwixt the respective lives in this collection, were as much remarkable for persecution as the particular instances which are set before him in the lives themselves.

It was this cardinal who, incensed at Mr Wishart's success in Dundee, prevailed with one Robert Mill (formerly a professor of the truth, and who had been a sufferer on that account, but who was now a man of considerable influence in that town) to give Mr Wishart a charge in the Queen and Governor's names, to trouble them no more with his preaching in that place. This commission was executed by Mill one day, in public, just as Mr Wishart had ended his sermon. Upon hearing it, he kept silence for a little, with his eyes turned towards heaven, and then casting them on the speaker, with a sorrowful countenance, he said, "God is my witness, that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more grievous unto me than it is unto yourselves;

but ſure I am, to reject the word of God, and drive away his meſſengers, is not the way to ſave you from trouble, but to bring you into it: When I am gone, God will ſend you meſſengers, who will not be afraid either of burning or baniſhment. I have, at the hazard of my life, remained among you, preaching the word of ſalvation; and now, ſince you yourſelves refuſe me, I muſt leave my innocence to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if unexpected trouble come upon you, remember this is the cauſe, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful." Theſe words being pronounced, he came down from the pulpit, or preaching place. The Earl of Marſhall, and ſome other noblemen who were preſent at the ſermon, intreated him earneſtly to go to the north with them; but he excuſed himſelf, and took journey for the weſt country, where he was gladly received by many.

Being come to the town of Ayr, he began to preach the goſpel with great freedom and faithfulneſs. But Dunbar, the then Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, being informed of the great concourſe of people who crowded to his ſermons, at the inſtigation of Cardinal Beaton, went to Ayr with the reſolution to apprehend him; the biſhop firſt took poſſeſſion of the church, to prevent him from preaching in it. The news of this brought Alexander Earl of Glencairn, and ſome gentlemen of the neighbourhood, immediately to the town; they offered to put Mr Wiſhart in the church, but he would not conſent, ſaying, "The biſhop's ſermon would not do much hurt, and that, if they pleaſed, he would go to the market-croſs;" which he did, and preached with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſeveral of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were converted on that occaſion. During the time Mr Wiſhart was thus employed, the biſhop was haranguing ſome of his underlings and paraſites in the church; having no ſermon to give them, he promiſed to be better provided againſt a future occaſion, and ſpeedily left the town.

Mr Wiſhart continued with the gentlemen of Kyle after the Archbiſhop's departure, and being deſired to preach next Lord's day at the church of Mauchlin, he went thither with that deſign; but the ſheriff of Ayr had, in the night-time, put a garriſon of ſoldiers in the church to keep him out. Hugh Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, with others of the pariſh, were exceedingly offended at ſuch impiety, and would have entered the church by force; but Mr Wiſhart would not ſuffer it, ſaying, "Brethren, it is the word of peace which I preach unto you; the blood of no man ſhall be ſhed for it this day; Jeſus Chriſt is as mighty in the fields as in the church, and he himſelf

himſelf, while he lived in the fleſh, preached oftner in the deſart and upon the ſea ſide, than in the temple of Jeruſalem." Upon this the people were appeaſed, and went with him to the edge of a muir on the ſouth-weſt ſide of Mauchlin; where having placed himſelf upon a ditch-dike, he preached to a great multitude who reſorted to him; he continued ſpeaking for more than three hours, God working wondrouſly by him; inſomuch that Laurence Rankin, the Laird of Sheld, a very profane perſon, was converted by his means; the tears ran from his eyes, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent; and the whole of his after-life witneſſed that his profeſſion was without hypocriſy. While in this country, Mr Wiſhart often preached with moſt remarkable ſucceſs, at the church of Galſton and other places. At this time, and in this part of the country, it might be truly ſaid, That "the harveſt was GREAT, but the labourers were FEW."

After he had been about a month thus employed in Kyle, he was informed, that the plague had broke out in Dundee the fourth day after he had left it; and that it ſtill continued to rage in ſuch a manner, that great numbers were ſwept off every day. This affected him ſo much, that he reſolved to return again unto them: Accordingly, he took leave of his friends in the weſt, who were filled with ſorrow at his departure. The next day after his arrival at Dundee, he cauſed intimation to be made that he would preach; and for that purpoſe choſe his ſtation upon the head of the eaſt gate, the infected perſons ſtanding without, and thoſe that were whole within: his text was Pſalm cvii. 20. "He ſent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their deſtruction." By this diſcourſe he ſo comforted the people, that they thought themſelves happy in having ſuch a preacher, and intreated him to remain with them while the plague continued; which he complied with, preaching often, and taking care that the poor ſhould not want neceſſaries more than the rich; in doing which he expoſed himſelf to the infection, even where it was moſt malignant, without reſerve.

During all this his ſworn adverſary the Cardinal had his eye cloſe upon him, and bribed a prieſt called Sir John Wighton, to aſſaſſinate him: he was to make the attempt as Mr Wiſhart came down from the preaching place, with the expectation of eſcaping among the crowd after the deed was done. To effect this he poſted himſelf at the foot of the ſteps with his gown looſe, and a dagger under it in his hand. Upon Mr Wiſhart's approach, he looked ſternly upon the prieſt, aſking him, What he intended to do? and inſtantly clapped his hand upon the hand of the prieſt that held the dagger,

and took it from him. Upon which he openly confeſſing his deſign, a tumult immediately enſued, and the ſick without the gate ruſhed in, crying to have the aſſaſſin delivered to them. Then Mr Wiſhart interpoſed, and defended him from their violence, telling them, he had done him no harm; and that ſuch as injured the one injured the other likewiſe; ſo the prieſt eſcaped without any harm.

The plague was now conſiderably abated, and he determined to pay a viſit to the town of Montroſe, intending to go from thence to Edinburgh, to meet the gentlemen of the weſt. While he was at Montroſe, he adminiſtered the ſacrament of our Lord's ſupper in both kinds of the elements, and preached with ſucceſs. Here he received a letter directed to him from his intimate friend the Laird of Kinnier, acquainting him, that he had taken a ſudden ſickneſs, and requeſting him to come to him with all diligence. Upon this he immediately ſet out on his journey, attended by ſome honeſt friends of Montroſe, who out of affection would accompany him part of the way. They had not travelled above a quarter of a mile, when all of a ſudden he ſtopped, ſaying to the company, "I am forbidden by God to go this journey. Will ſome of you be pleaſed to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill), and ſee what you find; for I apprehend there is a plot againſt my life:" whereupon he returned to the town, and they who went forward to the place found about ſixty horſemen ready to intercept him: By this the whole plot came to light: they found that the letter had been forged; and upon their telling Mr Wiſhart what they had ſeen, he replied, "I know that I ſhall end my life by the hands of that wicked man, (meaning the Cardinal), but it will not be after this manner."

The time he had appointed for meeting the weſt-country gentlemen at Edinburgh, drawing near, he undertook that journey, much againſt the inclination and advice of the Laird of Dun. The firſt night after leaving Montroſe, he lodged at Innergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with one James Watſon a faithful friend, where, being laid in bed, he was obſerved to riſe a little after midnight, and to go out into an adjacent garden, that he might give vent to his ſighs and groans without being obſerved; but being followed by two men, William Spalding and John Watſon, at a diſtance, in order that they might obſerve his motions, they ſaw him proſtrate himſelf upon the ground, weeping and making ſupplication for near an hour, and then return to his reſt. As they lay in the ſame apartment with him, they took care to return before him; and upon his coming into the room, they

aſked

asked him, (as if ignorant of all that had past), where he had been? But he made no answer, and they ceased their interrogations. In the morning they asked him again, Why he rose in the night, and what was the cause of such sorrow? (for they told him all that they had seen him do); he answered, with a dejected countenance, "I wish you had been in your beds, which had been more for your ease, for I was scarce well occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds further, and to communicate some comfort unto them, he said, "I will tell you, that I assuredly know my travail is nigh an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I may not shrink when the battle waxeth most hot."—Hearing these words, they burst out into tears, saying, That was but small comfort to them. To this he replied, "God will send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the apostles; the house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very cope stone; neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once triumph in despite of the devil; but, alas, if the people become unthankful! the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible." After this prediction, which was accomplished in such a remarkable manner afterwards, he proceeded on his journey, and arrived at Leith about the 10th of December, where being disappointed of a meeting with the west-country gentlemen, he kept himself retired for some days, and then became very uneasy and discouraged, and being asked the reason, he replied, "I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew himself before men." By this they understood that he desired to preach, and told him, that they would gladly hear him; but the danger into which he would throw himself thereby, prevented them from advising him to it. He answered, "If you and others will hear me next Sabbath, I will preach in Leith, let God provide for me as best pleaseth him:" which he did, upon the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. After sermon, his friends advised him to leave Leith, because the Regent and Cardinal were soon to be i Edinburgh, and that his situation would be dangerous on that account; he complied with this advice, and resided with the Lairds of Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston, by turns. The following Sabbath he preached at Invereſk, both fore and after noon, to a crowded audience; among whom was Sir George Douglas, who after the sermon publicly said, "I know that the Governor and Cardinal shall hear that I have

been

been at this preaching, (for they were now come to Edinburgh): Say unto them, that I will avow it, and will not only maintain the doctrine which I have heard, but also the person of the teacher, to the uttermost of my power;" which open and candid declaration was very grateful to the whole congregation. During the time of this sermon, Mr Wishart perceived two grey friars standing in the entry of the church, and whispering to every person that entered the door; he called out to the people to make room for them, because, said he, "perhaps they come to learn;" and then addressed them, "requesting them to come forward and hear the word of truth;" but they still continued to trouble the people; upon which he reproved them in the following manner: "O! ye servants of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? depart, and take this for your portion, God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate."

The two Sabbaths following, he preached at Tranent; and in all his sermons, after leaving Montrose, he more or less hinted that his ministry was near an end. The next place he preached at was Haddington, where his congregation was at first very throng, but the following day very few attended him; which was thought to be owing to the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, who, at the instigation of the Cardinal, had inhibited the people from attending him; for his authority was very considerable in that part of the country. At this time he received a letter from the gentlemen of the west, declaring, that they could not keep the diet appointed at Edinburgh. This, with the reflection that so few attended his ministrations at Haddington, grieved him exceedingly. He called upon Mr Knox, who then attended him, and told him, that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men were become weary of God. Notwithstanding the anxiety and discouragement which he laboured under, he went immediately to the pulpit; and, sharply rebuking the people of that town for their neglect of the gospel, he told them, "That sore and fearful should be the plagues that should ensue; that fire and sword should waste them; that strangers should possess their houses, and chace them from their habitations."—This prediction was soon after verified, when the English took and possessed that town, while the French and Scots besieged it in the year 1548. This was the last sermon which he preached; in which, as had for some time been usual with him, he spoke of his death as near at hand; and after it

was over, he bade his acquaintance farewell, as if it had been for ever. He went to Ormiſton, accompanied by the Lairds of Brunſton and Ormiſton, and Sir John Sandilands, the younger of Calder. Mr Knox was alſo deſirous to have gone with him; but Mr Wiſhart deſired him to return, ſaying, "One is enough for a ſacrifice at this time."

Being come to Ormiſton, he entered into ſome ſpiritual converſation in the family, particularly concerning the happy ſtate of God's children, appointed the 51ſt pſalm, according to an old verſion then in uſe, to be ſung; and then recommended the company to God. He went to bed ſome time ſooner than ordinary: about midnight the Earl of Bothwell beſet the houſe, ſo as none could eſcape; and then called upon the Laird, declaring the deſign to him, and intreating him not to hold out, for it would be to no purpoſe, becauſe the Cardinal and Governor were coming with all their train; but if he would deliver Mr Wiſhart up, Bothwell promiſed upon his honour, that no evil ſhould befall him. Being inveigled with this, and conſulting with Mr Wiſhart, who requeſted that the gates ſhould be opened, ſaying, "God's will be done," the Laird complied. The Earl of Bothwell entered, with ſome gentlemen, who ſolemnly proteſted, That Mr Wiſhart ſhould receive no harm; but that he, viz. Bothwell, would either carry him to his own houſe, or return him again to Ormiſton in ſafety. Upon this promiſe, hands were ſtricken, and Mr Wiſhart went along with him to Elphiſton, where the Cardinal was; after which he was firſt carried to Edinburgh, then to the Earl of Bothwell's houſe, perhaps upon pretence of fufilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under to him; after which he was re-conducted to Edinburgh, where the Cardinal had now aſſembled a convocation of prelates, for reforming ſome abuſes, but without effect. Buchanan ſays, that he was apprehended by a party of horſe, detached by the Cardinal for that purpoſe; that at firſt the Laird of Ormiſton refuſed to deliver him up: upon which the Cardinal and Regent both poſted thither; but could not prevail, until the Earl of Bothwell was ſent for; who ſucceeded by flattery and fair promiſes, not one of which were fulfilled.

Mr Wiſhart remained at Edinburgh only a few days, until the blood-thirſty Cardinal prevailed with the Governor to deliver up this faithful ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt unto his tyranny; and was accordingly ſent to St Andrew's: And being adviſed to it by the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, he would have got a civil judge appointed to try him, if David Hamilton of Preſton, a kinſman to the Regent, had not remonſtrated againſt it; and repreſented the danger of attacking the ſervants

of

of God, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. This ſpeech, which Buchanan gives at large, affected the Governor in ſuch a manner, that he abſolutely refuſed the Cardinal's requeſt; upon which he replied, in anger, "That he had only ſent to him out of mere civility, without any need for it; for that he, with his clergy, had power ſufficient to bring Mr Wiſhart to condign puniſhment."—Thus was this ſervant of God left in the hands of that proud and mercileſs tyrant; the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the Governor's weakneſs.

Mr Wiſhart being now in St Andrew's, the Cardinal without delay cauſed to ſummon the biſhops and ſuperior clergy to meet at that place on the 27th of February 1546, to deliberate upon a queſtion about which he was already reſolved. The next day after this convocation, Mr Wiſhart received a ſummons in priſon, by the dean of the town, to anſwer tomorrow, for his heretical doctrine, before the judges. The next day the Cardinal went to the place of judgement, in the Abbey church, with a train of armed men, marching in warlike order; immediately Mr Wiſhart was ſent for from the ſea-tower, which was his priſon, and being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man aſked alms of him, to whom he threw his purſe. When he came before the Cardinal, John Wirnam, the ſub-prior, went up into the pulpit by appointment, and made a diſcourſe upon the nature of hereſy, from Matth. xiii.; which he did with great caution, and yet in ſuch a way as applied more juſtly to the accuſers, for he was a ſecret favourer of the truth. After him came up one John Lauder, a moſt virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Mr Wiſhart's accuſer. He pulled out a long roll of maledictory charges againſt Mr Wiſhart, and dealt out the Romiſh thunder ſo liberally, as terrified the ignorant by ſtanders, but did not in the leaſt diſcompoſe this meek ſervant of Chriſt. He was accuſed of diſobedience to the Governor's authority, for teaching that man had no free-will, and for contemning faſting, (all which he abſolutely refuſed), and for denying that there are ſeven ſacraments; that auricular confeſſion, extreme unction, and the ſacrament of the altar, ſo called, are ſacraments; that we ſhould pray to ſaints; and for ſaying, that it was neceſſary for every man to know and underſtand his baptiſm; that the Pope hath no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat fleſh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory; and that it is in vain to build coſtly churches to the honour of God, and for condemning conjuration, the vows of ſingle

life, the curſings of the holy church, &c. While Lauder was reading theſe accuſations, he had put himſelf into a moſt violent ſweat, frothing at the mouth, and calling Mr Wiſhart a runagate traitor, and demanded an anſwer; which he made in a ſhort and modeſt oration; at which they cried out with one conſent againſt him in a moſt tumultuous manner; by which he ſaw they were reſolved to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt extremity: he therefore appealed to a more equitable and impartial judge. Upon which Lauder, repeating the ſeveral titles of the Cardinal, aſked him, "If my Lord Cardinal was not an equitable judge?" Mr Wiſhart replied, "I do not refuſe him, but I deſire the word of God to be my judge, the Temporal Eſtates, with ſome of your Lordſhips, becauſe I am my Lord Governor's priſoner." After ſome ſcornful language thrown out both againſt him and the Governor, they proceeded to read the articles againſt him a ſecond time, and hear his anſwers; which he made with great ſolidity of judgement: After which they condemned him to be burnt as an heretic, paying no regard to his defences, nor to the emotions of their own conſciences, but thought that by killing him they ſhould do *God good ſervice.* Upon this reſolution, (for their final ſentence was not yet pronounced), Mr Wiſhart kneeled down, and prayed in the following manner.

"O immortal God, how long wilt thou ſuffer the rage of the ungodly? how long ſhall they exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants, who further thy word in this world, ſeeing they deſire to choke and deſtroy thy true doctrine and verity, by which thou haſt ſhewed thyſelf unto the world, which was drowned in blindneſs and ignorance of thy name? O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true ſervants muſt ſuffer, for thy name's ſake, both perſecution, affliction, and troubles, in this preſent life, which is but a ſhadow, as thy prophets and apoſtles have ſhewed us; but yet we deſire thee, merciful Father, that thou wouldſt preſerve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou haſt choſen from before the foundation of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life."

After this, the common people were removed until their definitive ſentence ſhould be pronounced; which being ſo ſimilar to Mr Hamilton's, need not here be inſerted. This being done, he was recommitted to the caſtle for that night. In his way thither, two friars came to him, requeſting him to make his confeſſion to them, which he refuſed; but deſired them to bring Mr Wirnam, who had preached that day, to him; who being come, after ſome diſcourſe with Mr Wiſhart, he aſked him, If he would receive the ſacrament of the Lord's

ſupper? Mr Wiſhart anſwered, "Moſt willingly, if I may have it adminiſtered according to Chriſt's inſtitution, under both kinds of bread and wine." Hereupon the ſub-prior went to the biſhops, and aſked, If they would permit the ſacrament to be given to the priſoner? But the Cardinal, in all their names, anſwered, That it was not reaſonable to give any ſpiritual benefit to an obſtinate heretic, condemned by the church.

All this night Mr Wiſhart ſpent in prayer, and next morning the captain of the caſtle gave him notice, that they had denied him the ſacrament, and at the ſame time invited him to breakfaſt with him; which Mr Wiſhart accepted, ſaying, "I will do that very willingly, and ſo much the rather, becauſe I perceive you to be a good Chriſtian, and a man fearing God." All things being ready, and the family aſſembled to breakfaſt, Mr Wiſhart, turning himſelf to the captain, ſaid, "I beſeech you, in the name of God, and for the love ye bear to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to be ſilent a little while, till I have made a ſhort exhortation, and bleſſed this bread which we are to eat, ſo that I may bid you farewell." The table being covered, and bread ſet upon it, he ſpake about the ſpace of half an hour, of the inſtitution of the ſupper, and of our Saviour's death and paſſion, exhorting thoſe who were preſent to mutual love and holineſs of life. Then, giving thanks, he brake the bread, diſtributing a part to thoſe about him, who were diſpoſed to communicate, intreating them to remember that Chriſt died for them, and to feed on it ſpiritually; then taking the cup, he bade them remember that Chriſt's blood was ſhed for them; and having taſted it himſelf, he delivered it unto them; and then concluding with thanſgiving and prayer, he told them, "That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life," and retired to his chamber.

Soon after, by the appointment of the Cardinal, two executioners came to him, and arraying him in a black linen coat they faſtened ſome bags of gun-powder about him, put a rope about his neck, a chain about his waiſt, and bound his hands behind his back; and in this dreſs they led him to the ſtake near the Cardinal's palace; oppoſite to the ſtake, they had placed the great guns of the caſtle, leſt any ſhould attempt to reſcue him. The fore-tower, which was immediately oppoſite to the fire, was hung with tapeſtry, and rich cuſhions were laid in the windows, for the eaſe of the Cardinal and prelates while they beheld the ſad ſpectacle. As he was going to the ſtake, it is ſaid, that two beggars aſked alms of him, and that he replied, "I want my hands wherewith I uſed to give you alms; but the merciful Lord vouchſafe to give you all neceſ-

ſarie

ſaries, both for ſoul and body." After this, the friars came about him, urging him to *pray to our Lady*, &c. to whom he anſwered, "Ceaſe, tempt me not, I intreat you."

Having mounted a ſcaffold prepared on purpoſe, he turned towards the people, and declared, that "he felt much joy within himſelf in offering up his life for the name of Chriſt, and told them, that they ought not to be offended with the good word of God, becauſe of the afflictions I have endured, or the torments which ye now ſee prepared for me; but I intreat you, that you love the word of God for your ſalvation, and ſuffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's ſake, which is your everlaſting comfort; but for the true goſpel, which was given me by the grace of God, I ſuffer this day with a glad heart. Behold and conſider my viſage, ye ſhall not ſee me change my colour; I fear not this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that ſlay the body, but have no power to ſlay the ſoul. Some have ſaid that I taught, that the ſoul ſhall ſleep till the laſt day; but I know ſurely, and my faith is ſuch, that my ſoul ſhall ſup with my Saviour this night." Then he prayed for his accuſers, that they might be forgiven, if, through ignorance or evil deſign, they had forged lies upon him. After this, the executioner aſked his forgiveneſs; to whom he replied, "Come hither to me:" and when he came, he kiſſed his cheek, and ſaid, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee, do thine office." Being raiſed up from his knees, he was bound to the ſtake, crying with a loud voice, "O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands!" Whereupon the executioner kindled the fire, and the powder that was faſtened to his body blew up. The captain of the caſtle, perceiving that he was ſtill alive, drew near, and bid him be of good courage: whereupon Mr Wiſhart ſaid, "This flame hath ſcorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my ſpirit; but he who, from yonder place, beholdeth us with ſuch pride, ſhall within a few days lie in the ſame, as ignominiouſly as he is now ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf." But as he was thus ſpeaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck ſo ſtrait, that he ſpoke no more; and thus, like another Elijah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown, on the 1ſt of March 1546.

Thus lived, and thus died, this faithful witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt; he was early marked out as a ſacrifice to Papal tyranny, being delated to the Biſhop of Brichen for an heretic, becauſe he taught the Greek New Teſtament to his ſcholars, while he kept ſchool at Montroſe; he was ſummoned by him, to appear before him, but eſcaped into England, and at the

univerſity of Cambridge completed his education, and was himſelf an inſtructor of others. During the whole time he was in his own country, he was hunted as a *partridge in the mountains*, until the Cardinal got him brought to the ſtake. Through the whole of his ſufferings, his meekneſs and patience were very remarkable, as was that uncommon meaſure of the ſpirit of prophecy which he poſſeſſed: Witneſs the circumſtances relative to Dundee, Haddington, the reformation from Popery, and the Cardinal's death, all which were foretold by him, and ſoon after accompliſhed.

The Popiſh clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it againſt the Governor's order; but the people very juſtly looked upon him as both a prophet and a martyr. It was alſo ſaid, that, abſtracting from the grounds of his ſuffering, his death was no leſs than murder, in regard no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the ſecular power. This ſtirred up Norman and John Leſlies, of the family of Rothes, William Kircaldie of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge Mr Wiſhart's death. Accordingly, upon the 28th of May 1546, not three months after Mr Wiſhart ſuffered, they ſurpriſed the caſtle early in the morning, and either ſecured or turned out the perſons who were lodged in it; and came to the Cardinal's door, who was by this time alarmed, and had ſecured it; but upon their threatening to force open the door, he opened it, (relying partly upon the ſanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with ſome of them), crying, "I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt." But this had no effect upon them; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a ſolemn manner to repentance, and having appriſed him, that he was now to avenge Mr Wiſhart's death, he ſtabbed him twice or thrice; which ended his wretched days. Theſe perſons, with ſome others who came into them, held the caſtle out for near two years, being aſſiſted by England; they had the Governor's eldeſt ſon with them, for he had been put under the Cardinal's care, and was in the caſtle at the time they ſurpriſed it. The caſtle was at laſt beſieged by the French, and ſurrendered upon having the lives of all that were in it ſecured.

Betwixt this and the time of Mr Walter Mill's ſufferings, whoſe life follows, one Adam Wallace, *alias* Fean, a ſimple but very zealous man, was taken at Winton, and was brought to his trial in the Blackfriars church in Edinburgh, where he was charged with articles of hereſy, ſimilar to thoſe with which others before him had been charged. He was condemned

and burnt on the Caſtlehill, ſuffering with great patience and reſolution.

There were others condemned before that time; among whom were Robert Forreſter gentleman, Sir Duncan Simſon prieſt, Friar Killore, Friar Beveridge, and Dean Thomas Forreſt a cannon, Regular and Vicar of Dollar, who were all burnt at one ſtake upon the Caſtlehill of Edinburgh, February 1538.

MR WALTER MILL.

HE was born about the year 1476, was educated in the Popiſh religion, and made prieſt of Lunan in the ſhire of Angus, where he remained until he was accuſed by the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's of having left off ſaying maſs, which he had done long before this time, being condemned by the Cardinal on that account, in the year 1538; but he eſcaped the flames for this time, by flying into Germany, where he married a wife, and was more perfectly inſtructed in the true religion; after which he returned home, but kept himſelf as retired as poſſible; during which time he went about reproving vice, and inſtructing people in the grounds of religion; which coming at length to the ears of the eccleſiaſtics, in 1558, he was, by order of the biſhops, apprehended in Dyſart, in the ſhire of Fife, by two prieſts, and impriſoned in the caſtle of St Andrew's; where the Papiſts, both by threatening and flattery, laboured with him to recant, offering him a place in the abbey of Dunfermline all the days of his life, if he would deny what he had already taught. But continuing conſtant in his opinions, he was brought to a trial before the Biſhops of St Andrew's, Murray, Brechin, Caithneſs, &c. who were aſſembled in the cathedral of St Andrew's. When he came to make his defence, he was ſo old, feeble, and lame, that it was feared none would hear him; but as ſoon as he began to ſpeak, he ſurpriſed them all, his voice made the church to ring, and his quickneſs and courage amazed his very enemies.

At firſt he kneeled and prayed for ſome time; after which, one Sir Andrew Oliphant, a prieſt, called to him to ariſe, and anſwer to the articles of charge, ſaying, "You keep my Lord of St Andrew's too long here;" nevertheleſs, he continued ſome time in prayer; and when he aroſe, ſaid, "I ought to obey God more than man. I ſerve a mightier Lord than your lord is; and whereas you call me *Sir Walter*, they call me *Walter*: I have been too long one of the Pope's knights. Now ſay what you have to ſay."

OLIPHANT

OLIPHANT *began his Interrogations as follows:*

Oliph. Thou ſayeſt there are not ſeven ſacraments?

Mill. Give me the Lord's ſupper and baptiſm, and take you all the reſt.

Oliph. What think you of a prieſt's marriage?

Mill. I think it a bleſſed bond ordained by God, and approved of by Chriſt, and free to all ſorts of men; but ye abhor it, and in the meanwhile take other men's wives and daughters: Ye vow chaſtity, and keep it not.

Oliph. How ſayeſt thou that the maſs is idolatry?

Mill. A lord or king calleth many to dinner, they come and ſit down, but the lord himſelf turneth his back, and eateth up all; and ſo do you.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the ſacrament of the altar to be the real body of Chriſt in fleſh and blood?

Mill. The ſcriptures are to be underſtood ſpiritually, and not carnally, and ſo your maſs is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the croſs for ſin, and will never be offered again, for then he put an end to all ſacrifice.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the office of a biſhop?

Mill. I affirm that thoſe you call biſhops do no biſhop's work, but live after ſenſual pleaſure, taking no care of Chriſt's flock, nor regarding his word.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt againſt pilgrimage, and ſayeſt, it is a pilgrimage to whoredom?

Mill. I ſay pilgrimage is not commanded in ſcripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, except in brothel-houſes.

Oliph. You preach privately in houſes, and ſometimes in the field?

Mill. Yea, and on the ſea alſo, when ſailing in a ſhip.

Then ſaid *Oliphant*, "If you will not recant, I will pronounce ſentence againſt you."

To this he replied, "I know I muſt die once; and therefore, as Chriſt ſaid to Judas, *What thou doſt, do quickly:* You ſhall know, that I will not recant the truth; for I am corn, and not chaff: I will neither be blown away by the wind, nor burſt with the flail, but will abide both."

Then Oliphant, as the mouth of the court, was ordered to pronounce ſentence againſt him, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as an heretic. But they could not procure one as a temporal judge to condemn him. One Learmond, then provoſt of the town, and bailie of the Biſhop's regality, refuſed it, and went out of town; the people of the place were ſo moved at his conſtancy, and offended at the wrong done to him, that they refuſed to ſup-

ply

ply ropes to bind him, and other materials for his execution, whereby his death was retarded for one day. At laſt one Somerville, a domeſtic of the Biſhop, undertook to act the part of temporal judge, and the ropes of the Biſhop's pavilion were taken to ſerve the purpoſe.

All things being thus prepared, he was led forth by Somerville, with a guard of armed men, to his execution; being come to the place, ſome cried out to him to recant, to whom he anſwered, "I marvel at your rage, ye hypocrites, who do ſo cruelly purſue the ſervants of God; as for me, I am now eighty-two years old, and cannot live long by courſe of nature; but an hundred ſhall riſe out of my aſhes, who ſhall ſcatter you, ye hypocrites, and perſecutors of God's people; and ſuch of you as now think yourſelves the beſt, ſhall not die ſuch an honeſt death as I now do. I truſt in God, I ſhall be the laſt who ſhall ſuffer death, in this faſhion, for this cauſe, in this land." Thus his conſtancy increaſed as his end drew near. Being ordered by Oliphant to go up to the ſtake, he refuſed, and ſaid, "No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands to myſelf; but if thou wilt put to thy hand, and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me go up gladly." Then Oliphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, ſaying, *Introibo ad altare Dei;* and deſired that he might be permitted to ſpeak to the people: he was anſwered by Oliphant, "That he had ſpoken too much already, and the biſhops were exceedingly diſpleaſed with what he had ſaid." But ſome youths took his part, and bid him ſay on what he pleaſed; he firſt bowed his knees and prayed, then aroſe, and ſtanding upon the coals, addreſſed the people to this effect: "Dear friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner before God, but only for the defence of the truths of Jeſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the Old and New Teſtament. I praiſe God that he hath called me, among the reſt of his ſervants, to ſeal up his truth with my life; as I have received it of him, ſo I again willingly offer it up for his glory; therefore, as ye would eſcape eternal death, be no longer ſeduced with the lies of biſhops, abbots, friars, monks, and the reſt of that ſect of Antichriſt, but depend only upon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ſo ye may be delivered from condemnation."—During this ſpeech, loud murmurs and lamentations were heard among the multitude, ſome admiring the patience, boldneſs, and conſtancy, of this martyr, others complaining of the hard meaſures and cruelty of his perſecutors. After having ſpoken as above, he prayed a little while, and then was

drawn

drawn up, and bound to the ſtake; and the fire being kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me: Pray, pray, good people, while there is time." And ſo cheerfully yielded up his ſoul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, *anno* 1558, being then about the eighty-ſecond year of his age.

The fortitude and conſtancy of this martyr affected the people ſo much, that they heaped up a great pile of ſtones on the place where he had been burned, that the memory of his death might be preſerved; but the prieſts gave orders to have it taken down, and carried away, denouncing a curſe on any who ſhould lay ſtones there again; but that anathema was ſo little regarded, that what was thrown down in the day-time was raiſed again in the night, until at laſt the Papiſts carried away the ſtones to build houſes in or about the town, which they did in the night, with all poſſible ſecrecy.

The death of this martyr brought about the downfal of Popery in Scotland; for the people in general were ſo much inflamed, that, reſolving openly to profeſs the truth, they bound themſelves by promiſes, and ſubſcriptions of oaths, that before they would be thus abuſed any longer, they would take arms, and reſiſt the Papal tyranny; which they at laſt did.

JAMES STUART, EARL OF MORAY.

HE was a natural ſon of King James V. and brother by the father's ſide to Mary Queen of Scots. In his infancy he was put under the celebrated George Buchanan, who inſtilled ſuch principles into his mind in early life, as, by the divine bleſſing, made him an honour to the Scottiſh nation.

The reader cannot expect a very minute detail of all the heroic and patriotic deeds of this worthy nobleman, conſidering the ſtation which he filled, and his activity in the diſcharge of the duties belonging to it.

He was the principal agent in promoting the work of reformation from Popery. On the firſt dawning of it, in the year 1555, he attended the preaching of Mr John Knox at Calder, where he often wiſhed that his doctrine had been more public; which was an open profeſſion of his love and zeal for the true religion.

He went over to France, with ſome other Scottiſh noblemen, at the time of his ſiſter's marriage with the Dauphin, where his companions were ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned, for they died in France: He eſcaped by the interpoſition of a kind Providence, but retained a weak and diſordered ſtomach

all his life: this did not, however, unfit him for theſe ſervices which he did to religion and his country after this.

In the year 1556, he and Argyle wrote to Mr Knox at Geneva, to return to Scotland, in order to further the reformation. Upon which, after having been detained ſome time at Diep, Mr Knox returned in the year 1559, and went to St Johnſtoun, where the reforming congregation reſorted to him; which coming to the ears of the Queen Regent, ſhe ſent the Earl of Argyle and Lord James, (for that was the Earl of Moray's title at this time), to know the intent of ſo great an aſſembly. Mr Knox returned this anſwer, "That her enterpriſe would not proſper in the end, ſeeing that ſhe intended to fight againſt God," &c. Upon receiving this reply, ſhe ſummoned them to depart from the town of St Johnſtoun; but afterwards, hearing of the daily increaſe of their numbers, ſhe gave them leave to depart peaceably, with many fair promiſes, that they ſhould meet with no further danger. On which they obeyed, and left the town; but they had no ſooner done ſo, than ſhe, with her French guards, entered it in a moſt outrageous manner, telling the inhabitants, that no faith ſhould be kept with heretics. This flagrant breach of promiſe provoked Lord James to that degreee, that he left the Queen, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, (for ſo they were afterwards called). As ſoon as the Queen got intelligence of this, ſhe ſent a threatening letter to him and Argyle, (for they ſtuck together on almoſt all occaſions), commanding them to return, but to no purpoſe; for they went to Fife, and there began to throw down and remove the monuments of idolatry: Here they continued for ſome time; but being informed that the Queen intended to go to Stirling, they went off from Perth late in the night, and entered Stirling, with their aſſociates, where they immediately demoliſhed the monaſteries, and purged the churches of idolatry. Such was the zeal of theſe worthy noblemen for the intereſt of the reformed religion in Scotland.

From Stirling they marched for Edinburgh, purging all the ſuperſtitious relicts of idolatry out of Linlithgow in their way. Theſe ſummary proceedings alarmed the Queen Regent, inſomuch that her zeal for the Romiſh idolatry, gave way to her fears about her civil authority. To make the conduct of theſe reformers the more odious to the unthinking part of the nation, ſhe gave out, that they were in open rebellion againſt her, and that they made a pretence of religion, but that the real deſign was to ſet Lord James on the throne, (there being now no male-heir to the crown). Theſe inſinuations ſhe found means to tranſmit to Lord James himſelf,

in a letter, ſaid to be forged, in the names of Francis and Mary, the King and Queen of France, wherein he was further upbraided with ingratitude on account of the favours they pretended that they had ſhown him, and threatened to lay down his arms, and return to his allegiance. To this letter, notwithſtanding there were ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect it was forged, he nevertheleſs returned a reſolute anſwer, declaring that he was not conſcious to himſelf, either in word or deed, of any offence either againſt the Regent or laws; but in regard the nobility had undertaken the reformation of religion, which was delayed, and ſeeing they aimed at nothing but the glory of God, he was willing to bear the reproach which the enemies of religion would load him with; neither was it juſt for him to deſert that cauſe which had Chriſt himſelf for its head and defender, whom, unleſs they would voluntarily deny, they could not give up that enterpriſe in which they were embarked.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the Lords of the Congregation being then in and about Edinburgh, there were to the number of 3000 French landed at Leith, at different times, to ſupport the Queen Regent, between whom and the Lords of the Congregation there were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, with little ſucceſs on either ſide; yet the Lords retired to Stirling, leaving the French for a time maſters of the field, but not without apprehenſions of danger from the arrival of an Engliſh fleet, which was then expected. In the mean time, they went over to Fife, ſpreading devaſtation every where around them, without reſiſtance: Whereupon the Queen Regent thus expreſſed herſelf: "Where is John Knox's God now? my God is ſtronger, even now in Fife." This impious boaſt laſted not long, for Argyle and Lord James went to the town of Dyſart immediately, to ſtop their career along the coaſt. The French were 4000 ſtrong, beſides the Scots who adhered to them; the army of the Congregation were not above 600 men, yet they behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution, as for twenty days ſucceſſively they faced this army; and for each man they loſt in every ſkirmiſh, the French loſt four. As an evidence of the uncommon attention which theſe two noblemen beſtowed on this buſineſs, they never put off their clothes during the whole time, and ſlept but little.

In the month of June the Queen Regent died, and a little after her Francis King of France died likewiſe, by which Scotland was delivered from this foreign army. About this time Lord James went over to France, to viſit his ſiſter Mary, after ſettling matters in Scotland as well as he could. He was attended by a ſplendid retinue, but appears to have met with

a cold reception. After ſeveral converſations with Queen Mary, ſhe told him, that ſhe intended to return home. During his ſtay at Paris, he met with many inſults on account of his known attachment to the reformed religion. A box containing ſome valuable things was ſtole from him; ſeveral perſons were likewiſe hired to aſſaſſinate him in the ſtreet: he was appriſed of his danger by an old friend of his own, but not before he was almoſt involved in it, being inſtantly ſurrounded by a rabble, calling out, *Hugenot*, *hugenot*, and throwing ſtones: he made his way through them on horſeback. Soon after this he left Paris, and returned home in May 1561, with a commiſſion from the Queen, appointing him Regent until her return, which was in Auguſt following; when, as Knox expreſſes it, "Dolour and darkneſs came along with her;" for though juſtice and equity were yet adminiſtered, and crimes were puniſhed, becauſe the adminiſtration of civil affairs was yet in the hands of Lord James, who for his management of public concerns was beloved by all, yet upon the Queen's arrival, French levity and diſſipation ſoon corrupted the Court to a very high degree.

About this time a banditti, called the moſs-troopers, broke in upon the borders of Scotland, committing very alarming depredations, by robbing and murdering all that came in their way. The Queen ſent Lord James with a ſmall force to oppoſe them, not with the intention that he might have the opportunity of acquiring military reputation, but to expoſe him to danger, that, if poſſible, ſhe might get rid of him, for his popularity made her very uneaſy; and his fidelity and boldneſs in reproving her faults, and withſtanding her tyrannical meaſures, made him ſtill more the object of her hatred and diſguſt. But, contrary to the expectations of many, God ſo proſpered him in this expedition, that in a ſhort time he brought twenty-eight ringleaders of this band to public execution, and obliged the reſt to give hoſtages for their better behaviour in time coming. Thus he returned crowned with laurels, and was immediately created Earl of Marr; and in the February following he was made Earl of Moray, with the univerſal approbation of all good men. Some thought this act of the Queen was intended by her to conciliate his affections, and make him of her party. About this time he married a daughter of the Earl of Mariſchal, according to Knox, (Buchanan ſays, the Earl of March). The marriage was made publicly in the church of Edinburgh; after the ceremony was over, the preacher (probably Mr Knox) ſaid to him, "Sir, The church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day; if you prove more faint therein after-

ward, it will be ſaid that your wife hath changed your nature," &c.

It may be obſerved, that hitherto the nobility appeared very much united in their meaſures for promoting the intereſt of religion; this was ſoon at an end, for the noblemen at Court broke out into factions: among whom the Earl of Bothwell, envying the proſperity of Moray, ſtirred up ſome feuds between him and the Hamiltons, which increaſed to that height, that they laid a plot for his life, which Bothwell took in hand to execute, while he was with the Queen, his ſiſter, at Falkland; but the Earl of Arran, deteſting ſuch an action, ſent a letter privately to the Earl of Moray, diſcovering the whole conſpiracy, by which he eſcaped that danger. Bothwell fled from juſtice into France; but his emiſſaries were not leſs active in his abſence, than they had been while he headed them in perſon; for another deſign was formed againſt his life, by one Gordon, while he was with the Queen at Dumbarton. But this proved ineffectual alſo.

Soon after, the Queen received letters from the Pope, and her uncles the Guiſes of France, requeſting her to put the Earl of Moray out of the way, becauſe, they found by experience, that their intereſt in Scotland could not proſper while he was alive. Upon this the faction againſt him became more inſolent, and appeared in arms. They were at firſt ſuppreſſed, but ſoon aſſembled again, to the number of eight hundred men. This body he was obliged to fight, with little more ſtrength, in which he could confide, than an hundred horſe; notwithſtanding this diſparity, by the divine bleſſing, he obtained a complete victory, killing of them a hundred and twenty, and taking a hundred priſoners, among whom were Huntly himſelf and his two ſons; it is ſaid he did not loſe a ſingle man He returned to Aberdeen with the priſoners, late in the night, where he had appointed a miniſter of the goſpel to meet him, with whom he returned thanks to God for ſuch a deliverance, exceeding the expectations of all men.

The Earl of Bothwell was ſoon after this recalled by the Queen from France; upon his arrival, Moray accuſed him for his former treaſonable practices, and commenced a proceſs at law againſt him. Bothwell knew he could not ſtand an open ſcrutiny, but relied upon the Queen's favour, which he knew he poſſeſſed in a very high degree, and which increaſed ſo much the more as her enmity to Moray, on account of his popularity, was augmented. This led her to join more warmly in the conſpiracy with Bothwell againſt his life; a new plot was the reſult of their joint deliberations, which was to be executed in the following manner: Moray was to be ſent for,

with

with only a few attendants, to ſpeak with the Queen at Perth, where the Lord Darnly (then in ſuit to her for marriage) was. They knew that Moray would ſpeak his mind freely, upon which they were to quarrel with him, in the heat of which David Rizzio was to ſtrike the firſt blow, and all the reſt were to follow. But of this deſign alſo he got previous intelligence by a friend at the Court; nevertheleſs he reſolved to go, until adviſed by one Patrick Ruthven, he turned aſide to his mother's houſe, and there ſtaid till this ſtorm was over alſo.

The Earl of Moray, foreſeeing what would be the conſequence of the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnly *, ſet himſelf to oppoſe it; but finding little attention paid to any thing he ſaid on that ſubject in the Convention of Eſtates, he choſe rather to abſent himſelf for ſome time; and accordingly retired to the border, where he ſtaid until the Queen's marriage with Darnly was over.

The remarkable tragical events which ſucceeded, diſguſted Moray more and more at the Court. With theſe the public are well acquainted. The murder of Darnly, and Mary's after marriage with the aſſaſſin of her huſband, has occaſioned too much ſpeculation, of late years, not to be known to every one in the leaſt acquainted with the Scottiſh hiſtory. Moray now found it impoſſible to live at a Court where his implacable enemy was ſo highly honoured. Bothwell inſulted him openly. Whereupon he aſked leave of the Queen to travel abroad; and ſhe, being willing to get rid of him at all events, granted his deſire, upon his promiſe not to make any ſtay in England. He went over to France, where he remained until he heard that the Queen was in cuſtody in Lochleven, and that Bothwell had fled to Denmark; and then returned home. Upon his arival he was made Regent, by the joint conſent of the Queen and nobles, *anno* 1567, during the young King's minority.

He entered on the exerciſe of his office as Regent, in the ſpring following, and reſolved with himſelf to make a tour through the whole kingdom, to ſettle the courts of juſtice, to repair what was wrong, &c. But his adverſaries, the Hamiltons,

* The Queen and Darnly became ſo irreconcileable, that, as he never reſted until he had cauſed the Italian Rizzio to be murdered, the Queen never reſted till ſhe cauſed her huſband to be murdered; and divine juſtice, after all, never reſted till it had cauſed her to be murdered: ſo that blood followed blood, till the whole knot was deſtroyed. DE FOE's Memoirs, p. 59.

Hamiltons, perceiving that, by the prudence and diligence of this worthy nobleman, the intereſt of religion would be revived, than which nothing could be more diſagreeable to them, who were diſſipated and licentious in an extreme degree. They could not endure to be regulated by law, and never ceaſed crying out againſt his adminiſtration. They fixed up libels in different places, full of dark inſinuations, by which it was underſtood, that his deſtruction was meditating *. Some aſtrologers told him, that he would not live beyond ſuch a day; by which it appeared, they were not ignorant of the deſigns formed againſt him. All this had no effect upon his reſolution; his common reply was, "That he knew well enough he muſt die one time or other, and that he could not part with his life more nobly, than by procuring the public tranquillity of his native country." He cauſed ſummon a Convention of Eſtates to meet at Glaſgow, for the redreſs of ſome grievances, which that part of the country particularly laboured under.

But while he was thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Queen had eſcaped from Lochleven caſtle, and was come to Hamilton, where thoſe of her faction were aſſembling with the utmoſt haſte: whereupon a hot diſpute aroſe in council, whether the Regent and his attendants ſhould repair to the young King at Stirling, or ſtay and obſerve the motions of the Queen and her party. But, in the very time of theſe deliberations, a hundred choſen men arrived in town from Lothian, and many more from the adjacent country were approaching. This made them reſolve to ſtay where they were, and refreſh themſelves for one day; after which they determined to march out and face the enemy. But the Queen's army, being 6500 ſtrong, reſolved to make their way by Glaſgow, to lodge the Queen in Dumbarton caſtle, and afterwards either to fight the Regent, or protract the war at pleaſure.

The

* Sir James Melvill of Halhill, in his Memoirs, from page 173. to page 178. ſeems to inſinuate, that although the Earl of Moray was at firſt of a gentle nature, religiouſly educated, well-inclined, good wiſe, &c.; yet, when he was advanced to the helm of government through the means of flatterers, he became more proud and rough in his proceedings; which, together with his too remiſs conduct anent his own preſervation, after ſo many warnings, was the cauſe of his own ruin.—And ſays further, that he was compelled ſometimes to receive and apply divers ſentences of Solomon concerning chancellors and rulers to this good Regent, which he ordered him to commit to writing, that he might carry them in his pocket. But before he was ſlain, this different gloſs on the life and character of Moray is contradicted, in ſubſtance, by the hiſtorians Knox and Buchanan.

The Regent, being let into this deſign of the enemy, drew his army out of the town, to obſerve which way they intended to paſs: he had not above 4000 men. They diſcovered the Queen's army paſſing along the ſouth-ſide of the river Clyde. Moray commanded the foot to paſs the bridge, and the horſe to ford the river, and marched out to a ſmall village, called Langſide, upon the river Cart. They took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, before the enemy could well diſcover their intention, and drew up in order of battle. The Earls of Morton, Semple, Hume, and Patrick Lindſay, on the right; and the Earls of Marr, Glencairn, Monteith, with the citizens of Glaſgow, were on the left; and the muſqueteers were placed in the valley below. The Queen's army approaching, a very briſk but ſhort engagement enſued: the Earl of Argyle, who was commander in chief of the Queen's troops, falling from his horſe, they gave way, ſo that the Regent obtained a complete victory; but, by his clement conduct, there was very little blood ſpilt in the purſuit. The Queen, who all the while remained with ſome horſe, at about the diſtance of a mile from the place of action, ſeeing the rout, eſcaped and fled for England; and the Regent returned to Glaſgow, where they returned thanks to God for their deliverance from Popery and Papiſts, who threatened to overturn the work of God among them. This battle was fought upon the 13th of May 1568.

After this the Regent ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh; which the Queen's party laboured to hinder with all their power. In the mean time, letters were received from the Queen of England, requiring them to put off the meeting of parliament, until ſhe was made acquainted with the whole matter; for ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not bear with the affront which her kinſwoman ſaid ſhe had received from her ſubjects.—The parliament however aſſembled; and, after much reaſoning, it was reſolved to ſend commiſſioners to England, to vindicate their conduct. But none conſenting to undertake this buſineſs, the Regent reſolved upon going himſelf; and accordingly choſe three gentleman, two miniſters, two lawyers, and Mr George Buchanan, to accompany him; and, with a guard of a hundred horſe, they ſet out, and arrived at York, the appointed place of conference, on the 4th of October. After ſeveral meetings with the Engliſh commiſſioners to little purpoſe, the Queen called the Regent up to London, that ſhe might be better ſatisfied, by perſonal converſation with him, about the ſtate of theſe affairs. But the ſame difficulties ſtood in his way here as at York: he refuſed to enter upon the accuſation of his

ſiſter,

ſiſter, the Queen of Scots, unleſs Eliſabeth would engage to protect the King's party, provided the Queen was found guilty.

But while matters were thus remaining in ſuſpence at London, Mary had ſtirred up a new commotion in Scotland, by means of one James Balfour; ſo that the Regent found himſelf exceedingly embarraſſed, and therefore reſolved to bring the matter to a concluſion as ſoon as poſſible. After ſeveral interviews with the Queen and Council, in which the Regent and his party ſupported the ancient rights of their country, and wiped off the aſperſions many had thrown on themſelves, which Buchanan narrates at large, book xix. A deciſion was given in their favours; and the Regent returned home loaded with honours by Eliſabeth, and attended by the moſt illuſtrious of the Engliſh Court, eſcorted by a ſtrong guard to Berwick, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 2d of February, where he was received with acclamations of joy, particularly by the friends of the true religion.

During his adminiſtration, many ſalutary laws, in favour of civil and religious liberty, were made, which rendered him more and more the object of Popiſh malice. At laſt they reſolved at all events to take his life: the many unſucceſsful attempts formerly made, only ſerved to render them more bold and daring. Though the Queen was now at a diſtance, yet ſhe found means to encourage her party; and perhaps the hope of delivering her at length, gave ſtrength to their reſolution. One James Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, nephew to the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, incited by his uncle and others, undertakes to make away with the Regent, when a convenient opportunity offered itſelf. He firſt lay in wait for him at Glaſgow, and then at Stirling; but both failed him: after which he thought Linlithgow the moſt proper place for perpetrating that execrable deed. His uncle had a houſe near the Regent's, in which he concealed himſelf, that he might be in readineſs for the aſſaſſination. Of this deſign the Regent got intelligence likewiſe, but paid not that regard to the danger he was expoſed to, which he ſhould, and would go no other way than that in which it was ſuſpected the ambuſh was laid: he truſted to the fleetneſs of his horſe in riding ſwiftly by the ſuſpected place; but the great concourſe of people, who crowded together to ſee him, ſtopped up the way. Accordingly he was ſhot from a wooden balcony; the bullet entering a little below the navel, came out at the reins, and killed the horſe of George Douglas behind him: the aſſaſſin eſcaped by a back-

door. The Regent told his attendants that he was wounded, and returned to his lodgings. It was at firſt thought the wound was not mortal; but his pain increaſing, he began to think of death. Some about him told him, that this was the fruit of his lenity, in ſparing ſo many notorious offenders, and, among the reſt, his own murderer: but he replied, "Your importunity ſhall not make me repent my clemency." Having ſettled his private affairs, he committed the care of the young King to the nobles there preſent; and, without ſpeaking a reproachful word of any, he departed this life on the 24th of January 1570; according to Buchanan, 1571; but according to Spottiſwood, 1569.

Thus fell the Earl of Moray, (whom hiſtorians ordinarily call, The good Regent), after he had eſcaped ſo many dangers. He was certainly a worthy governor. Both Buchanan and Spottiſwood give him the following character. "His death was lamented by all good men, who loved him as the public father of his country: even his enemies confeſſed his merit when dead; they admired his valour in war, his ready diſpoſition for peace, his activity in buſineſs, in which he was commonly very ſucceſsful; the divine favour ſeemed to ſhine on all his actions; he was very merciful to offenders, and equitable in all his deciſions. When the field did not call for his preſence, he was buſied in the adminiſtration of juſtice; by which means the poor were not oppreſſed, and the terms of law-ſuits were ſhortened. His houſe was like a holy temple: after meals he cauſed a chapter of the Bible to be read, and aſked the opinions of ſuch learned men as were preſent, upon it; not out of a vain curioſity, but from a deſire to learn, and reduce to practice, what it contained *." In a word, he was, both in his public and private life, a pattern worthy of imitation; and happy would it be for us, that our nobles were more diſpoſed to walk in the paths which he trode;—for, "above all his virtues, which were not a few, he ſhined in piety towards God, ordering himſelf and his family in ſuch a ſort, as did more reſemble a church than a court; for therein, beſides the exerciſe of devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedneſs to be ſeen, nay, not an unſeemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongſt the beſt governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the title of *The good Regent* †."

* Buchanan's Hiſtory, Vol. ii. p. 392.

† Spottiſwood's Hiſtory, p. 234.

Mr JOHN KNOX.

MR KNOX was born in Gifford near Haddington in East Lothian, in the year 1505. His father was related to the ancient houſe of Ranferlie. When he left the grammar-ſchool, he was ſent to the univerſity of St Andrew's, to ſtudy under Mr John Mair, a man of conſiderable learning at that time; and had the degree of Maſter of Arts conferred upon him while very young. He excelled in philoſophy and polemical divinity; and was admitted into church-orders before the uſual time appointed by the canons. Then laying aſide all unneceſſary branches of learning, he betook himſelf to the reading of the ancients, particularly Auguſtine's and Jerome's works, with whom he was exceedingly pleaſed. He profited conſiderably by the preaching of Thomas Guilliam, a black friar of ſound judgement and doctrine. His diſcourſes led him to ſtudy the holy ſcriptures more cloſely, by which his ſpiritual knowledge was increaſed, and ſuch a zeal for the intereſt of religion begotten in him, as he became the chief inſtrument in accompliſhing the primitive reformation.

He was a diſciple of Mr George Wiſhart, (as the reader has already ſeen in the account of his life), which procured him the hatred of the Popiſh clergy, who could not endure that light which diſcovered their idolatrous darkneſs.

After the death of Cardinal Beaton, he retired into the caſtle of St Andrew's, where he was confined for ſome time; but the caſtle being obliged to ſurrender to the French, he became their priſoner, and was ſent aboard the gallies; from whence he made his eſcape about the year 1550, and went to England, where he preached for ſeveral years in Berwick, Newcaſtle, and London, with great applauſe. His fame at laſt reached the ears of King Edward VI. who offered him a biſhoprick; which he rejected, as contrary to his principles.

During his ſtay in England, he was called before the Council, and required to anſwer the following queſtions.

1. Why he refuſed the benefice provided for him at London?

2. Whether he thought that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the eccleſiaſtical miniſtration, according to the laws and rites of the realm of England?

3. If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?

To the firſt he ſaid, That his conſcience witneſſed to him that he might profit more in ſome other place than in London. To the ſecond, That many things needed reformation in the miniſtry of England, without which no miniſter di

or could discharge his duty before God; for no minister in England had authority to separate the leprous from the whole, which was a chief part of his office, and that he refused no office which might in the least promote God's glory, and the preaching of Christ's gospel. And to the third he replied, That Christ's action was most perfect; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was a human invention. The answer which he gave to this question, occasioned a considerable deal of altercation betwixt the Council and him. There were present the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Northampton, Shrewsbury, &c. the Lord Chamberlain, and the Secretaries. After long reasoning with him, he was desired to take the matter into further consideration, and so was dismissed.

After the death of King Edward, he retired to Geneva; but soon left that place, and went to Frankfort, upon the solicitation of the English congregation there: their letter to him was dated 24th September 1554. While he was in this city, he wrote his admonition to England, and was soon involved in troubles, because he opposed the English liturgy, and refused to communicate after the manner it enjoined. Messr. Isaac and Parry, supported by the English doctors, not only got him discharged to preach, but accused him before the magistrates of high treason against the Emperor's son Philip, and the Queen of England; and to prove the charge, they had recourse to the above-mentioned admonition, in which they alledged he had called the one little inferior to Nero, and the other more cruel than Jezebel. But the magistrates perceiving the design of his accusers, and fearing lest he should some way or other fall into their hands, gave him secret information of his danger, and requested him to leave the city, for they could not save him if he should be demanded by the Queen of England in the Emperor's name; and having taken the hint, he returned to Geneva.

Here he wrote an Admonition to London, Newcastle, and Berwick; a Letter to Mary, Dowager of Scotland; an Appeal to the Nobility; an Admonition to the Commons of his own country; and his First Blast of the Trumpet, &c. He intended to have blown this trumpet three times, if Queen Mary's death had not prevented him; understanding that an answer was to be given to his first blast, he deferred the publication of the second, till he saw what answer was necessary for the vindication of the first.

While he was at Geneva, he contracted a close intimacy with Mr John Calvin, with whom he consulted on every emergency. In the end of harvest 1654, he returned home, upon the

ſolicitation of ſome of the Scots nobility, and began privately to inſtruct ſuch as reſorted to him in the true religion; among whom were the Laird of Dun, David Forreſt, and Eliſabeth Adamſon, ſpouſe to James Baron, burgeſs of Edinburgh. The idolatry of the maſs particularly occupied his attention, as he ſaw ſome remarkable for zeal and godlineſs drawn aſide by it; both in public and private, he expoſed its impiety and danger; his labours ſucceeded ſo far, as to draw off ſome, and alarm many others: In a converſation upon this ſubject, at the Laird of Dun's houſe, in preſence of David Forreſt, Mr Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and William Maitland junior of Lethington; he gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers to all the objections which were ſtarted by the company, that Maitland ended the converſation, ſaying, "I ſee very well that all our ſhifts will ſerve nothing before God, ſeeing they ſtand us in ſo ſmall ſtead before men." From this time forward, the maſs was very little reſpected.

Mr Knox continued a month at the Laird of Dun's, preaching every day; the principal gentlemen of that country reſorted to his miniſtry. From thence he went to Calder, where the Earl of Argyle, then Lord Lorn, and Lord James, afterwards Earl of Moray, heard his doctrine, and highly approved of it. During the winter he taught in Edinburgh, and in the beginning of ſpring went to Kyle, where he preached in different places. The Earl of Glencairn ſent for him to Finlaſton, where, after ſermon, he adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper, and then returned to Calder.

The people being thus inſtructed, began to refuſe all ſuperſtition and idolatry, and ſet themſelves to the utmoſt of their power to ſupport the true preaching of the goſpel. This alarmed the inferior Popiſh clergy ſo much, that they came from all quarters complaining to the biſhops; whereupon Mr Knox was ſummoned to appear in the Black friars church of Edinburgh, on the 15th of May following: which appointment he reſolved to obſerve; and accordingly came to Edinburgh, in company with the Laird of Dun, and ſeveral other gentlemen; but the diet did not hold, becauſe the biſhops were afraid to proceed further againſt him; ſo that, on the ſame day that he ſhould have appeared before them, he preached to a greater audience in Edinburgh than ever he had done before. The Earl of Mariſchal being deſired by Lord Glencairn to hear Mr Knox preach, complied, and was ſo delighted with his doctrine, that he immediately propoſed that ſomething ſhould be done to draw the Queen Regent to hear him likewiſe; he made this propoſal in a letter, which was delivered into her own hand by Glencairn. When ſhe

had read it, ſhe gave it to Beaton *, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, ſaying, in ridicule, " Pleaſe you, my Lord, to read a paſquille."

About this time, 1555, he received a letter from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva, who were not in communion with the congregation of that name at Frankfort, in which they beſeech him, in the name of God, that as he was their choſen paſtor, he would ſpeedily come to them. In obedience to this call, he ſent his wife and mother-in-law before him to Dieppe; but by the importunity of ſome gentlemen, he was prevailed on to ſtay ſome time in Scotland, which he ſpent in going about exhorting the ſeveral congregations in which he had preached, to be fervent in prayer, frequent in reading the ſcriptures, and in mutual conferences, till God ſhould give them greater liberty. The Earl of Argyle was ſolicited to preſs Mr Knox's ſtay in this country; but he could not ſucceed. Mr Knox told them, that, if they continued earneſt in the profeſſion of the faith, God would bleſs theſe ſmall beginnings; but that he muſt for once go and viſit that little flock which the wickedneſs of men had compelled him to leave; and being thus reſolved, he went immediately to Geneva. As ſoon as he was gone, the biſhops cauſed ſummon him to their tribunal, and for non-compearance they burnt him in effigy, on the croſs of Edinburgh; from which unjuſt ſentence, when he heard of it, he appealed to the nobility and commons of Scotland.

Upon the receipt of a letter, dated March 10. 1556, ſubſcribed by the Earls of Glencairn, Erſkine, Argyle, and Moray, Mr Knox reſolved to return again into Scotland. Committing the care of his flock at Geneva to Mr John Calvin; and coming to Dieppe, he wrote from thence to Mrs Anna Locke, a declaration of his opinion of the Engliſh ſervice-book, expreſſing himſelf thus: " Our Captain, Chriſt Jeſus, and Satan his adverſary, are now at open defiance, their banners are diſplayed, and the trumpet is blown on both ſides for aſſembling their armies: our Maſter calleth upon his own, and that with vehemency, that they may depart from Babylon, yea, he threateneth death and damnation to ſuch as either in their

forehead

* In the Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, prime miniſter to Henry IV. of France. Vol. i. page 392. Edin. edit. 1773, there is the following note: " James de Bethune, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow in Scotland, came to Paris, in quality of ambaſſador in ordinary from the Queen of Scotland, and died there in 1603, aged ſixty-ſix years, having fifty-ſeven years ſuffered great viciſſitudes of fortune, ſince the violent death of Cardinal de Bethune, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, his uncle, which happened in 1646: His epitaph may be ſtill ſeen in the church of St John de Lateran."

forehead or right-hand, have the mark of the beaſt; and a portion of this mark are all theſe dregs of Papiſtry, which are left in your great book of England, (viz. croſſing in baptiſm, kneeling at the Lord's table, mumbling or ſinging of the litany, &c. &c.); any one jot of which diabolical inventions will I never counſel any man to uſe," &c.

He was detained in this place much longer than expectation, which obliged the Scots nobility to renew their ſolicitations; which he complied with, and arrived in Scotland on the 2d of May 1559, being then fifty-four years old. He preached firſt at Dundee, and afterwards at St Johnſtoun, with great ſucceſs. About this time the Queen put ſome preachers to the horn, prohibiting all, upon pain of rebellion, to comfort, relieve, or aſſiſt them; which enraged the multitude to that degree, that they would be reſtrained, neither by the preachers nor magiſtrates, from pulling down the images and other monuments of idolatry in St Johnſtoun: which being told to the Queen, it ſo enraged her, that ſhe vowed to deſtroy man, woman, and child, in that town, and burn it to the ground. To execute this threat, ſhe cauſed her French army to march towards the place; but being informed, that multitudes from the neighbouring county were aſſembling in the town for the defence of its inhabitants, her impetuoſity was checked, and ſhe reſolved to uſe ſtratagem where force could not avail her. Accordingly ſhe ſent the Earls of Argyle and Moray, to learn what was their deſign in ſuch commotions. Mr Knox, in the name of the reſt, made anſwer, "That the preſent troubles ought to move the hearts of all the true ſervants of God, and the lovers of their country, to conſider what the end of ſuch tyrannical meaſures would be, by which the emiſſaries of Satan ſought the deſtruction of all the friends of religion in the country. Therefore I moſt humbly require of you, my Lords, to tell the Queen, in my name, that we whom ſhe in her blind rage doth thus perſecute, are the ſervants of God, faithful and obedient ſubjects of this realm; and that the religion which ſhe would maintain by fire and ſword is not the true religion of Jeſus Chriſt, but expreſsly contrary to the ſame; a ſuperſtitious device of men, which I offer myſelf to prove, againſt all who in Scotland maintain the contrary; freedom of debate being allowed, and the word of God being the judge. Tell her from me, that her enterpriſe ſhall not ſucceed in the end; for ſhe fights not against man only, but againſt the eternal God," &c. Argyle and Moray promiſed to deliver this meſſage; and Mr Knox preached a ſermon, exhorting them to conſtancy; adding, "I am perſuaded that this promiſe," (meaning the promiſe ſhe had made to

the

hem no harm if they would leave the town peaceably), ſhall be no longer kept than the Queen and her Frenchmen an get the upper hand;" which accordingly happened when he took poſſeſſion of the town, and put a garriſon of French n it. This breach of promiſe diſguſted the Earls of Argyle nd Moray to that degree, that they forſook her, and joined he Congregation. Having aſſembled with the Laird of Dun nd others, they ſent for Mr Knox; who, in his way to them, preached in Crail and in Anſtruther, intending to preach next day at St Andrew's.

This deſign coming to the ears of the biſhop, he raiſed 100 ſpearmen, and ſent this meſſage to the Lords, "That if John Knox offered to preach there, he ſhould have a warm military reception." They, in their turn, forewarned Mr Knox of his danger, and diſſuaded him from going. He made anſwer, "God is my witneſs, that I never preached Jeſus Chriſt in contempt of any man; neither am I concerned about going thither: though I would not willingly injure the worldly intereſt of any creature, I cannot in conſcience delay preaching to-morrow, if I am not detained by violence. As for fear of danger to my perſon, let no man be ſolicitous about that, for my life is in the hand of him whoſe glory I ſeek; and therefore I fear not their threats, ſo as to ceaſe from doing my duty, when of his mercy God offereth the occaſion. I deſire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me; only I crave audience, which, if denied to me here, at this time, I muſt ſeek further where I may have it." The Lords were ſatisfied that he ſhould fulfil his intention, which he did, with ſuch boldneſs and ſucceſs, without any interruption, that the magiſtrates and people of the town, immediately after ſermon, agreed to remove all monuments of idolatry; which they did, with great expedition.

After this, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued between the Queen and Lords of the Congregation. But at laſt, the Queen ſickened and died, and a general peace, which laſted for ſome time, was procured; during which, the commiſſioners of the Scots nobility, 1560, were employed in ſettling miniſters in different places. Mr Knox was appointed to Edinburgh, where he continued until the day of his death.

The ſame year, the Scots Confeſſion was compiled and agreed upon; and that the church might be eſtabliſhed upon a good foundation, a commiſſion and charge was given to Mr Knox, and five others, to draw up a form of government and diſcipline of the church. When they had finiſhed it, they preſented it to the nobility, by whom it was afterwards ratified and approved of.

But

But this progreſs which was daily making in the Reformation ſoon met with a ſevere check, by the arrival of Queen Mary from France, in Auguſt 1561. With her came Popery, and all manner of profanity; the maſs was again publicly ſet up; at which the religious part of the nation were highly offended, and none more than Mr Knox, who ceaſed not to expoſe the evil and danger of it on every occaſion: on which account the Queen and Court were much exaſperated. They called him before them, and charged him as guilty of high treaſon. The Queen being preſent, produced a letter, wrote by him, wherein it was alledged, that he had convocated her majeſty's lieges againſt law; whereupon a long reaſoning enſued between him and Secretary Lethington, upon the contents of ſaid letter; in which Mr Knox gave ſuch ſolid and bold anſwers, in defence of himſelf and doctrine, that at laſt he was acquitted by the Lords of the Council, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Queen and thoſe of the Popiſh party.

Mr Knox, in a conference with the Queen about this time, ſaid, "If princes exceed their bounds, they may be reſiſted even by power; for there is no greater honour and obedience to be paid to princes than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother. If children join together againſt their father ſtricken with a frenzy, and ſeeking to ſlay his own children, apprehend him, take his ſword or other weapons from him, bind his hands, and put him in priſon, till his frenzy overpaſs, do they any wrong, or will God be offended with them for hindering their father from committing horrible murder? Even ſo, Madam, if princes will murder the children of God, their ſubjects, their blind zeal is but a mad frenzy. To take the ſword from them, to bind them, and to caſt them into priſon, till they be brought to a ſober mind, is not diſobedience, but juſt obedience, becauſe it agreeth with the word of God." The Queen hearing this, ſtood for ſome time as one amazed, and changed countenance. No appearance was, at this time, of her impriſonment. [See Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 31.]

After the Queen's marriage with Henry Earl of Darnly, a proclamation was made, in 1565, ſignifying, that foraſmuch as certain rebels, who, under the colour of religion, (meaning thoſe who oppoſed the meaſures of the Court), intended nothing but the ſubverſion of the commonwealth, therefore they charged all manner of men, under pain of life, lands, and goods, to reſort and meet their Majeſties at Linlithgow, on the 24th of Auguſt. Upon Sabbath the 19th, the King came to the high church of Edinburgh, where Mr Knox preached from theſe words: *O Lord our Lord, other lords, beſide thee,*

thee, have had the dominion over us, &c. In his ſermon, he took occaſion to ſpeak of wicked princes, who, for the ſins of a people, were ſent as ſcourges upon them; and alſo ſaid, "That God ſet in that room boys and women; and that God juſtly puniſhed Ahab and his poſterity, becauſe he would not take order with the harlot Jezebel." Theſe things enraged the King to a very high degree. Mr Knox was immediately ordered before the Council; who went thither, attended by ſome of the moſt reſpectable citizens: when called in, the ſecretary ſignified that the King was much offended with ſome words in his ſermons, as above mentioned; and ordered him to abſtain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days. To which Mr Knox anſwered, That he had ſpoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to ſpeak, or refrain from ſpeaking, he would obey ſo far as the word of God would permit him. Nevertheleſs, for this and another ſermon which he preached before the Lords, in which he ſhewed the bad conſequences that would follow upon the Queen's being married to a Papiſt, he muſt be, by the Queen's order, prohibited from preaching for a conſiderable time.

It cannot be expected, that we ſhould enumerate all the indefatigable labours, and pertinent ſpeeches, which, on ſundry occaſions, he made to the Queen, nor the oppoſition which he met with in promoting the work of reformation; theſe will be found at large in the hiſtories of theſe times.

The Popiſh faction now found, that it would be impoſſible to get their idolatry re-eſtabliſhed, while the reformation was making ſuch progreſs, and while Mr Knox and his aſſociates had ſuch credit with the people. They therefore ſet other engines to work, than theſe they had hitherto uſed; they ſpared no pains to blaſt his reputation, by malicious calumnies, and even by making attempts upon his life; for, one night as he was ſitting at the head of a table in his own houſe, with his back to the window, as was his cuſtom, he was fired at from the other ſide of the ſtreet, on purpoſe to kill him. The ſhot entered at the window; but he being near to the other ſide of the table, the aſſaſſin miſſed his mark; the bullet ſtruck the candleſtick before him, and made a hole in the foot of it. Thus was *he that was with him, ſtronger than they that were againſt him.*

Mr Knox was an eminent wreſtler with God in prayer, and like a prince prevailed; the Queen Regent herſelf gave him this teſtimony, when, upon a particular occaſion, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was more afraid of his prayers, than of an army of ten thouſand men. He was likewiſe warm and pathetic in his

preaching, in which ſuch prophetical expreſſions as dropt from him, had the moſt remarkable accompliſhment. As an inſtance of this, when he was confined in the caſtle of St Andrew's, he foretold both the manner of their ſurrender, and their deliverance from the French gallies; and when the Lords of the Congregation were twice diſcomfited by the French army, he aſſured them, in the mean time, that the Lord would proſper the work of reformation. Again, when Queen Mary refuſed to come and hear ſermon, he bid them tell her, that ſhe would yet be obliged to hear the word of God, whether ſhe would or not; which came to paſs at her arraignment in England. At another time, he thus addreſſed himſelf to her huſband Henry, Lord Darnly, while in the King's ſeat in the high church of Edinburgh, "Have you, for the pleaſure of that dainty dame, caſt the pſalm-book in the fire? the Lord ſhall ſtrike both head and tail." Both King and Queen died violent deaths. He likewiſe ſaid, when the caſtle of Edinburgh held out for the Queen againſt the Regent, that "the caſtle ſhould ſpue out the captain (meaning the Laird of Grange) with ſhame; and that he ſhould not come out at the gate, but over the wall; and that the tower, called Davies Tower, ſhould run like a ſand-glaſs; which was fulfilled in a few years after, the ſame captain being obliged to come over the wall on a ladder, with a ſtaff in his hand, and the ſaid fore-work of the caſtle running down like a ſand-brae.

On the 24th January 1570, Mr Knox being in the pulpit, a paper was put into his hands, among others, containing the names of the ſick people to be prayed for; the paper contained theſe words, "Take up the man whom you accounted another God," (this alluded to the Earl of Moray, who was ſlain the day before). Having read it, he put it in his pocket, without ſhewing the leſt diſcompoſure. After ſermon, he lamented the loſs which both church and ſtate had met with in the death of that worthy nobleman, (meaning the Regent), ſhewing, that God takes away good and wiſe rulers from a people in his wrath; and at laſt ſaid, "There is one in the company who maketh that horrible murder, at which all good men have occaſion to be ſorrowful, the ſubject of his mirth. I tell him, he ſhall die in a ſtrange land, where he ſhall not have a friend near him to hold up his head." One Mr Thomas Maitland, being the author of that inſulting ſpeech, and hearing what Mr Knox ſaid, confeſſed the whole to his ſiſter the Lady Trabrown; but ſaid, That John Knox was raving, to ſpeak of he knew not whom. She replied with tears, That none of Mr Knox's threatenings fell to the ground. This gentleman afterwards

terwards went abroad, and died in Italy, on his way to Rome, having no man to aſſiſt him.

Mr Knox's popularity was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the malignant party, finding it impoſſible to alienate the hearts of the people from him, began now openly to work his deſtruction, fortifying the town and caſtle with their garriſons; they vented their malice againſt him by many furious threatenings. Upon which he was urged by his friends to leave Edinburgh for his own ſafety; which at laſt he did, in May 1571, and went to St Andrew's, where the Earl of Morton, who was then Regent, urged him to inaugurate the archbiſhop of that ſee. This he declined, with ſolemn proteſtations againſt it; and denounced an anathema on the giver and receiver. Though he was then very weak in body, he would not refrain from preaching, and was obliged to be ſupported by his ſervant Richard Bannatyne, in going to church; and, when in the pulpit, he behoved to reſt ſometime before he could proceed; but before he ended his ſermon, he became ſo vigorous and active, that he was like to have broken the pulpit to pieces.

Here he continued till the end of Auguſt 1572, when the civil broils were a little abated, upon which, receiving a letter from Edinburgh, he returned to his flock. He was now much oppreſſed with the infirmities of old age, and the extraordinary fatigues he had undergone; the death of the Regent, the Earl of Moray, had made deep impreſſions on him; but when he heard of the maſſacre of Paris*, and the murder of the good Admiral Coligni, theſe melancholy news almoſt deprived him of his life. Upon finding his diſſolution approaching, he prevailed with the Council and kirk-ſeſſion of Edinburgh, to concur with him in admitting one Mr James Lawſon as his ſucceſſor, who was at that time profeſſor of philoſophy in the college of Aberdeen. He wrote a letter to Mr Lawſon, intreating him to accept of this charge; adding this poſtſcript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioque ſero venies*; i. e. Make haſte, my brother, otherwiſe you will come too late; meaning, that if he came not ſpeedily, he would find him dead: which words had this effect on Mr Lawſon, that he ſet out immediately, making

* In the ſpace of two or three days, there were about 70,000 Proteſtants murdered in cold blood in Paris, and other parts of France. This maſſacre was begun in the night of St Bartholomew's day, in the reign of Charles IX. of that kingdom. The King of Navarre, afterwards Henry the Great, narrowly eſcaped on that occaſion; for he was then at Paris on account of the ſolemnization of his marriage with Charles's ſiſter; which marriage the Papiſts had contrived, in order to draw as many Proteſtants into that city as poſſible, that they might have them in their power. See the account of this mournful event at large in Sully's Memoirs, vol. i.

making all poſſible haſte to Edinburgh; where, after he had preached twice to the full ſatisfaction of the people, the 9th of November was appointed for his admiſſion unto that congregation. Mr Knox, though then ſtill weaker, preached upon that occaſion with much power, and with the greateſt comfort to the hearers. In the cloſe of his ſermon, he called God to witneſs, that he had walked in a good conſcience among them, not ſeeking to pleaſe men, nor ſerving his own nor other men's inclinations, but in all ſincerity and truth preaching the goſpel of Chriſt. Then praiſing God, who had given them one in his room, he exhorted them to ſtand faſt in the faith they had received; and having prayed fervently for the divine bleſſing upon them, and the increaſe of the Spirit upon their new paſtor, he gave them his laſt farewell; with which the congregation were much affected.

Being carried home that ſame day, he was confined to his bed, and on the 13th was ſo enfeebled, that he was obliged to lay aſide his ordinary reading of the ſcripture. The next day he would riſe out of bed, being aſked, What he intended by getting out of bed? he replied, he would go to church, thinking that had been the Lord's day; he told them, he had been all the night meditating upon the reſurrection of Chriſt, which he ſhould have preached on in order after the death of Chriſt, which he had finiſhed the Sabbath before. He had often deſired of God, that he would end his days in teaching, and meditating upon that doctrine; which deſire ſeems to have been granted to him. Upon the 17th, the elders and deacons being come to him, he ſaid, "The time is approaching, for which I have long thirſted, wherein I ſhall be relieved and be free from all cares, and be with my Saviour for ever; and now, God is my witneſs, whom I have ſerved with my ſpirit in the goſpel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and ſolid doctrines of the goſpel, and that the end which I purpoſed in all my doctrine, was to inſtruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the conſciences of thoſe that were humbled under the ſenſe of their ſins, and to denounce the threatenings of God's word againſt ſuch as were rebellious. I am not ignorant, that many have blamed me, and yet do blame my too great rigour and ſeverity; but God knoweth that, in my heart, I never hated the perſons of thoſe againſt whom I thundered God's judgements; I did only hate their ſins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Chriſt; that I did forbear none of whatſoever condition, but did it out of the fear of my God, who placed me in this function of the miniſtry, and I know will bring me to an account." Then he exhorted them to conſtancy, and intreated them not

ver to join with the wicked, but rather to chooſe with David to flee to the mountains, than to remain with ſuch company. After this exhortation to the elders and deacons, he charged Mr David Lindſay and Mr James Lawſon to take heed to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them overſeers. To Mr Lawſon in particular he ſaid, "Fight the good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind; and God from above bleſs you, and the church whereof you have the charge, againſt which the gates of hell ſhall not prevail." Then by prayer he recommended the whole company preſent to the grace of God, and afterwards deſired his wife, or Richard Bannatyne, to read the 17th chapter of John, a chapter of the Epheſians, and the 33d chapter of Iſaiah, daily, after he was unable to read himſelf. Sometimes he deſired part of Mr Calvin's ſermons in French to be read to him. One time, when reading theſe ſermons, they ſuppoſed him to be ſleeping, and aſked him, If he heard what was read? He replied, "I hear, I praiſe God, and underſtand far better."

One day after this, Mr David Lindſay coming to ſee him, he ſaid unto him, "Well, brother, I thank God I have deſired all this day to have had you, that I might ſend you to that man in the caſtle, the Laird of Grange, whom you know I have loved dearly. Go, I pray you, and tell him from me, in the name of God, that unleſs he leave that evil courſe wherein he has entered, neither ſhall that rock (meaning the the caſtle of Edinburgh, which he then kept out againſt the King) afford him any help, nor the carnal wiſdom of that man, whom he counteth half a god (meaning young Lethington); but he ſhall be pulled out of that neſt, and brought down over the wall with ſhame, and his carcaſe ſhall be hung before the ſun; ſo God hath aſſured me." When Mr David delivered this meſſage, the Captain ſeemed to be much moved; but after a little conference with Lethington, he returned to Mr Lindſay, and diſmiſſed him with a diſdainful countenance and anſwer. When he reported this to Mr Knox, he ſaid, "Well I have been earneſt with my God anent that man; I am ſorry that it ſhould ſo befall his body, yet God aſſureth me, there is mercy for his ſoul. But for the other, meaning Lethington, I have no warrant to ſay that it ſhall be well with him." The truth of this ſeemed to appear in a ſhort time thereafter; for it was thought that Lethington poiſoned himſelf, to avoid public puniſhment. He lay unburied in the ſteeple of Leith until his body was quite corrupted; but Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange was, on the 3d Auguſt next, executed at the Croſs of Edinburgh. He cauſed

Mr

Mr Lindſay to repeat Mr Knox's words concerning him a little before his execution; and was much comforted by them. He ſaid to Mr Lindſay, who accompanied him to the ſcaffold, "I hope when men ſhall think I am gone, I ſhall give a token of the aſſurance of God's mercy to my ſoul, according to the ſpeech of that man of God." Accordingly, when he was caſt over the ladder, with his face towards the eaſt, when all preſent thought he was dead, he lifted up his hands, which were bound, and let them fall ſoftly down again, as if praiſing God for his great mercy towards him. [See Spottiſwood's Hiſtory, p. 266. 272. and Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 62. 63.]

Another of Mr Knox's viſitors deſired him to praiſe God for the good he had done. He anſwered, "Fleſh of itſelf is too proud, and needs nothing to puff it up;" and proteſted, that he only laid claim to the free mercy of God in Chriſt among others. To the Earl of Morton, who was then about to receive the Regency, the Earl of Moray being dead, he was heard to ſay, "My Lord, God hath given you many bleſſings; he hath given you high honour, birth, great riches, many good friends, and is now to prefer you to the government of the realm. In his name, I charge you, that you will uſe theſe bleſſings better in time to come, than you have done in time paſt: In all your actions, ſeek firſt the glory of God, the furtherance of his goſpel, the maintenance of his church and miniſtry; and then be careful of the King, to procure his good, and the welfare of the kingdom. If you act thus, God will be with you; if otherwiſe, he ſhall deprive you of all theſe benefits; and your end ſhall be ſhameful and ignominious." This threatening, Morton, to his melancholy experience, confeſſed, was literally accompliſhed. At his execution, in June 1581, he called to mind Mr Knox's words; and acknowledged, that, in what he had ſaid to him, he had been a true prophet.

Upon the Lord's day (Nov. 23.) after he had lain for ſome time very quiet, he ſaid, "If any man be preſent, let him come and ſee the work of God; for he thought, as was ſuppoſed, then to have expired. His ſervant having ſent for Mr Johnſton writer, he burſt forth into theſe words: "I have been in meditation theſe two laſt nights upon the troubled kirk of God, deſpiſed in the world, but precious in his ſight. I have called to God for her, and commended to Chriſt her head: I have been fighting againſt Satan, who is ever ready for the aſſault; I have fought againſt ſpiritual wickedneſſes, and have prevailed: I have been as it were in heaven, and have taſted of its joys." After ſermon ſeveral perſons came to viſit him; one aſked him, upon perceiving his breathing ſhortened, If he had

any

any pain? he anſwered, "I have no more pain than he that is now in heaven; and I am content, if it pleaſe God, to lie here ſeven years." Many times, when he was lying as if aſleep, he was in meditation, and was heard to ſay, "Lord, grant true paſtors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Reſtore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magiſtrates. O ſerve the Lord in fear, and death ſhall not be troubleſome to you. Bleſſed is the death of thoſe that have part in the death of Jeſus. Come, Lord Jeſus, ſweet Jeſus, into thy hand I commend my ſpirit."

That night, Dr Preſton being come to him, and was told by ſome of his conſtant attendants, that he was often very uneaſy in his ſleep; the doctor aſked him after he awoke, How he did, and what made him mourn ſo heavily in his ſleep; he anſwered, "In my life time, I have been often aſſaulted by Satan, and many times he hath caſt my ſins in my teeth, to bring me to deſpair; yet God gave me ſtrength to overcome his temptations: and now that ſubtle ſerpent, who never ceaſeth to tempt, hath taken another courſe, and ſeeks to perſuade me, that all my labours in the miniſtry, and the fidelity I have ſhowed in that ſervice, have merited heaven and immortality. But bleſſed be God, that he hath brought to my mind that ſcripture, *What haſt thou that thou haſt not received?* and, *not I, but the grace of God which is in me;* with which he hath gone away aſhamed, and ſhall no more return; and now I am ſure my battle is at an end, and that I ſhall ſhortly, without pain of body, or trouble of ſpirit, change this mortal and miſerable life, for that happy and immortal life that ſhall never have an end."

Having, ſome time before, given orders for making his coffin, he roſe out of bed (November 24.) about ten o'clock, and put on his hoſe and doublet, and ſat up about the ſpace of half an hour, and then returned to bed again. Being aſked by Kingincleugh, If he had any pain! he anſwered, "No pain, but ſuch as, I truſt, will ſoon put an end to this battle; yea, I do not eſteem that pain to me, which is the beginning of eternal joy." In the afternoon he cauſed his wife to read the 15th chapter of 1 Corinthians. When it was ended, he ſaid, "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" A little after, "I commend my ſoul, ſpirit, and body, into thy hands, O Lord." About five o'clock at night, he ſaid to his wife, "Go, read where I caſt my firſt anchor." This was the 17th chapter of John; which ſhe read, together with part of Calvin's ſermons on the Epheſians. They then went to prayer; after which Dr Preſton aſked him, If he heard the prayer? he anſwered, "Would to God that you and all men had heard

heard it as I have done; I praiſe God for that heavenly ſound;" adding, "Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit." His ſervant, Richard Bannatyne, hearing him give a long ſigh, ſaid, "Now, Sir, the time you have long called to God for, doth inſtantly come; and, ſeeing all natural powers fail, give us ſome ſign, that you live upon the comfortable promiſes which you have ſo often ſhewed to us." At this ſpeech, he lifted up one of his hands; and immediately after, without any ſtruggle, as one falling aſleep, he departed this life, about eleven o'clock at night, finiſhing his Chriſtian warfare: he entered into the joy of his Lord, to receive a crown of righteouſneſs, prepared for him, and ſuch as him, from before the foundation of the world.

He was buried in the church-yard of St Giles, now that ſquare called the Parliament Cloſe, upon Wedneſday the 26th of November. His funeral was attended by the Earl of Morton, Regent, other Lords, and a great multitude of people of all ranks. When he was laid in the grave, the Earl of Morton ſaid, "There lies a man, who, in his life, never feared the face of man: who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but hath ended his days in peace and honour."

He was low in ſtature, and of a weakly conſtitution; which made Mr Thomas Smeaton, one of his contemporaries, ſay, "I know not if ever God placed a more godly and great ſpirit in a body ſo little and frail. I am certain, that there can ſcarcely be found another, in whom more gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, for the comfort of the church of Scotland, did ſhine. No one ſpared himſelf leſs; no one more diligent in the charge committed to him; and yet no one was more the object of the hatred of wicked men, and more vexed with the reproach of evil ſpeakers: but this was ſo far from abating, that it rather ſtrengthened his courage and reſolution in the ways of God." Beza calls him the great apoſtle of the Scots. His faithfulneſs in reproving ſin, in a manner that ſhewed he was not to be awed by the fear of man, made up the moſt remarkable part of his character; and the ſucceſs wherewith the Lord bleſſed his labours, was very ſingular, and is enough to ſtop the mouth of every enemy againſt him.

His works are, an Admonition to England; an Application to the Scots Nobility, &c.; a Letter to Mary the Queen Regent; a Hiſtory of the Reformation; a Treatiſe on Predeſtination; the Firſt and Second Blaſt of the Trumpet; a Sermon preached, Auguſt 1565, on account of which he was for ſome prohibited from preaching. He left alſo ſundry manuſcripts, ſermons, tracts, &c. which have never been printed.

Mr GEORGE BUCHANAN.

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in Lennoxſhire, commonly called the ſheriffdom of Dumbarton, in Scotland, in a country town, ſituated near the river or water of Blane *, in 1506, about the beginning of February, of a family rather ancient than rich. His father died of the ſtone, in the flower of his age, whilſt his grandfather was yet alive; by whoſe extravagance, the family, which was but low before, was now almoſt reduced to the extremity of want; yet ſuch was the frugal care of his mother, Agnes Herriot, that ſhe brought up five ſons and three daughters to men's and women's eſtate. Of the five ſons, George was one. His uncle, James Herriot, perceiving his promiſing ingenuity in their own country ſchools, took him from thence, and ſent him to Paris. There he applied himſelf to his ſtudies, and eſpecially to poetry; having partly a natural genius that way, and partly out of neceſſity, becauſe it was the only method of ſtudy propounded to him in his youth. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himſelf fell dangerouſly ſick; and being in extreme want, was forced to go home to his friends. After his return to Scotland, he ſpent almoſt a year in taking care of his health; then he went into the army with ſome French auxiliaries, newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art. But that expedition proving fruitleſs, and thoſe forces being reduced by the deep ſnow of a very ſevere winter, he relapſed into ſuch an illneſs, as confined him all that ſeaſon to his bed. Early in the ſpring, he was ſent to St Andrew's, to hear the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather ſophiſtry, in that univerſity. The ſummer after, he accompanied him into France; and there he fell into the troubles of the Lutheran ſect, which then began to increaſe. He ſtruggled with the difficulties of fortune almoſt two years, and at laſt was admitted into the Barbaran college, where he was grammar-profeſſor almoſt three years. During that time, Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Caſſillis, one of the young Scottiſh nobles, being in that country, was much taken with his ingenuity and acquaintance; ſo that he entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him into Scotland.

Afterwards, having a mind to return to Paris to his old ſtudies, he was detained by the King, and made tutor to James, his natural ſon. In the mean time, an elegy made by him, at leiſure times, came into the hands of the Franciſcans;

* Spottiſwood ſays he was born within the pariſh of Killearn, and houſe of Drummakill. Hiſtory, p. 325.

wherein he writes, that he was ſolicited in a dream, by St Francis, to enter into his order. In this poem, there were one or two paſſages that reflected on them very ſeverely; which thoſe ghoſtly fathers, notwithſtanding their profeſſion of meekneſs and humility, took more hainouſly, than men, having obtained ſuch a vogue for piety among the vulgar, ought to have done, upon ſo ſmall an occaſion of offence. But finding no juſt grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the ſcore of religion; which was their common way of terrifying thoſe they did not wiſh well to. Thus, whilſt they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well-affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiouſneſs, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran cauſe. In the mean time, the King, with Magdalen his wife, came from France, not without the reſentment of the prieſthood; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt, the Queen of Navarre, ſhould attempt ſome innovation in religion. But this fear ſoon vaniſhed upon her death, which followed ſhortly after.

Next, there aroſe jealouſies at Court about ſome of the nobility, who were thought to have conſpired againſt the King; and in that matter, the King being perſuaded the Franciſcans dealt inſincerely, he commanded Buchanan, who was then at Court, though he was ignorant of the diſguſts between him and that order, to write a ſatyr upon them. He was loath to offend either of them; and therefore, though he made a poem, yet it was but ſhort, and ſuch as might admit of a doubtful interpretation, wherein he ſatisfied neither party; not the King, who would have had a ſharp and ſtinging invective; nor the fathers neither, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing ſaid of them but what was honourable. So that receiving a ſecond command to write more pungently againſt them, he began that miſcellany, which now bears the title of The Franciſcan, and gave it to the King. But ſhortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at Court, that Cardinal Beaton ſought his life, and had offered the King a ſum of money, as a price for his head, he eſcaped out of priſon, and fled for England *. But there alſo, things were at ſuch an uncertainty, that the very ſame day, and almoſt with one and the ſame fire, the men of both factions, Proteſtants and Papiſts,

* In the midſt of theſe evils, he (the King) cauſed to put hands on that notable man Mr George Buchanan; but by the merciful providence of God he eſcaped the rage of thoſe that ſought his life, although with great difficulty, and remains alive to this day (1566), to the glory of God, the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of thoſe who delight in learning and virtue.——KNOX's Hiſtory.

Papiſts, were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own ſecurity, than the purity or reformation of religion. This uncertainty of affairs in England, ſeconded by his ancient acquaintance with the French, and the courteſy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

As ſoon as he came to Paris, he found Cardinal Beaton, his utter enemy, ambaſſador there; ſo that, to withdraw himſelf from his fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govean, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the ſchools, which were erected at the public coſt. In that time he compoſed four tragedies, which were afterwards occaſionally publiſhed. But that which he wrote firſt, called The Baptiſt, was printed laſt, and next the Medea of Euripedes. He wrote them in compliance with the cuſtom of the ſchool, which was to have a play written once a-year, that the acting of them might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a falſe taſte, and bring them back, as much as poſſible, to a juſt imitation of the ancients. This affair ſucceeding even almoſt beyond his hopes, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephtha and Alceſtes; becauſe he thought they would fall under a ſeverer ſcrutiny of the learned. And yet, during this time, he was not wholly free from trouble, being haraſſed with the menaces of the Cardinal on the one ſide, and of the Franciſcans on the other: For the Cardinal had wrote letters to the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him; but, providentially, thoſe letters fell into the hands of Buchanan's beſt friends. However, the death of the King of Scots, and the plague, which then raged over all Aquitain, diſpelled that fear.

In the interim, an expreſs came to Govean from the King of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him ſome men, learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues; that they might read the liberal arts, and eſpecially the principles of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, in thoſe ſchools which he was then building with a great deal of care and expence. Buchanan, being addreſſed, readily conſented to go for one. For whereas he ſaw that all Europe beſides, was either actually in foreign or domeſtic wars, or juſt upon the point of being ſo, that one corner of the world was, in his opinion, likelieſt to be free from tumults and combuſtions; and beſides, his companions in that journey were ſuch, that they ſeemed rather his acquaintances and familiar friends, than ſtrangers or aliens to him: for many of them had been his intimates for ſeveral years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Micholaus Gruchius, Gulielmus Garentæus, Jacobus Tevius, and Elias Venetus. This was the reaſon that he did not only make

one of their ſociety, but alſo perſuaded a brother of his, called Patrick, to do the ſame. And truly the matter ſucceeded excellently well at firſt; till, in the midſt of the enterpriſe, Andrew Govean was taken away by a ſudden death, which proved mighty prejudicial to his companions: For, after his deceaſe, all their enemies endeavoured firſt to enſnare them by treachery, and ſoon after ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and inſtruments, being great enemies to the accuſed, they laid hold of three of them, and haled them to priſon; whence, after a long and loathſome confinement, they were called out to give in their anſwers; and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded to priſon again; and yet no accuſer did appear in court againſt them. As for Buchanan, they inſulted moſt bitterly over him, as being a ſtranger; and knowing alſo, that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his proſperity, ſympathiſe with his grief, or revenge the wrongs offered to him. The crime laid to his charge, was the poem he wrote againſt the Franciſcans; which he himſelf, before he went from France, took care to get excuſed to the King of Portugal; neither did his accuſers perfectly know what it was, for he had given but one copy of it to the King of Scots, by whoſe command he wrote it. They farther objected "his eating of fleſh in Lent;" though there is not a man in all Spain but uſes the ſame liberty. Beſides, he had given ſome ſly ſide-blows to the monks; which, however, nobody but a monk himſelf could well except againſt.

Moreover, they took it hainouſly ill, that, in a certain familiar diſcourſe with ſome young Portugueſe gentlemen, upon mention made of the euchariſt, he ſhould affirm, that, in his judgement, Auſtin was more inclinable to the party condemned by the church of Rome. Two other perſons (as ſome years after came to his knowledge, viz. John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius of Sub alpine Liguria) had witneſſed againſt him, that they had heard, from divers creditable perſons, "That Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion."

But to return to the matter: After the inquiſitors had wearied both themſelves and him for almoſt half a year, at laſt, that they might not ſeem to have cauſeleſsly vexed a man of ſome name and note in the world, they ſhut him up in a monaſtery for ſome months; there to be more exactly diſciplined and inſtructed by the monks; who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwiſe neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to form the principal part of David's

avid's Pſalms into Latin verſe. At laſt he was ſet at liber-
; and ſuing for a paſs, and accommodations from the
own, to return into France, the King deſired him to ſtay
here he was; and allotted him a ſmall ſum for daily neceſ-
ries and pocket expences, till ſome better proviſion might
e made for his ſubſiſtence. But he, tired out with delay, as be-
g put off to no certain time, nor on any ſure grounds of hope;
nd having got the opportunity of a paſſage in a ſhip then
ding in the bay of Liſbon, was carried over into England.
e made no longer ſtay in that country, though fair offers
ere made him there; for he ſaw that all things were in a
urry and combuſtion, under a very young King; the nobles
variance one with another; and the minds of the commons
t in a ferment, upon the account of their civil combuſtions.
hereupon he returned into France, about the time that the
ge of Metz was raiſed. There he was in a manner com-
lled by his friends to write a poem concerning that ſiege;
hich he did, though ſomewhat unwillingly, becauſe he was
ath to interfere with ſeveral of his acquaintances, and eſpe-
ally with Mellinus Sangelaſius, who had compoſed a learned
d elegant poem on that ſubject. From thence he was called
er into Italy, by Charles de Coſſe of Breſcia, who then ma-
ged matters with very good ſucceſs in the Gallic and Ligu-
c countries about the Po. He lived with him and his ſon
moleon, ſometimes in Italy, and ſometimes in France, the
ace of five years, till the year 1560; the greateſt part of
hich time he ſpent in the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, that
he might be able to make a more exact judgement of the
ntroverſies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and
k up all the time, of moſt of the men of theſe days. It is
e, theſe diſputes were ſilenced a little in Scotland, when
t kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guiſes of
ance; ſo he returned thither, and became a member of the
urch of Scotland, 1560 *.

Some of his writings, in former times, being, as it were, re-
emed from ſhipwreck, were by him collected and publiſhed.
e reſt, which were ſcattered up and down in the hands of
his

* A little before his death, he returned home from Court to viſit
friends; during which time King James ſent him ſeveral meſſages;
, at laſt, a threatening letter to return in twenty days. But he,
ing his death approaching, ſent him back a letter of admonition
tive to the government of his kingdom, and well-being of his coun-
and told him, that he could run the hazard of his Majeſty's diſ-
ſure without danger; for that, "by the time limited, he would be
re few kings or great men ſhould be honoured to enter." At read-
which, it is ſaid, the King wept.

his friends, he committed to the diſpoſal of Providence*. After his return, he profeſſed philoſophy in St Andrew's; and in the year 1565, he was appointed tutor to James VI. King of Scotland; and in 1568, went with the Regent to the Court of England; at which time and place he did no ſmall honour to his country.

Sir James Melvill, in his Memoirs, p. 234, gives him the following character.—"He was a Stoic philoſopher, who looked not far before him; too eaſy in his old age; ſomewhat revengeful againſt thoſe who had offended him:" But notwithſtanding, "a man of notable endowments, great learning, and an excellent Latin poet; he was much honoured in foreign countries; pleaſant in converſation, into which he happily introduced ſhort moral maxims, which his invention readily ſupplied him with upon any emergency. He was buried at Edinburgh, in the common place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, as in his life pompous monuments he uſed to contemn and deſpiſe."

MR ROBERT ROLLOCK.

MR ROLLOCK was deſcended from the ancient family of the Livingſtons. He was born about the year 1555. His father, David Rollock, ſent him to Stirling, to be educated for the univerſity, under Thomas Buchanan; who, his genius, modeſty, and ſweetneſs of temper, ſoon procured to him the particular friendſhip of his maſter, which ſubſiſted ever after. From this ſchool, he went to the univerſity of St Andrew's, where he proſecuted his ſtudies for four years; at the end of which, his progreſs had been ſo great, that he was choſen profeſſor of philoſophy; the duties of which office he diſcharged with applauſe for other four years, until about the year 1583, he was invited, by the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, to a profeſſion in their univerſity; which was, not long before this time, founded by King James VI. He complied with their invitation, at the earneſt deſire of Mr James Lawſon, who ſucceeded Mr Knox. His reputation, as a teacher, ſoon drew a number of ſtudents to that college; which was ſoon afterwards much enlarged, by being ſo convenient ſituat

* His works that are now extant, make two folio volumes. His treatiſe, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was condemned by act of parliament, about two years after his death; which happened at Edinburgh on September 28. 1582. Theſe pamphlets, going under the name of the Witty Exploits of George Buchanan, ſeem to be ſpurious; although it is true, he pronounced many witty expreſſions, of which a great number never were committed to writing.

tuated in the capital of the kingdom. At firſt he had the rincipal weight of academical buſineſs laid upon him; but n proceſs of time, other profeſſors were choſen from among he ſcholars which he educated. After which his chief employment was to exerciſe the office of Principal, by ſuperintending the ſeveral claſſes, to obſerve the proficiency of the cholars, to compoſe ſuch differences as would ariſe among hem, and to keep every one to his duty. Thus was the rincipality of that college, in his time, a uſeful inſtitution, nd not what it is now, little better than a mere ſinecure. very morning, he called the ſtudents together, when he rayed among them; and one day in the week, he explained ome paſſage of ſcripture to them; in the cloſe of which, he as frequently very warm in his exhortations; which wrought ore reformation upon the ſtudents, than all the laws which ere made, or diſcipline which was exerciſed beſides. After he lecture was over, it was his cuſtom to reprove ſuch as had een guilty of any miſdemeanour through the week, "How the gold become dim! how is the moſt fine gold changed!" e was likewiſe very attentive to ſuch as were advanced in eir ſtudies, and intended the miniſtry. His care was productive of much good to the church. He was as diligent in s own ſtudies, as he was careful to promote thoſe of others. otwithſtanding all this buſineſs in the univerſity, he preached every Lord's day in the church, with ſuch fervency and emonſtration of the Spirit, that he became the inſtrument of nverting many to God. About this time, he alſo wrote veral commentaries on different paſſages of ſcripture. His poſition of the epiſtles to the Romans and Epheſians, coing into the hands of the learned Beza, he wrote to a friend his, telling him, that he had an incomparable treaſure; hich, for its judicioufneſs, brevity, and elegance of ſtyle, had w equals.

He was choſen Moderator to the Aſſembly held at Dundee 1567, wherein matters went not altogether in favours of reſbytery; but this cannot be imputed to him; although alderwood, in his Hiſtory, p. 403. calls him "a man ſimple matters of the church." He was one of thoſe commiſſioned by the Aſſembly to wait on his Majeſty, about ſeating the urches of Edinburgh; but in the mean time, he ſickened, d was confined to his houſe. Afterwards, at the intreaty his friends, he went to the country for the benefit of the : at firſt he ſeemed as if growing better, but his diſtemper on returned upon him with greater violence than before: his confined him to his bed. He committed his wife (for had no children) to the care of his friends. He deſired

two

two noblemen, who came to viſit him, to go to the King, and intreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, and preſerve it to the end, and that he would eſteem and comfort the paſtors of the church; for the miniſtry of Chriſt, though low and baſe in the eyes of men, yet it ſhould at length ſhine with great glory. When the miniſters of Edinburgh came to him, he ſpoke of the ſincerity of his intentions in every thing done by him, in diſcharge of the duties belonging to the office with which he had been veſted. As night drew on, his diſtemper increaſed; and, together therewith, his religious fervour was likewiſe augmented. When the phyſicians were preparing ſome medicines, he ſaid, "Thou, Lord, wilt heal me;" and then began, praying for the pardon of his ſins through Chriſt; and profeſſed that he counted all things but dung for the croſs of Chriſt. He prayed farther, that he might have the preſence of God in his departure, ſaying, "Hitherto have I ſeen thee darkly, through the glaſs of thy word: O Lord, grant that I may have the eternal enjoyment of thy countenance, which I have ſo much deſired and longed for;" and then ſpoke of the reſurrection and eternal life; after which he bleſſed and exhorted every one preſent, according as their reſpective circumſtances required.

The day following, when the magiſtrates of Edinburgh came to ſee him, he exhorted them to take care of the univerſity, and nominated a ſucceſſor to himſelf. He recommended his wife to them, declaring, that he had not laid up one halfpenny of his ſtipend, and therefore hoped they would provide for her; to which requeſt they aſſented, and promiſed to ſee her comfortably ſupplied. After this he ſaid, "I bleſs God, that I have all my ſenſes entire, but my heart is in heaven; and, Lord Jeſus, why ſhouldſt not thou have it? it has been my care, all my life, to dedicate it to thee; I pray thee, take it, that I may live with thee for ever." Then, after a little ſleep, he awakened, crying, "Come, Lord Jeſus, put an end to this miſerable life; haſte, Lord, and tarry not. Chriſt hath redeemed me, not unto a frail and momentary life, but unto eternal life. Come, Lord Jeſus, and give the life for which thou haſt redeemed me." Some of the people preſent bewailing their condition when he ſhould be taken away, he ſaid unto them, "I have gone through all the degrees of this life, and am come to my end, why ſhould I go back again? help me, O Lord, that I may go through this laſt degree, with thy aſſiſtance," &c. And when ſome told him, that the next day was the Sabbath, he ſaid, "O Lord, ſhall I begin my eternal Sabbath from thy Sabbath here?" Next morning, feeling his death approaching, he ſent for Mr

Balcanquhal; who, in prayer with him, desired the Lord, if he pleased, to spare his life, for the good of the church: he said, "I am weary of this life; all my desire is, that I may enjoy the celestial life, that is hid with Christ in God." And, a little after, "Haste, Lord, and do not tarry, I am weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord Jesus, that I may come to thee. Break these eye-strings, and give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee. O Lord Jesus, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my soul to thyself! O my sweet Lord, let this soul of mine free, that she may enjoy her husband." And when one of the bystanders said, Sir, let nothing trouble you, for now your Lord makes haste, he said, "O welcome message! would to God, my funeral might be to-morrow." And thus he continued in heavenly meditation and prayer, till he resigned up his spirit to God, in 1598, in the 54th year of his age.

His works are, a Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Gospel of John, with its Harmony. He wrote also on the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Galatians; and Analysis of the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, with respect to effectual calling.

MR JOHN CRAIG.

MR JOHN CRAIG was a man of considerable learning and singular abilities. He travelled abroad in his youth, and was frequently delivered out of very great dangers, by the kind interposition of a gracious providence; an instance of which we have while he was in Italy: Being obliged to fly out of that country, on account of his regard for the Reformation, in order to avoid being apprehended, he was obliged to lurk in obscure places in the day-time, and travel over night; by this means any little money he had was soon exhausted, and, being in the extremity of want, a dog brought a purse to him with some gold in it, by which he was supported until he escaped the danger of being taken.

After his return home, he was settled minister at Edinburgh, where he continued many years, and met with many trials of his fortitude and fidelity. In 1567, the Earl of Bothwell, having obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, as preparatory to his marriage with Queen Mary, she sent a letter to Mr Craig, commanding him to publish the banns of matrimony betwixt her and Bothwell. But the next Sabbath, having

ving declared at length that he had received ſuch a command, he added, that he could not in conſcience obey it, the marriage being altogether unlawful; and that he would declare to the parties if preſent. He was immediately ſent for by Bothwell, unto whom he declared his reaſons with great boldneſs; and the very next Lord's day, he told the people what he had ſaid before the Council; and took heaven and earth to witneſs, that he deteſted that ſcandalous marriage; and that he had diſcharged his duty to the Lord, &c. Upon this, he was again called before the Council, and reproved by them, as having exceeded the bounds of his calling: he boldly anſwered, That "the bounds of his commiſſion was the word of God, right reaſon, and good laws, againſt which he had ſaid nothing;" and by all theſe offered to prove the ſaid marriage ſcandalous; at which he was ſtopt, and ſet out of the Council.

Thus Mr Craig continued, not only a firm friend to the Reformation, but a bold oppoſer of every encroachment made upon the crown and dignity of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In 1584, when an act of parliament was made, that all miniſters, maſters of colleges, &c. ſhould, within forty-eight hours, compear and ſubſcribe the act of parliment, concerning the King's power over all eſtates, ſpiritual and temporal, and ſubmit themſelves to the biſhops, &c. Upon which, Mr Craig, John Brand, and ſome others, were called before the Council, and interrogate, How he could be ſo bold as to controvert the late act of parliment? Mr Craig anſwered, That they would find fault with any thing repugnant to God's word; at which the Earl of Arran ſtarted up on his feet, and ſaid, They were too pert; that he would ſhave their head, pare their nails, and cut their toes, and make them an example unto all who ſhould diſobey the King's command, and his Council's orders; and forthwith charged them to appear before the King, at Falkland, on the 4th of September following.

Upon their appearance at Falkland, they were again accuſed of tranſgreſſing the foreſaid act of parliament, and diſobeying the Biſhop's injunctions; when there aroſe ſome hot ſpeeches betwixt Mr Craig and the Biſhop of St Andrew's, at which the Earl of Arran ſpake again moſt outrageouſly againſt Mr Craig; who coolly replied, That there had been a great men ſet up higher, that had been brought low. Arran returned, "I ſhall make thee, of a falſe friar, a true prophet;" and, ſitting down on his knee, he ſaid, "Now am I humbled." "Nay," ſaid Mr Craig, "mock the ſervants of God as thou wilt, God will not be mocked, but ſhall make thee find it in earnest

earneſt, when thou ſhalt be caſt down from the high horſe of thy pride, and humbled." This came to paſs a few years after, when he was thrown off his horſe with a ſpear, by James Douglas of Parkhead, killed, and his corpſe expoſed to dogs and ſwine before it was buried.

Mr Craig was forthwith diſcharged to preach any more in Edinburgh, and the Biſhop of St Andrew's was appointed to preach in his place; but as ſoon as he entered the great church of Edinburgh, the whole congregation, except a few court-paraſites, went out. It was not long before Mr Craig was reſtored to his place and office.

In 1591, when the Earl of Bothwell and his accomplices, on the 27th of December, came to the King and Chancellor's chamber-doors with fire, and to the Queen's with a hammer, in the palace of Holyroodhouſe, with a deſign to ſeize the King and the Chancellor. Mr Craig, upon the 29th, preaching before the King, upon the two brazen mountains in Zechariah, ſaid, "As the King had lightly regarded the many bloody ſhirts preſented to him by his ſubjects craving juſtice, ſo God, in his providence, had made a noiſe of crying and fore hammers to come to his own doors." The King would have the people to ſtay after ſermon, that he might purge himſelf, and ſaid, "If he had thought his hired ſervant (meaning Mr Craig, who was his own miniſter) would have dealt in that manner with him, he ſhould not have ſuffered him ſo long in his houſe." Mr Craig, by reaſon of the throng, not hearing what he ſaid, went away.

In 1595, Mr Craig being quite worn out by his labours, and the infirmities of age, the King's Commiſſioner preſented ſome articles to the General Aſſembly; wherein, amongſt other things, he craved, that, in reſpect Mr Craig is awaiting what hour God ſhall pleaſe to call him, and is unable to ſerve any longer, and his Majeſty, deſigning to place John Duncanſon with the prince, therefore, his Highneſs deſired an ordinance to be made, granting any two miniſters he ſhall chooſe; which was accordingly done; and Mr Craig died a ſhort time after this.

Mr Craig will appear, from theſe ſhort memoirs, to have been a man of uncommon reſolution and activity. He was employed in the moſt part of the affairs of the church during the reign of Queen Mary, and in the beginning of that of her ſon. He compiled the National Covenant, and a Catechiſm, commonly called Craig's Catechiſm, which was firſt printed by order of the Aſſembly, in 1591.

Mr DAVID BLACK.

MR BLACK was for ſome time colleague to the worthy Mr Andrew Melvill, miniſter at St Andrew's. He was remarkable for zeal and fidelity in the diſcharge of his duty as a miniſter, applying his doctrine cloſely againſt the corruptions of that age, prevailing either among the higheſt or loweſt of the people; in conſequence of which, he was, in 1596, cited before the Council for ſome expreſſions uttered in a ſermon, alledged to ſtrike againſt the Queen and Council. But his brethren in the miniſtry thinking, that, by this method of procedure with him, the ſpiritual government of the houſe of God was intended to be ſubverted, they reſolved, that Mr Black ſhould decline anſwering the King and Council; and that, in the mean time, the brethren ſhould be preparing themſelves to prove from the holy ſcriptures, that the judgement of all doctrine, in the firſt inſtance, belonged to the paſtors of the church.

Accordingly, Mr Black, on the 18th November 1596, gave in a declinature to the Council, to this effect: That he was able to defend all that he had ſaid; yet, ſeeing his anſwering before them to that accuſation, might be prejudicial to the liberties of the church, and would be taken for an acknowledgement of his Majeſty's juriſdiction in matters merely ſpiritual, he was conſtrained to decline that judicatory, 1. Becauſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt had given him his word for a rule, and that therefore he could not fall under the civil law; but in ſo far as, after trial, he ſhould be found to have paſſed from his inſtructions, which trial only belonged to the prophets, &c. 2. The liberties of the church, and diſcipline preſently exerciſed, were confirmed by divers acts of parliament, approved of by the Confeſſion of Faith, and the office-bearers of the church, were now in the peaceable poſſeſſion thereof; that the queſtion of his preaching ought firſt, according to the grounds and practice foreſaid, to be judged by the eccleſiaſtical ſenate, as the competent judges thereof at the firſt inſtance. This declinature, with a letter ſent by the different preſbyteries, were, in a ſhort time, ſubſcribed by between three and four hundred miniſters, all aſſenting to and approving of it.

The commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly then ſitting at Edinburgh, knowing that the King was diſpleaſed at this proceeding, ſent ſome of their number to ſpeak with his Majeſty; unto whom he anſwered, That if Mr Black would paſs from his declinature, he would paſs from the ſummons; but this they would not conſent to do. Upon which, the King cauſed

ſed ſummon Mr Black again on the 27th of November, to the Council to be held on the 30th. This ſummons was given with ſound of trumpet, and open proclamation at the croſs of Edinburgh; and the ſame day, the commiſſioners of the Aſſembly were ordered to depart thence in twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion.

Before the day of Mr Black's ſecond appearance before the Council, he prepared a ſtill more explicit declinature, eſpecially as it reſpected the King's ſupremacy, declaring, That there are two juriſdictions in the realm, the one ſpiritual, and the other civil; the one reſpecting the conſcience, and the other concerning external things; the one perſuading by the ſpiritual word, the other compelling by the temporal ſword; the one ſpiritually procuring the edification of the church, the other by juſtice procuring the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, which, being grounded in the light of nature, proceeds from God as he is Creator, and is ſo termed by the apoſtle, 1 Pet. ii. but varying according to the conſtitution of men; the other above nature, grounded upon the grace of redemption, proceeding immediately from the grace of Chriſt, only King and only Head of his church, Eph i. Col. ii. Therefore, in ſo far as he was one of the ſpiritual office-bearers, and had diſcharged his ſpiritual calling in ſome meaſure of grace and ſincerity, he ſhould not, and could not, lawfully be judged for preaching and applying the word of God, by any civil power, he being an ambaſſador and meſſenger of the Lord Jeſus, having his commiſſion from the King of kings; and all his commiſſion is ſet down and limited in the word of God, that cannot be extended or abridged by any mortal, king or emperor, they being ſheep, not paſtors, and to be judged by the word of God, and not the judges thereof. A decree of Council was paſſed againſt him; upon which his brethren of the commiſſion directed their doctrine againſt the Council. The King ſent a meſſage to the commiſſioners, ſignifying, that he would reſt ſatisfied with Mr Black's ſimple declaration of the truth; but Mr Bruce and the reſt replied, that if the affair concerned Mr Black alone, they ſhould be content; but the liberty of Chriſt's kingdom had received ſuch a wound by the proclamation of laſt Saturday, that if Mr Black's life, and a dozen of others beſides, had been taken, it had not grieved the hearts of the godly ſo much, and that either theſe things behoved to be retracted, or they would oppoſe ſo long as they had breath. But, after a long proceſs, no mitigation of the Council's ſeverity could be obtained; for Mr Black was charged by a macer, to enter his perſon in Perth, on the north of the Tay, there to remain on his own expence,

expence, during his Majeſty's pleaſure; and though he was next year reſtored back to his place at St Andrew's, yet he was not ſuffered to continue; for, about the month of July that ſame year, the King and Council again proceeded againſt him; and he was removed to Angus, where he continued until the day of his death. He had always been a ſevere check on the negligent and unfaithful part of the clergy, but now they had found means to get free of him.

After his removal to Angus, he continued the exerciſe of his miniſtry, preaching daily unto ſuch as reſorted to him, with much ſucceſs, and an intimate communion with God, until a few days before his death.

In his laſt ſickneſs, the Chriſtian temper of his mind was ſo much improven by large meaſures of the Spirit, that his converſation had a remarkable effect in humbling the hearts, and comforting the ſouls, of thoſe who attended him, engaging them to take the eaſy yoke of Chriſt upon them. He found in his own ſoul alſo, ſuch a ſenſible taſte of eternal joy, that he was ſeized with a fervent deſire to depart, and to be with the Lord, longing to have the earthly houſe of this his tabernacle put off, that he might be admitted into the manſions of everlaſting reſt. In the midſt of theſe earneſt breathings after God, the Lord was wonderfully pleaſed to condeſcend to the importunity of his ſervant, to let him know that the time of his departure was near. Upon which, he took a ſolemn farewell of his family and flock, with a diſcourſe, as Mr Melvill ſays *, that ſeemed to be ſpoken out of heaven concerning the miſery and grief of this life, and the inconceivable glory which is above.

The night following, after ſupper, having read and prayed in his family with unuſual continuance, ſtrong crying, and heavy groans, he went a little while to bed; and the next day, having called his people to the celebration of the Lord's ſupper, he went to church; and having brought the communion-ſervice near a cloſe, he felt the approaches of death, and all diſcovered a ſudden change in his countenance, ſo that ſome ran to ſupport him; but preſſing to be at his knees with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, in the very act of devotion and adoration, as in a tranſport of joy, he was taken away, with ſcarce any pain at all. Thus this holy man, who had ſo faithfully maintained the intereſt of Chriſt upon earth, breathed forth his ſoul in this extraordinary manner, that it ſeemed rather like a tranſlation than a real death. See more of him in Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 335. De Fo Memoirs, p. 138. Hind Let Looſe, p. 48. old edit.

* Mira et vero relatio de Davidis Black tranſmigratione in ce ſtem patriam.

Mr JOHN DAVIDSON.

HE was miniſter at Salt-Preſton, now known by the name of Preſtonpans, and began very early to diſcover uncommon piety and faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of his duty. He was involved in the ſufferings brought upon ſeveral miniſters on account of the raid of Ruthven *, and the enterpriſe at Stirling † in 1584, on which account he fled for England, and remained there ſome conſiderable time.

Being returned to Scotland, in 1596, when the miniſters and other commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, were met at Edinburgh for prayer, in order to a general and perſonal reconciliation, (they were about four hundred miniſters, beſides elders and private Chriſtians), Mr Davidſon was choſen to preſide amongſt them. He cauſed the 33d and 34th chapters of Ezekiel to be read, and diſcourſed upon them in a very affecting manner, ſhewing what was the end of their meeting, in confeſſing ſin, and reſolving to forſake it, and that they ſhould turn to the Lord, and enter into a new league and covenant with him, that ſo, by repentance, they might be the more meet to ſtir up others to the ſame duty. In this he was

* Mr Robert Montgomery, miniſter in Stirling, had made a ſimoniacal purchaſe of the archbiſhoprick of Glaſgow, from the Earl of Lennox, for which he was to give him L. 500 Sterling of yearly rent. Accordingly, on March 8. 1582, Montgomery came to Glaſgow, with a number of ſoldiers, and pulled the miniſter in the pulpit by the ſleeve, ſaying, "Come down, Sirrah." The miniſter replied, "He was placed there by the kirk, and would give place to none who intruded themſelves without order." Much confuſion and bloodſhed enſued in the town. The preſbytery of Stirling ſuſpended Montgomery; in which the General Aſſembly ſupported them. Lennox obtained a commiſſion from the King to try and bring the offenders to juſtice. Before that commiſſion-court met, the Earls of Mar and Gowrie, the Maſter of Oliphant, young Lochleven, &c. carried the King to Ruthven caſtle, and there ſupplicated him to revoke his commiſſion to Lennox; which he did: and the King ordered him to leave the country; which, after ſome delays, he alſo did, retiring to Berwick. Afterwards the perſons concerned in the affair at Ruthven were charged to leave the realm, upon pain of corporal puniſhment; becauſe the Council had adjudged that affair to be treaſon againſt the King and government. The Earl of Gowrie was ordered to leave the kingdom, notwithſtanding he had, at the command of the Council, confeſſed that the fact at Ruthven was treaſon.

† The perſons concerned in the raid of Ruthven, aſſembled an army at Stirling, and took the caſtle; from thence they ſent a ſupplication to the King to redreſs their grievances. In the mean time, the Earl of Gowrie, lingering about Dundee, was apprehended, and committed to priſon; which diſcouraged the party at Stirling very much, ſo that they fled in the night, and got to Berwick. The captain of the caſtle and three others were hanged. Gowrie was likewiſe executed on the 2d of May 1584.

was ſo aſſiſted by the Spirit working upon their hearts, that, within an hour after they had convened, they began to look with another countenance than at firſt, and while he was exhorting them to theſe duties, the whole meeting were in tears, every one provoking another by his example, whereby, that place might have juſtly been called *Bochim*.

After prayer, he treated on Luke xii. 22; wherein the ſame aſſiſtance was given him. Before they diſmiſſed, they ſolemnly entered into a new league and covenant, holding up their hands, with ſuch ſigns of ſincerity as moved all preſent. That afternoon, the Aſſembly enacted the renewal of the covenant by particular ſynods.

In the General Aſſembly held at Dundee 1598, where the King was preſent, it was propoſed, Whether miniſters ſhould vote in parliament in the name of the church. Mr Davidſon intreated them not to be raſh in concluding ſo weighty a matter; he ſaid, "Brethren, ye ſee not how readily the biſhops begin to creep up." Being deſired to give his vote, he refuſed; and proteſted, in his own name, and in the name of thoſe who ſhould adhere to him; and requeſted that his proteſt ſhould be inſerted in the books of Aſſembly. Here the King interpoſed, and ſaid, "That ſhall not be granted; ſee if you have voted and reaſoned before." "Never, Sir," ſaid Mr Davidſon, "but without prejudice to any proteſtation made or to be made." And then preſented his proteſtation in writing; which was handed from one to another, till it was laid down before the clerk. The King, taking it up, and reading it, ſhewed it to the Moderator and others about, and at laſt put it in his pocket, [See this proteſt, and a letter ſent by him to the Aſſembly 1601, in Calderwood, p. 420. and 450.] This proteſt and letter was the occaſion of farther trouble to him. For, in May following, he was charged to compear before the Council on the 26th, and anſwer for the ſame, and was by the King committed priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh; but, on account of bodily infirmity, this place of confinement was changed to his own dwelling-houſe; after which, he obtained liberty to exerciſe his office in his own pariſh. When the King was going for England in 1603, as he was paſſing through Preſtonpans, the Laird of Ormiſton intreated him to relieve Mr Davidſon from his confinement to the bounds of his own pariſh; but this could not be obtained. He likewiſe, in ſome inſtances, ſhewed that he was poſſeſſed, in a conſiderable meaſure, of the ſpirit of prophecy. He was, while in Preſton, very anxious about the building of a church in that pariſh; and had, by his own private intereſt, contributed liberally to it. Lord Newbattle, having conſiderable

intereſt in that pariſh, likewiſe promiſed his aſſiſtance, but afterwards receded from his engagements; upon which Mr Davidſon told him, that theſe walls that were there begun ſhould ſtand as a witneſs againſt him; and that ere long God ſhould root him out of that pariſh, ſo that he ſhould not have one bit of land in the ſame; which was afterwards accompliſhed. At another time, being Moderator of the ſynod of Lothian, Mr John Spottiſwood miniſter at Calder, and Mr James Law miniſter at Kirkliſton, were brought before them, for playing at the foot-ball on the Sabbath. Mr Davidſon urged, that they might be depoſed; but the ſynod, becauſe of the fewneſs of the miniſters preſent, &c. agreed that they ſhould be rebuked; which, having accordingly done, he turned to his brethren, and ſaid, "Now, let me tell you what reward you ſhall have for your lenity; theſe two men ſhall trample on your necks, and on the necks of the miniſters of Scotland." How true this proved, was afterwards too well known, when Spottiſwood was made Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and Law of Glaſgow. Being at dinner one time with Mr Bruce, who was then in great favour with the King, he told him, he ſhould ſoon be in as great diſcredit; which was likewiſe accompliſhed. At another time, when dining in the houſe of one of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh with Mr Bruce, in giving thanks, he brake forth in theſe words, "Lord, this good man hath reſpect, for thy ſake, to thy ſervants; but he little knoweth, that in a ſhort time he ſhall carry us both to priſon;" which afterwards came to paſs; although, at the time, it grieved the bailie exceedingly. Mr Fleming, in his Fulfilling of the Scriptures, relates another remarkable inſtance of this kind.—A gentleman nearly related to a great family in that pariſh, but a moſt violent hater of true piety, did, on that account, beat a poor man who lived there, although he had no manner of provocation. Among other ſtrokes which he gave him, he gave him one on the back, ſaying, "Take that for Mr Davidſon's ſake." This maltreatment obliged the poor man to take to his bed: he complained moſt of the blow which he had received on his back. In the cloſe of his ſermon, the Sabbath following, Mr Davidſon, ſpeaking of the oppreſſion of the godly, and the enmity which the wicked had to it; and, in a particular manner, mentioned this laſt inſtance, ſaying, "It was a ſad time, when a profane man would thus openly adventure to vent his rage againſt ſuch as were ſeekers of God in the place, whilſt he could have no cauſe but the appearance of his image;" and then ſaid, with great boldneſs, "He who hath done this, were he the Laird, or the Laird's brother, ere a few days paſs, God ſhall give him a ſtroke, that all the

monarchs on earth dare not challenge." Which accordingly came to paſs in the cloſe of that very ſame week; for this gentleman, while ſtanding before his own door, was ſtruck dead with lightening, and had all his bones cruſhed to pieces.

A little before his death, he happened occaſionally to meet with Mr Kerr, a young gentleman lately come from France, and dreſſed in the court-faſhion. Mr Davidſon charged him to lay aſide his ſcarlet cloak and gilt rapier; for, ſaid he, "You are the man who ſhall ſucceed me in the miniſtry of this place;" which ſurpriſed the youth exceedingly, but was exactly accompliſhed; for he became an eminent and faithful miniſter at that place.

Such as would ſee more of Mr Davidſon's faithful labours in the work of the miniſtry, may conſult the Apologetical Relation, ſect. 2. p. 30. and Calderwood, p. 310.—373.

MR WILLIAM ROW.

HE was a ſon of Mr John Row, miniſter at Perth, wh gave him a very liberal education under his own ey He was ſettled miniſter at Strathmiglo, in Fife, about the ye 1600, and continued there for ſeveral years.

He was one of thoſe miniſters who refuſed to give publ thanks for the King's deliverance from his danger in Gowri conſpiracy, until the truth of that conſpiracy was made to a pear. This refuſal brought upon him the King's diſpleaſure. H was ſummoned to appear before the King and Council at Sti ling, ſoon after. On the day appointed for his compearanc two noblemen were ſent, the one before the other, to me him on the road; and, under pretence of friendſhip, to infor him, that the Council had a deſign upon his life, that might be prevailed on to decline going up to the Coun The firſt met him near his own houſe, the ſecond a few mi from Stirling; but Mr Row told them, that he would n by diſobedience to the ſummons, make himſelf juſtly liable the pains of law; and proceeded to Stirling, to the amaz ment of the King and his Court. When challenged for d believing the truth of that conſpiracy, he told them, that t reaſon of his heſitation was, that one Henderſon, who was f to have confeſſed that Gowrie hired him to kill the King, to have been found armed in his Majeſty's chamber for t purpoſe, was not only ſuffered to live, but rewarded: "Whe as," ſaid he, "if I had ſeen the King's life in hazard, and ventured my life to reſcue him, I think I deſerved not to live

The two following anecdotes will ſhow what an uncommon degree of courage and reſolution he poſſeſſed.

Being at Edinburgh, before the Aſſembly there, at which the King wanted to bring in ſome innovation, and meeting with Mr James Melvill, who was ſent for by the King, he accompanied him to Holyroodhouſe. While Mr Melvill was with the King, Mr Row ſtood behind a ſcreen, and not getting an opportunity to go out with his brother undiſcovered, he overheard the King ſay to ſome of his courtiers, "This is a good ſimple man, I have ſtroked cream on his mouth, and he will procure me a good number of voters, I warrant you." This ſaid, Mr Row got off; and overtaking Mr Melvill, aſked him, What had paſſed? Mr Melvill told him all; and ſaid, The King is well diſpoſed to the church, and intends to do her good by all his ſchemes. Mr Row replied, The King looks upon you as a fool and a knave; and wants to uſe you as a coy-duck to draw in others; and told him what he had overheard. Mr Melvill ſuſpecting the truth of this report, Mr Row offered to go with him, and avouch it to the King's face. Accordingly, they went back to the palace, when Mr Melvill ſeeing Mr Row as forward to go in as he was, believed his report, and ſtopped him: And next day, when the Aſſembly proceeded to voting, Mr Melvill having voted againſt what the King proponed, his Majeſty would not believe that ſuch was his vote, till he, being aſked again, did repeat it.

Again, he being to open the ſynod of Perth, in 1607, to which King James ſent Lord Scoon, captain of his guards, to force them to accept a conſtant moderator, Scoon ſent notice to Mr Row, that if, in his preaching, he uttered ought againſt conſtant moderators, he ſhould cauſe ten or twelve of his guards diſcharge their culverans at his noſe; and, when he attended the ſermon which preceded that ſynod, he ſtood up in a menacing poſture to outbrave the preacher. But Mr Row, no way diſmayed, knowing what vices Scoon was chargeable with, particularly that he was a great belly-god, drew his picture ſo like the life, and condemned what was culpable in it with ſo much ſeverity, that Scoon thought fit to ſit down, and even to cover his face. After which Mr Row proceeded to prove, that no conſtant moderator ought to be ſuffered in the church; but knowing that Scoon underſtood neither Latin nor Greek, he wiſely avoided naming the conſtant moderator in Engliſh, but always gave the Greek or Latin name for it. Sermon being ended, Scoon ſaid to ſome of the nobles attending him, You ſee I have ſcared the preacher from meddling with the conſtant moderator; but I wonder who he ſpoke ſo much againſt by the name of *præſtes ad vitam.*

vitam. They told him, that it was in Greek and Latin, the conſtant moderator; which ſo incenſed him, that when Mr Row proceeded to conſtitute the ſynod in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Scoon ſaid, The devil a Jeſus is here: and when Mr Row called over the roll to chooſe their moderator after the ancient form, Scoon would have pulled it from him; but he, being a ſtrong man, held off Scoon with one hand, and holding the ſynod-roll in the other, called out the name of the members.

After this, Mr Row was put to the horn; and on the 11th June following, he and Mr Henry Livingſtone, the moderator, were ſummoned before the Council, to anſwer for their proceedings at the ſynod above-mentioned. Mr Livingſtone compeared, and with great difficulty obtained the favour to be warded in his own pariſh. But Mr Row was adviſed not to compear, unleſs the Council would relax him from the horning, and make him free of the Scoon comptrollers, who had letters of caption to apprehend him, and to commit him to Blackneſs. This was refuſed, and a ſearch made for him; which obliged him to abſcond and lurk among his friends for a conſiderable time.

He was ſubjected to ſeveral other hardſhips during the remainder of his life, but ſtill maintained that ſteady faithfulneſs and courage in the diſcharge of his duty, which is exemplified in the above inſtances, until the day of his death, of which we have no certain account.

MR ANDREW MELVILL.

MR MELVILL, after finiſhing his claſſical ſtudies, went abroad, and taught, for ſome time, both at Poictiers in France, and at Geneva. He returned to Scotland in July 1574, after having been abſent from his native country near ten years. Upon his return, the learned Beza, in a letter to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, ſaid, "That the greateſt token of affection the kirk of Geneva could ſhow to Scotland, was, that they had ſuffered themſelves to be ſpoiled of Mr Andrew Melvill."

Soon after his return, the General Aſſembly appointed him to be the Principal of the college of Glaſgow, where he continued for ſome years. In 1576, the Earl of Morton being then Regent, and thinking to bring Mr Melvill into his party who were endeavouring to introduce Epiſcopacy, he offered him the parſonage of Govan, a benefice of twenty-four chal-

de

ers of grain yearly, beſide what he enjoyed as Principal, pro-
iding he would not inſiſt againſt the eſtabliſhment of biſhops;
ut Mr Melvill rejected his offer with ſcorn.

He was afterwards tranſported to St Andrew's, where he
erved in the ſame ſtation he had done at Glaſgow; and was
ikewiſe a miniſter of that city. Here he taught the divinity
laſs; and, as a miniſter, continued to witneſs againſt the en-
roachments then making upon the rights of the church of
Chriſt.

When the General Aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, in
1582, Mr Melvill inveighed againſt the abſolute authority,
which was making its way into the church; whereby, he ſaid,
hey intended to pull the crown from Chriſt's head, and wreſt
he ſceptre out of his hand; and when ſeveral articles, of the
ame tenor with his ſpeech, were preſented by the commiſ-
ion of the Aſſembly, to the King and Council, craving re-
reſs, the Earl of Arran cried out, "Is there any here that
are ſubſcribe theſe articles." Mr Melvill went forward and
aid, "We dare, and will render our lives in the cauſe;" and
hen took up the pen and ſubſcribed. We do not find that
ny diſagreeable conſequences enſued at this time.

But in the beginning of February 1584, he was ſummoned
o appear before the Secret Council, on the 11th of that
month, to anſwer for ſome things ſaid by him in a ſermon on
faſt-day, from Dan. iv. At his firſt compearance, he made
verbal defence; but being again called, he gave in a decla-
ation, with a declinature, importing, that he had ſaid nothing,
ither in that or any other ſermon, tending to diſhonour the
King; but had regularly prayed for the preſervation and pro-
perity of his Majeſty: That, as by acts of parliament and
aws of the church, he ſhould be tried for his doctrine by the
hurch, he therefore proteſted for, and craved a trial by
hem; and particularly in the place (St Andrew's) where the
ffence was alledged to have been committed: That as there
ere ſpecial laws in favour of St Andrew's, to the above im-
ort, he particularly claimed the privilege of them. He far-
her proteſted, that what he had ſaid was warranted by the
ord of God; that he appealed to the congregation who
eard the ſermon; that he craved to know his accuſers; that,
the calumny was found to be falſe, the informers might be
uniſhed; that the rank and character of the informer might
e conſidered, &c. After which, he gave an account of the
ermon in queſtion; alledging that his meaning had been miſ-
nderſtood, and his words perverted.

When he had cloſed his defence, the King, and the Earl of
rran, who was then Chancellor, raged exceedingly againſt
him.

him. Mr Melvill remained undiſquieted; and replied, that they were too bold, in a conſtituted Chriſtian kirk, to paſs by the paſtors, &c. and to take upon them to judge the doctrine, and controul the meſſengers, of a greater than any preſent. "That you may ſee your raſhneſs in taking upon you that which you neither ought nor can do, (taking out a ſmall Hebrew Bible, and laying it down before them), there are," ſaid he, "my inſtructions and warrant,—ſee if any of you can controul me, that I have paſſed my injunctions." The Chancellor, opening the book, put it into the King's hand, ſaying, "Sire, he ſcorneth your Majeſty and the Council." "Nay," ſaid Mr Melvill, "I ſcorn not, but I am in good earneſt." He was, in the time of this debate, frequently removed, and inſtantly recalled, that he might not have time to conſult with his friends. They proceeded againſt him, and admitted his avowed enemies to prove the accuſation. Though the whole train of evidence, which was led, proved little or nothing againſt him, yet they reſolved to involve him in troubles, becauſe he had declined their authority, as incompetent judges of doctrine, and therefore remitted him to ward in the caſtle of Edinburgh, during the King's will. Being informed, that, if he entered into ward, he would not be releaſed, unleſs it ſhould be to bring him to the ſcaffold, that the decree of the Council was altered, and Blackneſs was appointed for his priſon, which was kept by ſome dependents on the Earl of Arran, he reſolved to get out of the country. A macer gave him a charge, to enter Blackneſs in twenty-four hours; and, in the mean while, ſome of Arran's horſemen were attending at the weſt-port to convoy him thither: But, by the time he ſhould have entered Blackneſs, he had reached Berwick. Meſſ. Lawſon and Balcanquhal gave him the good character he deſerved, and prayed earneſtly for him in public, in Edinburgh; which both moved the people and galled the Court exceedingly.

After the ſtorm had abated, he returned to St Andrew's in 1586, when the Synod of Fife, had excommunicated P. Adamſon, pretended Biſhop of St Andrew's, on account of ſome immoralities. He (Adamſon) having drawn up the form of an excommunication againſt Meſſ. Andrew and James Melvills, and ſent out a boy, with ſome of his own creatures, to the kirk to read it, but the people paying no regard to it, the Biſhop, though both ſuſpended and excommunicated, would himſelf go to the pulpit to preach; whereupon ſome gentlemen, and others in town, convened in the new college, to hear Mr Melvill. But the Biſhop being informed, that they were aſſembled on purpoſe to put him out of the pulpit, and hang

him;

him; for fear of which, he called his friends together, and betook himself to the steeple; but at the intreaty of the magistrates and others, he retired home.

This difference with the Bishop brought the Melvills again before the King and Council, who, pretending that there was no other method to end that quarrel, ordained Mr Andrew to be confined to the Mearns, Angus, &c. under pretext that he would be useful in that country in reclaiming Papists. And, because of his sickly condition, Mr James was sent back to the new college; and the university sending the Dean of Faculty, and the masters, with a supplication to the King in Mr Andrew's behalf, he was suffered to return; but was not restored to his place and office until the month of August following.

The next winter, he laboured to give the students in divinity, under his care, a thorough knowledge of the discipline and government of the church; which was attended with considerable success. The specious arguments of Episcopacy evanished, and the serious part both of the town and university, repaired to the college to hear him, and Mr Robert Bruce, who began preaching about this time.

After this he was chosen moderator in some subsequent Assemblies of the church; in which several acts were made in favour of religion, as maintained in that period.

When the King brought home his Queen from Denmark, in 1590, Mr Melvill made an excellent oration, upon the occasion, in Latin; which so pleased the King, that he publicly declared, he had therein both honoured him and his country, and that he should never be forgot; yet such was the instability of this prince, that, in a little after this, because Mr Melvill opposed himself unto his arbitrary measures, in grasping after an absolute authority over the church *, he conceived a daily hatred against him ever after, as will appear from the sequel.

When Mr Melvill went, with some other ministers, to the Convention of Estates at Falkland in 1596, wherein they intended to bring home the excommunicated lords who were then in exile, and though he had a commission from last Assembly,

* Bennet, in his Memorial, says, that while he (James) grasped at arbitrary power, to which he discovered an inclination through the whole of his reign, it has been observed, and not without good reason, that he made himself mean and contemptible to all the world abroad, though affecting to swagger over his parliament and people at home, which he did in a manner that was far from making or showing him great.

ſembly, to watch againſt every imminent danger that might threaten the church; yet, whenever he appeared upon the head of the miniſters, the King aſked him, Who ſent for him there? To which he reſolutely anſwered, "Sire, I have a call to come here from Chriſt and his church, who have a ſpecial concern in what you are doing here, and in direct oppoſition to whom, ye are all here aſſembled; but, be ye aſſured, that no counſel taken againſt him ſhall proſper; and I charge you, Sire, in his name, that you, nor your Eſtates here convened, favour not God's enemies, whom he hateth."—After he had ſaid this, turning himſelf to the reſt of the members, he told them, that they were aſſembled with a traitorous deſign againſt Chriſt, his church, and their native country. In the midſt of this ſpeech, he was commanded by the King to withdraw.

The Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly was now ſitting, and underſtanding how matters were going on at the Convention, they ſent ſome of their members, among whom Mr Melvill was one, to expoſtulate with the King. When they came, he received them in his cloſet. Mr James Melvill, being firſt in the commiſſion, told the King his errand; upon which he appeared angry, and charged them with ſedition, &c. Mr James, being a man of cool paſſion and genteel behaviour, began to anſwer the King with great reverence and reſpect; but Mr Andrew, interrupting him, ſaid, "This is not a time to flatter, but to ſpeak plainly, for our commiſſion is from the living God, to whom the King is ſubject;" and then, approaching the King, ſaid, "Sire, we will always humbly reverence your Majeſty in public; but having opportunity of being with your Majeſty in private, we muſt diſcharge our duty, or elſe be enemies to Chriſt: And now, Sire, I muſt tell you, that there are two kingdoms, the kingdom of Chriſt, which is the church, whoſe ſubject King James VI. is, and of whoſe kingdom he is not a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Chriſt hath called, and commanded to watch over his church, and govern his ſpiritual kingdom, have ſufficient authority and power from him ſo to do, which no Chriſtian King nor Prince ſhould controul or diſcharge, but aſſiſt and ſupport, otherwiſe they are not faithful ſubjects to Chriſt; and, Sire, when you was in your ſwaddling clothes, Chriſt reigned freely in this land; in ſpite of all his enemies, his officers and miniſters were convened for ruling his church, which was ever for your welfare, &c. Will you now challenge Chriſt's ſervants, your beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects, for convening together, and for the care they have of their duty to Chriſt and you? &c. The wiſdom of your Council is, that

ou may be ſerved with all ſorts of men, that you may come
o your purpoſe; and becauſe the miniſters and Proteſtants of
cotland are ſtrong, they muſt be weakened and brought low,
y ſtirring up a party againſt them; but, Sire, this is not the
iſdom of God, and his curſe muſt light upon it; whereas,
cleaving to God, his ſervants ſhall be your true friends,
nd he ſhall compel the reſt to ſerve you." There is little
ifficulty to conjecture how this diſcourſe was reliſhed by the
ing; however, he kept his temper, and promiſed fair things
them for the preſent; but it was the word of him, whoſe
andard maxim was, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*,
He who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to
ign." In this ſentiment, unworthy the meaneſt among men,
gloried, and made it his conſtant rule of conduct; for in
e Aſſembly at Dundee, in 1598, Mr Melvill being there,
diſcharged him from the Aſſembly, and would not ſuffer
uſineſs to go on till he was removed.

There are other inſtances of the magnanimity of this faith-
l witneſs of Chriſt, which are worthy of notice. In 1606,
hen he, and ſeven of his brethren, who ſtood moſt in the
y of having prelacy advanced in Scotland, were called up
England, under pretence of having a hearing granted them
the King, &c. with reſpect to religion, but rather to be
pt out of the way, as the event afterwards proved, until E-
ſcopacy ſhould be better eſtabliſhed in this kingdom. Soon
er their arrival, they were examined by the King and Coun-
, at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September, concerning
e lawfulneſs of the late Aſſembly at Aberdeen. The King,
particular, aſked Mr Melvill, whether a few clergy, meeting
thout Moderator or Clerk, could make an Aſſembly? He
plied, there was no number limited by law; that fewneſs of
mber was no argument againſt the legality of the court;
ecially when the promiſe was, in God's word, given to two
three convened in the name of Chriſt; that the meeting
s ordinary, eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty's laws. The reſt of
e miniſters delivered themſelves to the ſame purpoſe; after
hich Mr Melvill, with his uſual freedom of ſpeech, ſupport-
the conduct of his brethren at Aberdeen; recounted the
ongs done them at Linlithgow, whereof he was a witneſs
mſelf: he blamed the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamil-
n, who was then preſent, for favouring Popery, and mal-
ating the miniſters; ſo that the accuſer of the brethren
ld not have done more againſt the ſaints of God than had
n done. The Prelatiſts were encouraged, though ſome of
m were promoting the intereſt of Popery with all their
ght; and the faithful ſervants of Chriſt were ſhut up in pri-

ſon: and, addreſſing the Advocate perſonally, he added, "Still you think all this is not enough, but continue to perſecute the brethren with the ſame ſpirit you did in Scotland." After ſome converſation betwixt the King and Archbiſhop of Canterbury, they were diſmiſſed, with the applauſe of many preſent, for their bold and ſteady defence of the cauſe of God and truth, for they had been much miſrepreſented to the Engliſh. They had ſcarce retired from before the King, until they received a charge not to return to Scotland, nor come near the King's, Queen's, or Prince's Court, without ſpecial licence, and being called for. A few days after, they were again called to Court, and examined before a ſelect number of the Scots nobility; where, after Mr James Melvill's examination *, Mr Andrew being called, told them plainly, "That they knew not what they were doing; they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lives and lands for the freedom of their country and the goſpel which they were betraying and overturning." But night drawing on, they were diſmiſſed.

Another inſtance of his reſolution is, that, when called before the Council for having made a Latin epigram †, upon ſeeing the King and Queen making an offering at the altar (whereon were two books, two baſons, and two candleſticks with two unlighted candles, it being a day kept in honour of St Michael), when he compeared, he avowed the verſes, and ſaid, "He was much moved with indignation at ſuch vanity and ſuperſtition in a Chriſtian church, under a Chriſtian King born and brought up under the pure light of the goſpel, and eſpecially before idolators, to confirm them in idolatry, and grieve the hearts of true profeſſors." The Biſhop of Canterbury began to ſpeak, but Mr Melvill charged him with breach of the Lord's day, with impriſoning, ſilencing, and beating down of faithful miniſters, and with upholding Antichriſtian hierarchy and Popiſh ceremonies; and, ſhaking the white ſleeve of his rochet, he called them Romiſh rags; and told him, that he was an avowed enemy to all the reformed churches in Europe; and therefore he (Mr Melvill) would profeſs his

* Mr James Melvill was confined at laſt to Berwick, where he ended his days, Jan. 1614.

† The epigram is as follows,

Cur ſtant clauſi Anglis libri duo, regia in arca,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra ſicca duo?
Num ſenſum, cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clauſum,
Lumine cæca ſuo, ſorde ſepulta ſuo?
Romano et ritu, dum regalem inſtruit aram
Purpuream pingit religioſa lupam.

elf an enemy to him in all ſuch proceedings, to the effuſion of the laſt drop of his blood; and ſaid, he was grieved to the heart to ſee ſuch a man have the King's ear, and ſit ſo high in that honourable Council. He alſo charged Biſhop Barlow with having ſaid, after the conference at Hampton Court, that the King had ſaid, he was in the church of Scotland, but not of it; and wondered that he was ſuffered to go unpuniſhed, for making the King of no religion. He refuted his ſermon, which had been preached before, and was at laſt removed; and order was given to Dr Overwall, Dean of St Paul's, to receive him to his houſe, there to remain, with injunctions not to let any have acceſs to him, till his Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified. Next year he was ordered from the Dean's houſe to the Biſhop of Wincheſter's, where, not being ſo ſtrictly guarded, he ſometimes kept company with his brethren; but was at laſt committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for the ſpace of four years.

While he was in the Tower, a gentlemen of his acquaintance got acceſs to him, and found him very penſive and melancholy concerning the prevailing defections among many of the miniſters of Scotland; and, having lately got account of their proceedings at the General Aſſembly held at Glaſgow, in 1610, where the Earl of Dunbar had an active hand in corrupting many with money, the gentleman, deſiring to know what word he had to ſend to his native country, got no anſwer at firſt; but upon a ſecond inquiry, he ſaid, "I have no word to ſend, but am heavily grieved, that the glorious government of the church of Scotland ſhould be ſo defaced, and a Popiſh tyrannical one ſet up; and thou, Manderſton, (for out of that family Dunbar had ſprung), hadſt thou no other thing to do, but to carry ſuch commiſſions down to Scotland, whereby the poor church is wrecked? the Lord ſhall be avenged on thee; thou ſhalt never have that grace to ſet thy foot in that kingdom again." Theſe laſt words impreſſed the gentleman to that degree, that he deſired ſome who attended the Court, to get ſome buſineſs, which was managing through Dunbar's intereſt, expeded without any delay, being perſuaded that the word of that ſervant of Chriſt ſhould not fall to the ground; which was the caſe, for that Earl died at Whitehall a ſhort time after, while he was building an elegant houſe at Berwick, and making grand preparations for his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden.

In 1611, after four years confinement, Mr Melvill was, by the intereſt of the Duke of Bolloigne, releaſed, on condition that he would go with him to the univerſity of Sedan; where he continued, enjoying that calm repoſe denied him in his

own country, but maintaining his uſual conſtancy and faithfulneſs in the ſervice of Chriſt, which he had done through the whole of his life.

The reader will readily obſerve, that a high degree of fortitude and boldneſs appeared in all his actions; where the honour of his Lord and Maſter was concerned, the fear of man made no part of his character. He is by Spottiſwood ſtyled the Principal Agent, or Apoſtle of the Preſbyterians in Scotland *. He did indeed aſſert the rights of Preſbytery to the utmoſt of his power againſt dioceſan Epiſcopacy; he poſſeſſed great preſence of mind, and was ſuperior to all the arts of flattery that were ſometimes tried with him; he was once blamed, as being too fiery in his temper, and replied, "If you ſee my fire go downward, ſet your foot upon it; but if it goes upward, let it go to its own place." He died at Sedan in France, in a few years after.

MR PATRICK SIMPSON.

MR SIMPSON, after having finiſhed his academical courſe, ſpent ſome conſiderable time in retirement, which he employed in reading the Greek and Latin claſſics, the ancient Chriſtian fathers, and the hiſtory of the primitive church. Being blamed by one of his friends, for waſting ſo much time in the ſtudy of Pagan writers, he replied, That he intended to adorn the houſe of God with theſe Egyptian jewels.

He was firſt ordained miniſter at Cramond, but was afterwards tranſported to Stirling, where he continued until his death. He was a faithful contender againſt the lordly encroachments of Prelacy. In 1584, when there was an expreſs charge, given by the King to the miniſters, either to acknowledge Mr Patrick Adamſon as Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, or elſe to loſe their benefices, Mr Simpſon oppoſed that order with all his power, although Mr Adamſon was his uncle by the mother's ſide; and when ſome of his brethren ſeemed willing to acquieſce in the King's mandate, and ſubſcribe their ſubmiſſion to Adamſon, ſo far as it was agreeable to the word of God, he rebuked them ſharply, ſaying, I wou

* Spottiſwood doth not aſcribe any thing of the form of Preſbyterian church-government to Mr Knox, becauſe they admitted of ſuperintendants in the church in his time, which he thinks was Epiſcopacy; but ſays, That Mr Andrew Melvill brought this innovation (as he is pleaſed to call it) from Geneva, about the year 1575. Hiſt. p. 27 &c.

would be no ſalvo to their conſciences, ſeeing it was altogether abſurd to ſubſcribe an agreement with any human invention, when it was condemned by the word of God. A biſhoprick was offered him, and an yearly penſion beſides, from the King, in order to bring him into his deſigns, but he poſitively refuſed all, ſaying, That he regarded that preferment and profit as a bribe to enſlave his conſcience, which was dearer to him than any thing whatever. He did not ſtop with this; but having occaſion, in 1598, to preach before the King, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himſelf, in patroniſing a manifeſt breach of divine laws. Immediately after ſermon, the King ſtood up, and charged him not to intermeddle in theſe matters.

When the Aſſembly which was held at Aberdeen in 1604, was condemned by the ſtate, he, in a very ſolemn manner, denounced the judgement of God againſt all ſuch as had been concerned in diſtreſſing, and impriſoning the miniſters of Linlithgow, who maintained the lawfulneſs, and juſtified the conduct of that Aſſembly, and the proteſtation given in to the parliament in 1606; which parliament did many things to the further eſtabliſhment of Prelacy. The following proteſtation was wrote by him, and delivered out of his own hands to the Earl of Dunbar.

Proteſtation offered to the Eſtates convened in Parliament at Perth, in the beginning of July, anno 1606.

"THE earneſt deſire of our hearts is to be faithful, and in caſe we would have been ſilent and unfaithful at this time, when the undermined eſtate of Chriſt's kirk craveth a duty at our hands, we ſhould have locked up our hearts with patience, and our mouths with taciturnity, rather than to have impeached any with our admonition. But that which Chriſt commandeth, neceſſity urgeth, and duty wringeth out of us, to be faithful office-bearers in the kirk of God, no man can juſtly blame us, providing we hold ourſelves within the bounds of that Chriſtian moderation, which followeth God, without injury done to any man, eſpecially theſe whom God hath lapped up within the ſkirts of his own honourable ſtyles and names, calling them gods upon earth.

"Now therefore, my Lords, convened in this preſent parliament, under the moſt high and excellent Majeſty of our dread Sovereign, to your Honours is our exhortation, that ye would endeavour, with all ſingleneſs of heart, love and zeal, to advance the building of the houſe of God; reſerving always unto the Lord's own hand, that glory which he will communicate

communicate neither with man nor angel, viz. to preſcribe from his holy mountain, a lively pattern, according to which his own tabernacle ſhould be formed. Remembering always, that there is no abſolute and undoubted authority in this world, excepting the ſovereign authority of Chriſt, the King, to whom it belongeth as properly to rule the kirk, according to the good pleaſure of his own will, as it belongeth to him to ſave his kirk, by the merit of his own ſufferings. All other authority is ſo intrenched within the marches of divine commandment, that the leaſt overpaſſing of the bounds ſet by God himſelf, bringeth men under the fearful expectation of temporal and eternal judgements. For this cauſe, my Lords, let that authority of your meeting in this preſent parliament, be like the ocean, which, as it is greateſt of all other waters, ſo it containeth itſelf better within the coaſts and limits appointed by God, than any rivers of freſh running water have done.

" Next, remember that God hath ſent you to be nurſing fathers to the kirk, craving of your hands, that ye would maintain and advance, by your authority, that kirk which the Lord hath faſhioned, by the uncounterfeited work of his own new creation, as the prophet ſpeaketh, *He hath made us, and not we ourſelves;* but that ye ſhould preſume to faſhion and ſhape a new portraiture of a kirk, and a new form of divine ſervice, which God in his word hath not before allowed; becauſe, that were you to extend your authority farther than the calling ye have of God doth permit, as namely, if ye ſhould (as God forbid) authoriſe the authority of biſhops, and their pre-eminence above their brethren, ye ſhould bring into the kirk of God the ordinance of man, and that thing which the experience of preceding ages hath teſtified to be the ground of great idleneſs, palpable ignorance, inſufferable pride, pitileſs tyranny, and ſhameleſs ambition, in the kirk of God. And, finally, to have been the ground of that Antichriſtian hierarchy, which mounteth up on the ſteps of pre-eminence of biſhops, until that man of ſin came forth, as the ripe fruit of man's wiſdom, whom God ſhall conſume with the breath of his own mouth. Let the ſword of God pierce that belly, which brought forth ſuch a monſter; and let the ſtaff of God cruſh that egg, which hath hatched ſuch a cockatrice; and let not only that Roman Antichriſt be thrown down from the high bench of his uſurped authority, but alſo let all the ſteps, whereby he mounted up to that unlawful pre-eminence, be cut down, and utterly aboliſhed in this land.

" Above all things, my lords, beware to ſtrive againſt God, with an open and diſplayed banner, by building up again the walls

walls of Jericho, which the Lord hath not only caſt down, but hath alſo laid them under a horrible interdiction and execration; ſo that the building of them again muſt needs ſtand to greater charges to the builders, than the re-edifying of Jericho to Hiel the Bethelite, in the days of Achab: For he had nothing but the interdiction of Joſhua, and the curſe pronounced by him, to ſtay him from building again of Jericho; but the Noblemen and States of this realm, have the reverence of the oath of God, made by themſelves, and ſubſcribed with their own hands, in the Confeſſion of Faith, called the King's Majeſty's, publiſhed oftener than once or twice, ſubſcribed and ſworn by his moſt excellent Majeſty, and by his Highneſs, the Nobility, Eſtates, and whole ſubjects of this realm, to hold them back from ſetting up the dominion of biſhops: Becauſe it is of verity, that they ſubſcribed and ſwore the ſaid Confeſſion, containing, not only the maintenance of the true doctrine, but alſo of the diſcipline profeſſed within the realm of Scotland.

"Conſider alſo, that this work cannot be ſet forward, without the great ſlander of the goſpel, defamation of many preachers, and evident hurt and loſs of the people's ſouls, committed to our charge. For the people are brought almoſt to the like caſe, as they were in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, about the 600dth year of our Lord, when the people were ſo ſhaken and brangled with contrary doctrines; ſome affirming, and others denying, the opinion of Eutyches, that in the end they loſt all aſſured perſuaſion of true religion; and within ſhort time thereafter, did caſt the gates of their hearts open to the peril, to receive that vile and blaſphemous doctrine of Mahomet; even ſo the people in this land are caſt into ſuch admiration, to hear the preachers, who damned ſo openly this ſtately pre-eminence of biſhops, and then, within a few years after, accept the ſame dignity, pomp, and ſuperiority, in their own perſons, which they before had damned in others, that the people know not what way to incline, and in the end will become ſo doubtful, in matters of religion and doctrine, that their hearts will be like an open tavern, patent to every gueſt that chooſes to come in.

"We beſeech your Honours to ponder this in the balance of a godly and prudent mind, and ſuffer not the goſpel to be ſlandered by the behaviour of a few preachers, of whom we are bold to affirm, that, if they go forward in this defection, not only abuſing and appropriating the name of biſhops to themſelves, which is common to all the paſtors of God's kirk; but alſo taking upon themſelves ſuch offices, that carry with them the ordinary charge of governing the civil affairs of the

country,

country, neglecting their flocks, and seeking to subordinate their brethren to their jurisdiction; if any of them, we say, be found to step forward in this cause of defection, they are more worthy, as rotten members, to be cut off from the body of Christ, than to have superiority and dominion over their brethren within the kirk of God.

"This pre-eminence of bishops is that Dagon, which once already fell before the ark of God in this land, and no band of iron shall be able to hold him up again. This is that pattern of that altar brought from Damascus, but not shewed to Moses in the mountain; and therefore it shall fare with it, as it did with that altar of Damascus, it came last in the temple, and went first out. Likewise the institution of Christ was anterior to this pre-eminence of bishops, and shall consist and stand within the house of God, when this new fashion of the altar shall go to the door.

"Remember, my Lords, that in times past your authority was for Christ, and not against him. Ye followed the light of God, and strived not against it; and, like a child in the mother's hand, ye said to Christ, *Draw us after thee.* God forbid that ye should now leave off, and fall away from your former reverence borne to Christ, in presuming to lead him whom the Father hath appointed to be leader of you. And far less to trail the holy ordinances of Christ, by the cords of your authority, at the heels of the ordinances of men.

"And albeit your Honours have no such intention to do any thing which may impair the honour of Christ's kingdom; yet remember, that spiritual darkness, flowing from a very small beginning, doth so insinuate, and thrust itself into the house of God, as men can hardly discern by what secret means the light was dimmed, and darkness creeping in, got the upper hand; and in the end, at unawares, all was involved in a misty cloud of horrible apostacy.

"And lest any should think this our admonition out of time, in so far as it is statute and ordained already by his Majesty, with advice of his Estates in parliament, that all ministers, provided to prelacies, should have vote in parliament; as likewise, the General Assembly (his Majesty being present thereat) hath found the same lawful and expedient, we would humbly and earnestly beseech all such to consider,

"*First*, That the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the office-bearers and laws thereof, neither should nor can suffer any derogation, addition, diminution, or alteration, besides the prescript of his holy word, by any inventions or doings of men, civil or ecclesiastical. And we are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourselves to prove, that this bishoprick to be erected, is against th

the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons of the kirk, the modern moſt learned and godly divines, the doctrine and conſtitution of the kirk of Scotland ſince the firſt reformation of religion within the ſame country, the laws of the realm, ratifying the government of the kirk by the general and provincial aſſemblies, preſbyteries, and ſeſſions; alſo againſt the well and honour of the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, the well and honour of the realm, and quietneſs thereof; the eſtabliſhed eſtate and well of the kirk, in the doctrine, diſcipline, and patrimony thereof; the well and honour of your Lordſhips, the moſt ancient eſtate of this realm; and finally, againſt the well of all, and every one, the good ſubjects thereof, in ſoul, body, and ſubſtance.

Next, That the act of parliament, granting vote in parliament to miniſters, is with a ſpecial proviſion, that nothing thereby be derogatory or prejudicial to the preſent eſtabliſhed diſcipline of the kirk, and juriſdiction thereof, in general and ſynodical aſſemblies, preſbyteries, and ſeſſions.

" *Thirdly*, and *laſtly*, The General Aſſembly, (his Majeſty ſitting, voting, and conſenting therein), fearing the corruption of that office, hath circumſcribed and bounded the ſame with a number of cautions; all which, together with ſuch others as ſhall be concluded upon by the Aſſembly, were thought expedient to be inſerted in the body of the act of parliament that is to be made for confirmation of their vote in parliament, as moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial parts of the ſame. And the ſaid Aſſembly hath not agreed to give thereunto the name of biſhops, for fear of importing the old corruption, pomp, and tyranny, of Papal biſhops, but ordained them to be called commiſſioners for the kirk to vote in parliament. And it is of verity, that according to theſe cautions, neither have theſe men, now called biſhops, entered to that office of commiſſionary to vote in parliament, neither ſince their ingyring have they behaved themſelves therein. And therefore, in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall hold that great court of parliament to judge both the quick and the dead, at his glorious manifeſtation; and in name of his kirk in general, ſo happily and well eſtabliſhed within this realm, and whereof the ſaid realm hath reaped the comfortable peace and unity, free from hereſy, ſchiſm, and diſſention, theſe forty-ſix years bypaſt; alſo in name of our preſbyteries, from which we have our commiſſion; and in our own names, office-bearers and paſtors within the ſame for diſcharging of our neceſſary duty, and diſburdening of our conſciences in particular; we except and proteſt againſt the ſaid biſhoprick, and biſhops, and the erection, or confirmation, or ratification thereof, at this preſent parliament; moſt

humbly craving, that this our proteſtation may be admitted by your Honours, and regiſtered among the ſtatutes and acts of the ſame, in caſe (as God forbid) theſe biſhopricks be erected, ratified, or confirmed therein."

The above Proteſtation was ſubſcribed by the following Miniſters.

Meſſ. Andrew Melvill, James Melvill, William Scott, James Roſs, John Carmichael, John Gilleſpie, William Erſkine, Colin Campbell, James Muirhead, John Mitchell, John Davidſon, John Coldon, John Abernethy, James Davidſon, Adam Bannatyne, John Row, William Buchanan, John Kennedy, John Ogilvie, John Scrimgeour, John Malcolm, James Burden, Iſaac Blackfoord, Iſaac Strachan, James Row, William Row, Robert Merſer, Edmund Myles, John French, Patrick Simpſon, John Dykes, William Young, William Cooper, William Keith, Hugh Duncan, James Merſer, Robert Colvill, William Hog, Robert Wallace, David Barclay, John Weemes, William Cranſton.

Mr Simpſon was not more diſtinguiſhed for zeal in the cauſe of Chriſt, than for piety and an exemplary life, which had a happy effect upon the people with whom he ſtood connected. He was in a very eminent degree bleſſed with the ſpirit and return of prayer; the following fact, atteſted by old Mr Row of Carnock, ſhews how much of the divine countenance he had in this duty:—His wife, Martha Barron, a woman of ſingular piety, fell ſick, and, under her indiſpoſition, was ſtrongly aſſaulted by the common enemy of ſalvation, ſuggeſting to her, that ſhe ſhould be delivered up to him; which ſoon brought her into a very diſtracted condition, and continued for ſome time increaſing; ſhe broke forth into very dreadful expreſſions.—She was in one of theſe fits of deſpair, one Sabbath morning, when Mr Simpſon was going to preach; he was exceedingly troubled at her condition, and went to prayer, which ſhe took no notice of. After he had done, he turned to the company preſent, and ſaid, that they who had been witneſſes to that ſad hour, ſhould yet ſee a gracious work of God on her, and that the devil's malice, againſt that poor woman, ſhould have a ſhameful foil. Her diſtraction continued for ſome days after. On a Tueſday morning, about day-break, he went into his garden as private as poſſible, and one Helen Gardiner, wife to one of the bailies of the town, a godly woman, who had ſat up that night with Mrs Simpſon, being concerned at the melancholy condition he was in, climbed over the garden-wall, to obſerve him in this retirement; but, coming near the place where he was, ſhe was terrified

with

with a noiſe which ſhe heard, as of the ruſhing of multitudes of people together, with a moſt melodious ſound intermixed; ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed that the Lord would pardon her raſhneſs, which her regard for his ſervant had cauſed. Afterwards, ſhe went forward, and found him lying on the ground; ſhe intreated him to tell her what had happened unto him, and, after many promiſes of ſecrecy, and an obligation, that ſhe ſhould not reveal it in his lifetime, but, if ſhe ſurvived him, ſhe ſhould be at liberty, he then ſaid, "O! what am I! being but duſt and aſhes! that holy miniſtering ſpirits ſhould be ſent with a meſſage to me!" And then told her, that he had had a viſion of angels, who gave him an audible anſwer from the Lord, reſpecting his wife's condition; and then, returning to the houſe, he ſaid to the people who attended his wife, "Be of good comfort, for I am ſure, that ere ten hours of the day, that brand ſhall be plucked out of the fire." After which he went to prayer, at his wife's bedſide;—ſhe continued for ſome time quiet, but, upon his mentioning Jacob wreſtling with God, ſhe ſat up in the bed, drew the curtain aſide, and ſaid, "Thou art this day a Jacob, who haſt wreſtled and haſt prevailed; and now God hath made good his word, which he ſpoke this morning to you, for I am plucked out of the hands of Satan, and he ſhall have no power over me." This interruption made him ſilent for a little, but afterwards, with great melting of heart, he proceeded in prayer, and magnified the riches of grace towards him. From that hour, ſhe continued to utter nothing but the language of joy and comfort, until her death, which was on the Friday following, Auguſt 13. 1601.

Mr Simpſon lived for ſeveral years after this, fervent and faithful in the work of the miniſtry. In 1608, when the biſhops and ſome commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly convened in the palace of Falkland, the miniſters aſſembled in the kirk of the town, and choſe him for their Moderator; after which, they ſpent ſome time in prayer, and taſted ſome of the comfort of their former meetings. They then agreed upon ſome articles for concord and peace, to be given into the biſhops, &c. This Mr Simpſon and ſome others did in the name of the reſt, but the biſhops ſhifted them off to the next Aſſembly, and in the mean time took all poſſible precautions to ſtrengthen their own party, which they effected.

In 1610, the noblemen and biſhops came to Stirling, after diſſolving the Aſſembly. In preaching before them, he openly charged the biſhops with perjury and groſs defection. They heſitated for ſome time, whether they ſhould delate him, or compound the matter; but, after deliberation, they dropt

the affair altogether for the preſent. There is no reaſon to doubt but he would have been ſubjected to the ſame ſufferings with many others of his brethren, had he lived; but before the cope-ſtone was laid on Prelacy in Scotland, he had entered into the joy of his Lord. For, in March 1618, which was about four months before the Perth Aſſembly, when the five articles were agreed upon *, he ſaid, that this month ſhould put an end to all his troubles; and he accordingly died about the end of it, bleſſing the Lord, that he had not been perverted by the ſinful courſes of theſe times; and ſaid, As the Lord had ſaid to Elijah in the wilderneſs, ſo, in ſome reſpects, he had dealt with him all the days of his life.

He wrote a Hiſtory of the Church, for the ſpace of about ten centuries. There are ſome other little tracts, beſides a Hiſtory of the Councils of the Church, which are nearly out of print altogether. Upon ſome of his books he had written, "Remember, O my ſoul, and never forget the 9th of Auguſt, what conſolation the Lord gave thee, and how he performed what he ſpake according to Zech. iii. 2. *Is not this a brand pluckt out of the fire?*" &c.

MR ANDREW DUNCAN.

MR DUNCAN was ſettled miniſter at Crail, in Fife, and was afterwards ſummoned before the High Commiſſion Court at St Andrew's, in 1619, on account of his faithfulneſs in oppoſing the five articles of Perth. At the firſt time of his compearance, he declined their authority; and at the ſecond, he adhered to his former declinature; upon which the High Commiſſion Court paſſed the ſentence of depoſition againſt him, and ordained him to enter himſelf in ward at Dundee. After the ſentence was pronounced, he gave in a proteſtation, which was as follows: "Now, ſeeing I have done nothing of this buſineſs, whereof I have been accuſed by you, but have been ſerving Jeſus Chriſt, my Maſter, in rebuking vice, in ſimplicity and righteouſneſs of heart, I proteſt, ſeeing ye have done me wrong, for a remedy at God's hand, the righteous Judge; and ſummon you before his dreadful judgement-ſeat, to be cenſured and puniſhed for ſuch unrighteous dealings, at ſuch a time as his Majeſty ſhall think expedient; and in the mean time decline this your judgement *ſimpliciter*,

* Theſe were, 1. Kneeling at the communion. 2. Private communion. 3. Private baptiſm. 4. Obſervation of holidays. 5. Confirmation of children.

mpliciter, now as before, and appeal to the Ordinary Aſſembly f the church, for reaſons before produced in writ. Pity yourlves for the Lord's ſake; loſe not your own dear ſouls, I beech you, for Eſau's pottage: Remember Balaam, who was aſt away by the deceit of the wages of unrighteouſneſs; forget not how miſerable Judas was, who loſt himſelf for a trifle f money, that never did him good. Better be pined to death y hunger, than for a little pittance of the earth, to periſh r ever, and never be recovered, ſo long as the days of heaen ſhall laſt, and the years of eternity ſhall endure. Why ould ye diſtreſs your own brethren, ſons and ſervants of the ord Jeſus? This is not the doing of the ſhepherds of the ock of Chriſt: if ye will not regard your ſouls nor conſciences, ok, I beſeech you, to your fame: why will ye be miſerable th in this life, and in the life to come."

When the Biſhop of St Andrew's had read ſome few lines this admonition, he caſt it from him; the Biſhop of Dumane took it up, and reading it, ſaid, he calls them Eſaus, Baams, and Judaſes. "Not ſo," ſaid Mr Duncan, "read again, ware that ye be not like them." In the ſpace of a month er, he was depoſed for non-conformity.

In July 1621, he preſented a large ſupplication, in name himſelf, and ſome of his faithful brethren, who had been cluded the General Aſſembly, to Sir Gorge Hay, Clerk-regier, on which account he was in a few days after apprehend by the captain of the guards, and brought before the Coun, who accuſed him for breaking ward, after he was ſuſpend and confined to Dundee, becauſe he had preached the eek before at Crail. Mr Duncan denied that he had been t to the horn; and as for breaking ward, he ſaid, That, r the ſake of obedience, he ſtaid at Dundee, ſeparated from wife and ſix children for half a year, and the winter apoaching, forced him to go home. In the end, he requeſted em not to impriſon him on his own charges; but the ſennce had been reſolved on before he compeared. He was nveyed to Dumbarton caſtle next day, ſome ſay to Blackſs caſtle; here he remained until October thereafter, when was again brought before the Council, and by them was cor ed to Kilrennie, upon his own charges. This was a pariſh ighbouring to his own.

Upon another occaſion, of the ſame nature with this juſt narrated, this worthy man was baniſhed out of the kingm, and went to ſettle at Berwick; but having ſeveral chilen, and his wife big with another, they were reduced to eat hardſhips, being obliged to part with their ſervant, hag ſcarcely ſubſiſtence ſufficient for themſelves. One night

in

in particular, the children aſking for bread, and there bei none to give them, they cried very ſore; the mother w likewiſe much depreſſed in ſpirit, for Mr Duncan had r ſource ſometimes to prayer, and in the intervals endeavoured cheriſh his wife's hope, and pleaſe the children, and at laſt g them to bed; but ſhe continued to mourn heavily. He exhort her to wait patiently upon God, who was now trying ther but would undoubtedly provide for them; and added, that the Lord ſhould rain down bread from heaven, they ſhou not want. This confidence was the more remarkable, b cauſe they had neither friend nor acquaintance in that place t whom they could make their caſe known. And yet befo morning, a man brought them a ſackful of proviſion, an went off, without telling them from whence it came, thoug intreated to do it. When Mr Duncan opened the ſack, h found in it a bag with twenty pounds Scots, two loaves o bread, a bag of flour, another of barley, and ſuch like prov ſions; and having brought the whole to his wife, he ſai "See what a good Maſter I ſerve." After this ſhe hired ſervant again, but was ſoon reduced to a new extremity; th pains of child-bearing came upon her, before ſhe could ma any proviſion for her delivery; but Providence interpoſed o their behalf at this time alſo. While ſhe travailed in th night-ſeaſon, and the good man knew not where to apply f a mid-wife, a gentlewoman came early in the morning ridin to the door; and having ſent her ſervant back with the hor with orders when to return, ſhe went in, and aſked th maid of the houſe, how her miſtreſs was, and deſired acce to her, which ſhe obtained; ſhe firſt ordered a good fire t be made, and ordered Mrs Duncan to riſe, and without an other aſſiſtance than the houſe afforded, ſhe delivered her; an afterwards accommodated Mrs Duncan and the child with bundance of very fine linen, which ſhe had brought along wit her. She gave her likewiſe a box, containing ſome neceſſar cordials, and five pieces of gold, bidding them both be of goo comfort, for they ſhould not want. After which, ſhe wen away on the horſe, which was by this time returned for her but would not tell her name, nor from whence ſhe came.

Thus did God take his own ſervant under his immedia care and providence, when men had wrongfully excluded hi from enjoying his worldly comforts. He continued zealo and ſtedfaſt in the faith, and, to the end of his life, his co duct was uniform with the circumſtances of this brief narrativ

The following is a literal copy of the laſt will and teſtamen of Mr Andrew Duncan.

I Andrew Duncan, a ſinful wight, Chriſt's unworthy miniſt in his glorious goſpel, being ſickly and weak, worn with yea

d heavineſs of heart in this pilgrimage, and being now
ary of this loathſome priſon, and body of death becauſe of
; and having received ſundry advertiſements and ſummonſes
my Maſter to flit out of this uncouth country, the region
death, home to my native land; and now ſitting upon the
iſon-door threſhold, ready to obey, waiting till the ſad meſ-
nger be ſent to convey me home to that glorious palace,
en the heavenly Jeruſalem, that I may enter into poſſeſſion
my heritage, even that glorious kingdom of eternity, which
hriſt came down from heaven to conqueſs for me; and
en went up to prepare and poſſeſs it in my name, as my at-
rney, until it pleaſed his Majeſty to take me thither, that I
y in my own perſon poſſeſs it.

I ſet down the declaration of my latter will, concerning
eſe things, which God hath lent me in this world, in man-
r following.——Firſt, as touching myſelf, body and ſoul:
y ſoul I leave to Chriſt Jeſus, who gave it; and when it was
t, redeemed it, that he may ſend his holy angels to tranſ-
rt it to the boſom of Abraham, there to enjoy all happineſs
d contentment; and as for this frail body, I commend it
the grave, there to ſleep and reſt, as in a ſweet bed, until
day of refreſhment, when it ſhall be re-united to the ſoul,
d ſhall be ſet down at the table with the holy patriarchs,
ophets, and apoſtles; yea, ſhall be placed on the throne
th Chriſt, and get on the crown of glory on my head. As
the children whom God hath given me, (for which I
ank his Majeſty), I leave them to his providence to be go-
rned and cared for by him, beſeeching him to be the tutor,
rator, and agent, in all their adoes, yea, and a father; and that
would lead them, by his gracious Spirit, through this evil
orld; that they be profitable inſtruments, both in kirk and
mmonwealth, to ſet out his glory; beſeeching them, on the
her part, (as they would have God's bleſſing, and mine in
their affairs), to ſet him before their eyes, and to walk in
s ways, living peaceably in his fear, in all humility and
eekneſs, with all thoſe they have ado with; holding their
urſe to heaven, and comforting themſelves with the glorious
d fair to-look and heritage, which Chriſt hath conqueſſed
them, and to all that love him. Under God, I leave Mr
hn Duncan, my eldeſt ſon, to be tutor to my youngeſt
ughter, Beſſie Duncan, his youngeſt ſiſter, to take a care of
r, and to ſee that all turns go right, touching her perſon
d gear. My executors, I leave my three ſons, Mr John,
illiam, and David, Duncans, to do my turns after me, and
put in practice my directions; requeſting them to be good
d comfortable to their ſiſters, but chiefly to the two that
at home, as they would have God's bleſſing and mine.

As

As concerning my temporal goods, the baggage and blath of the earth, as I have gotten them in the world of God's beral hand, ſo I leave them behind me in the world; givi moſt humble and hearty thanks unto my heavenly Father, f ſo long and comfortable loan of the ſame.—14*th April* 1626.

MR JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.

HE was ſettled miniſter at Kinghorn, in Fife, and we as chaplain with King James, in 1590, to Denmar when he brought home his Queen. He was afterwards co cerned in ſeveral important affairs of the church, until th fatal year 1618, when the five articles of Perth were agre on in an Aſſembly held at that place. He attended at th Aſſembly, and gave in ſome propoſals, [See Calderwood's Hi p. 708.], upon being, along with others of his faithful br thren, excluded from having a vote by the prevailing party that Aſſembly.

In 1620, he was, with ſome others, ſummoned before t High Commiſſion Court, for not preaching upon holida and not adminiſtering the communion conform to the agre ment at Perth; with certification, if this was proven, that ſhould be deprived of exerciſing the functions of a miniſter all time coming. But there being none preſent on the d appointed, except the Biſhops of St Andrew's, Glaſgow, a the Iſles, and Mr Walter Whiteford, they were diſmiſſed that time; but were warned to compear again on the 1ſt March. The biſhops cauſed the clerk to exact their conſe to deprivation, in caſe they did not compear againſt that d Nevertheleſs, they all proteſted with one voice, that th would never willingly renounce their miniſtry; and ſuch w the reſolution and courage of Mr Scrimgeour, that, notwit ſtanding all the threatenings of the biſhops, he celebrated t communion conform to the ancient practice of the church few days thereafter.

On the day appointed for their next compearance, the ſhops of St Andrew's, Dunkeld, Galloway, the Iſles, Du blane, Mr Hewiſon, Commiſſary of Edinburgh, and Dr Bl being aſſembled in the Biſhop of St Andrew's lodging in Ed burgh, Mr John Scrimgeour was again called upon to anſw and the Biſhop of St Andrew's alledged againſt him, that had promiſed either to conform or quit his miniſtry, as act at his laſt compearance on January 26th reported; he plied, "I am ſore ſtraitened, I never ſaw reaſon to conſor and as for my miniſtry, it was not mine, and ſo I could quit it." After long reaſoning betwixt him and the biſho

concerning church-policy and the keeping of holidays, he was removed for a little. Being called in again, the Bishop of St Andrew's said to him, "You are deprived of all function within the kirk, and ordained within six days to enter in ward at Dundee." "It is a very summary and peremptory sentence," said Mr Scrimgeour, "ye might have been advised better, and first have heard what I would have said." "You shall be heard," said the Bishop. This brought on some further reasoning, in the course of which Mr Scrimgeour gave a faithful testimony against the King's supremacy over the church, and, among other things, said, "I have had opportunity to reason with the King himself on this subject, and have told him, that Christ was the Sovereign, and only Director of his house; and that his Majesty was subject to him. I have had occasion to tell other men's matters to the King, and could have truly claimed this great preferment." "I tell you, Mr John," said the Bishop of St Andrew's, "that the King is Pope, and shall be so now." He replied, "That is an evil style you give him." And then gave in his reasons in writ, which they read at leisure. Afterwards the Bishop of St Andrew's said to him, "Take up your reasons again; if you will not conform, I cannot help it; the King must be obeyed, the Lords have given sentence, and will stand to it." "Ye cannot deprive me of my ministry," said Mr Scrimgeour; "I received it not from you; I received it from the whole Synod of Fife, and, for any thing ye do, I will never think myself deposed." The Bishop of St Andrew's replied, "You are deprived only of the present exercise of it." Then he presented the following protestation: "I protest before the Lord Jesus, that I get manifest wrong; my reasons and allegations are not considered and answered. I attest you to answer at his glorious appearance, for this and such dealings; and protest, that my cause should have been heard as I pled, and still plead and challenge. I likewise appeal to the Lord Jesus, his eternal word, to the King, my dread Sovereign, his law, to the constitution of this kirk and kingdom, to the Councils and Assemblies of both; and protest, that I stand minister of the evangel, and only by violence I am thrust from the same." "You must obey the sentence," said the Bishop of St Andrew's. He answered, "That Dundee was far off, and he was not able for far journeys, as physicians can witness." And he added, "Little know ye what is in my purse." "Then where will you choose the place of your confinement," said the Bishop. He answered, "At a little room of my own, called Bowhill, in the parish of Auchterderran." Then said the Bishop, "Write, at Bowhill, during the King's pleasure." Thus this

worthy ſervant of Chriſt lived the reſt of his days in Auchterderran. In his old age he was grievouſly afflicted with the ſtone. He ſaid to a godly miniſter, who went to ſee him a little before his death, "I have been a rude ſtunkard all my life, and now by this pain the Lord is humbling me, to make me as a lamb, before he take me to himſelf."

He was a man ſomewhat rude-like in his clothing, and in ſome of his expreſſions and behaviour; and yet was a very loving tender-hearted man; of a deep natural judgement, and very learned, eſpecially in Hebrew. He often wiſhed that moſt part of books were burnt, except the Bible, and ſome ſhort notes thereon. He had a peculiar talent for comforting the dejected. He uſed a very familiar, but preſſing manner of preaching. He was alſo an eminent wreſtler with God, and had more than ordinary power and familiarity with him, as appears from the following inſtances.

When he was miniſter at Kinghorn, there was a certain godly woman under his charge, who fell ſick of a very lingering diſeaſe, and was all the while aſſaulted with ſtrong temptations, leading her to think that ſhe was a caſt-away, notwithſtanding that her whole converſation had put the reality of grace in her beyond a doubt. He often viſited her while in this deep exerciſe; but her trouble and terrors ſtill remained; as her diſſolution drew on, her ſpiritual trouble increaſed. He went with two of his elders to her, and began firſt, in their preſence, to comfort her, and pray with her; but ſhe ſtill grew worſe. He ordered his elders to pray, and afterwards prayed himſelf, but no relief came. Then ſitting penſive for a little ſpace, he thus broke ſilence: "What is this! Our laying grounds of comfort before her will not do; prayer will not do: We muſt try another remedy. Sure I am, this is a daughter of Abraham; ſure I am, ſhe hath ſent for me; and therefore, in the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus, who ſent him to redeem ſinners; in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, who obeyed the Father, and came to ſave us; and in the name of the Holy and bleſſed Spirit, our Quickener and Sanctifier—I, the elder, command thee, a daughter of Abraham, to be looſed from theſe bonds." And immediately peace and joy enſued.

Mr Scrimgeour had ſeveral friends and children taken away by death; and his only daughter who at that time ſurvived, and whom he dearly loved, being ſeized with the king's evil, by which ſhe was reduced to the very point of death, ſo that he was called up to ſee her die; and finding her in this condition, he went out to the fields (as he himſelf told) in the night-time, in great grief and anxiety, and began to expoſtulate with

the Lord, with ſuch expreſſions as, for all the world, he durſt not again utter. In a fit of diſpleaſure, he ſaid, "Thou, O Lord, knoweſt that I have been ſerving thee in the uprightneſs of my heart, according to my power and meaſure; nor have I ſtood in awe to declare thy mind even unto the greateſt in the time, and thou ſeeſt that I take pleaſure in this child. O that I could obtain ſuch a thing at thy hand, as to ſpare her!" And being in great agony of ſpirit, at laſt it was ſaid to him from the Lord, "I have heard thee at this time, but uſe not the like boldneſs in time coming, for ſuch particulars." When he came home the child was recovered, and, ſitting up in the bed, took ſome meat; and when he looked at her arm, it was perfectly whole.

Mr JOHN WELCH.

MR JOHN WELCH was born a gentleman, his father being Laird of Collieſton, an eſtate rather competent than large, in Nithſdale, about the year 1570, the dawning of our reformation being then but dark. He was a rich example of grace and mercy, but the night went before the day, being a moſt hopeleſs extravagant boy. It was not enough to him, frequently, when he was a young ſtripling, to run away from the ſchool, and play the truant; but, after he had paſt his grammar, and was come to be a youth, he left the ſchool, and his father's houſe, and went and joined himſelf to the thieves on the Engliſh border, who lived by robbing the two nations, and amongſt them he ſtaid till he ſpent a ſuit of clothes. Then when he was clothed only with rags, the prodigal's miſery brought him to the prodigal's reſolution, ſo he reſolved to return to his father's houſe; but durſt not adventure, till he ſhould interpoſe a reconciler. In his return homeward, he took Dumfries in his way, where he had an aunt, one Agnes Forſyth, and with her ſpent ſome days, earneſtly intreating her to reconcile him to his father. While he lurked in her houſe, his father came providentially to the houſe, to viſit his couſin, Mrs Forſyth; and after they had talked a while, ſhe aſked him, Whether ever he heard any news of his ſon John? to her he replied with great grief, O cruel woman, how can you name him to me! The firſt news I expect to hear of him, is, that he is hanged for a thief. She anſwered, Many a profligate boy had become a virtuous man, and comforted him. He inſiſted upon his ſad complaint; but aſked, Whether ſhe knew his loſt ſon was yet alive? She anſwered, Yes, he was, and ſhe hoped

he ſhould prove a better man than he was a boy; and with that ſhe called upon him to come to his father. He came weeping, and kneeled, beſeeching his father, for Chriſt's ſake, to pardon his miſbehaviour, and deeply engaged to be a new man. His father reproached him, and threatened him. Yet at length, by his tears, and Mrs Forſyth's importunities, he was perſuaded to a reconciliation. The boy intreated his father to ſend him to the college, and there to try his behaviour; and if ever thereafter he ſhould break, he ſaid, he ſhould be content his father ſhould diſclaim him for ever: So his father carried him home, and put him to the college, and there he became a diligent ſtudent, of great expectation, and ſhewed himſelf a ſincere convert; and ſo he proceeded to the miniſtry. His firſt ſettlement was at Selkirk, while he was yet very young, and the country rude. While he was there, his miniſtry was rather admired by ſome, than received by many; for he was always attended with the prophet's ſhadow, the hatred of the wicked; yea, even the miniſters of that country were more ready to pick a quarrel with his perſon, than to follow his doctrine, as may appear to this day in their ſynodical records, where we find he had many to cenſure him, and only ſome to defend him; yet it was thought, his miniſtry in that place was not without fruit, though he ſtayed but ſhort time there. Being a young man unmarried, he boarded himſelf in the houſe of one Mitchelhill, and took a young boy of his to be his bed-fellow, who to his dying day retained both a reſpect to Mr Welch and his miniſtry, from the impreſſion Mr Welch's behaviour made upon his apprehenſion, though but a child. His cuſtom was, when he went to bed at night, to lay a Scots plaid above his bed-clothes, and when he went to his night-prayers, to ſit up and cover himſelf negligently therewith, and ſo to continue. For from the beginning of his miniſtry to his death, he reckoned the day ill ſpent, if he ſtayed not ſeven or eight hours in prayer; and this the boy did not forget even to old age.

An old man of the name of Ewart in Selkirk, who remembered Mr Welch's being in that place, ſaid, he was a type of Chriſt; an expreſſion more ſignificant than proper, for his meaning was, that he was an example that imitated Chriſt, as indeed in many things he did. He alſo ſaid, that his cuſtom was to preach publicly once every day, and to ſpend his whole time in ſpiritual exerciſes; that ſome in that place waited well upon his miniſtry, with great tenderneſs; but that he was conſtrained to leave that place, becauſe of the malice of the wicked.

The

he special cauſe of his departure was, a prophane gentle- in the country, (one Scot of Headſchaw, whoſe family ow extinct), becauſe Mr Welch had either reproved him, merely from hatred, Mr Welch was moſt unworthily ſed by the unhappy man; and among the reſt of the in- es he did him, this was one:—Mr Welch kept always two d horſes for his own uſe, and the wicked gentleman, when could do no more, either with his own hand, or by his ſer- ts, cut off the rumps of the two innocent beaſts; upon ch they both died. Such baſe uſage as this perſuaded to liſten to a call to the miniſtry at Kirkcudbright, which his next poſt.

ut when he was to leave Selkirk, he could not find a man ll the town to tranſport his furniture, except only Ewart, was at that time a poor young man, but maſter of two es, with which he tranſported Mr Welch's goods, and ſo him; but as he took his leave, Mr Welch gave him his ing, and a piece of gold for a token, exhorting him to God, and promiſed he ſhould never want; which pro- providence made good through the whole courſe of the 's life, as was obſerved by all his neighbours.

t Kirkcudbright he ſtayed not long; but there he reaped rveſt of converts, which ſubſiſted long after his departure, were part of Mr Samuel Rutherford's flock, though not pariſh, while he was miniſter at Anwoth: Yet when his to Ayr came to him, the people of the pariſh of Kirk- right never offered to detain him; ſo his tranſportation yr was the more eaſy.

hile he was at Kirkcudbright, he met with a young man carlet and ſilver lace, (the gentleman's name was Mr rt Glendinning), new come home from his travels; he ſurpriſed the young man, by telling him, he behoved ange his garb, and way of life, and betake himſelf to the tures, which at that time was not his buſineſs, for he d be his ſucceſſor in the miniſtry at Kirkcudbright; h accordingly came to paſs ſome time thereafter.

r Welch was tranſported to Ayr in 1590, and there he nued till he was baniſhed; there he had a very hard be- ng, but a very ſweet end; for when he came firſt to own, the country was ſo wicked, and the hatred of god- ſo great, that there could not one in all the town be , who would let him a houſe to dwell in; ſo he was rained to accommodate himſelf the beſt he might, in a of a gentleman's houſe for a time; the gentleman's name John Stuart merchant, and ſometime Provoſt of Ayr, inent Chriſtian, and great aſſiſtant of Mr Welch.

And

And when he had firſt taken up his reſidence in t town, the place was ſo divided into factions, and filled w bloody conflicts, that a man could hardly walk the ſtreets w ſafety; wherefore Mr Welch made it his firſt undertaki to remove the bloody quarrelings, but he found it a v difficult work; yet ſuch was his earneſtneſs to purſue his de that many times he would ruſh betwixt two parties of fighting, even in the midſt of blood and wounds. He to cover his head with a head-piece before he went to ſe rate theſe bloody enemies; but would never uſe a ſword, they might ſee he came for peace, and not for war; and by little and little, he made the town a peaceable habitatio

His manner was, after he had ended a ſkirmiſh amo his neighbours, and reconciled theſe bitter enemies, to c cover a table upon the ſtreet, and there brought the ene together; and, beginning with prayer, he perſuaded the profeſs themſelves friends, then to eat and drink toget then, laſt of all, he ended the work with ſinging a pſ For after the rude people began to obſerve his example, liſten to his heavenly doctrine, he came quickly to that ſpect amongſt them, that he became not only a neceſ counſellor, without whoſe council they would do noth but an example to imitate.

He gave himſelf wholly to miniſterial exerciſes, he pre ed once every day, he prayed the third part of his time, unwearied in his ſtudies; and for a proof of this, it was fo among his papers, that he had abridged Suarez's Metaphy when they came firſt to his hand, even when he was ſtricken in years. By all which it appears, that he has only been a man of great diligence, but alſo of a ſtrong robuſt natural conſtitution, otherwiſe he had never end the fatigue.

Sometimes, before he went to ſermon, he would ſen his elders, and tell them, he was afraid to go to the pul becauſe he found himſelf ſore deſerted: and thereafter one or more of them to pray, and then he would ventu the pulpit. But, it was obſerved, this humbling exe uſed ordinarily to be followed with a flame of extraordi aſſiſtance: So near neighbours many times are contrary poſitions and frames. He would many times retire to church of Ayr, which was at ſome diſtance from the t and there ſpend the whole night in prayer; for he uſ allow his affections full expreſſion, and prayed not only an audible, but ſometimes a loud voice.

There was in Ayr, before he came to it, an aged m miniſter of the town, called Porterfield; the man was ju

bad man for his perſonal inclinations, but ſo eaſy a diſ-
tion, that he uſed many times to go too great a length with
neighbours in many dangerous practices; and amongſt the
, he uſed to go to the bow-butts and archery on the Sab-
h afternoon, to Mr Welch's great diſſatisfaction. But the
y he uſed to reclaim him was not bitter ſeverity, but this
tle policy. Mr Welch, together with John Stuart, and
gh Kennedy, his two intimate friends, uſed to ſpend the
bath afternoon in religious conference and prayer; and to
s exerciſe they invited Mr Porterfield, which he could
refuſe; by which means he was not only diverted from
former ſinful practice, but likewiſe brought to a more
tchful and edifying behaviour in his courſe of life.

While Mr Welch was at Ayr, the Lord's day was greatly
ofaned at a gentleman's houſe about eight miles diſtant from
r, by reaſon of great confluence of people playing at the
t-ball, and other paſtime. After writing ſeveral times
him, to ſuppreſs the profanation of the Lord's day at his
uſe, (which he ſlighted, not loving to be called a puritan),
r Welch came one day to his gate, and calling him out to
l him, that he had a meſſage from God to ſhew him, that be-
uſe he had ſlighted the advice given him from the Lord, and
uld not reſtrain the profanation of the Lord's day committed
his bounds; therefore the Lord would caſt him out of his houſe,
d none of his poſterity ſhould enjoy it: which accordingly
me to paſs; for although he was in a good external ſitua-
n at this time, yet henceforth all things went againſt him,
til he was obliged to ſell his eſtate; and when giving the
rchaſer poſſeſſion thereof, he told his wife and children, that
had found Mr Welch a true prophet *.

He married Eliſabeth Knox, daughter to the famous Mr
hn Knox miniſter at Edinburgh, and ſhe lived with him
m his youth till his death. By her he had three ſons †.

As

* Vide Mr Welch's diſpute with Gilbert Brown the Papiſt, in pre-
ce.

† The firſt was called Dr Welch, a doctor of medicine, who was
happily killed, upon an innocent miſtake in the Low Countries.
Another ſon he had moſt lamentably loſt at ſea, for when the ſhip in
hich he was, was ſunk, he ſwam to a rock in the ſea, but ſtarved
ere, for want of neceſſary food and refreſhment; and when ſome time
terward, his body was found upon the rock, they found him dead in
praying poſture, upon his bended knees, with his hands ſtretched
t; and this was all the ſatisfaction his friends and the world had upon
s lamentable death.
Another he had, who was heir to his father's graces and bleſſings,

and

As the duty wherein Mr Welch abounded and excell moſt was in prayer, ſo his greateſt attainments fell that w He uſed to ſay, he wondered how a Chriſtian could lie in all night, and not riſe to pray; and many times he ro and many times he watched. One night he roſe from wife, and went into the next room, where he ſtaid ſo long ſecret prayer, that his wife, fearing he might catch cold, conſtrained to riſe and follow him, and, as ſhe hearkened, heard him ſpeak as by interrupted ſentences, Lord, wilt th not grant me Scotland; and, after a pauſe, Enough, Lo enough; and ſo ſhe returned to her bed, and he follow her, not knowing ſhe had heard him; but when he was her, ſhe aſked him, What he meant by ſaying, Enou Lord enough? he ſhewed himſelf diſſatisfied with her c rioſity; but told her, he had been wreſtling with the Lo for Scotland, and found there was a ſad time at hand, but t the Lord would be gracious to a remnant. This was abo the time when the biſhops firſt overſpread the land, and co rupted the church. This is more wonderful ſtill: An hon miniſter, who was a pariſhioner of Mr Welch many a da ſaid, "That one night, as he watched in his garden very h

and this was Mr Joſias Welch miniſter at Temple-patrick, in north of Ireland, commonly called the Cock of the Conſcience by people of that country, becauſe of his extraordinary awakening rouſing gift. He was one of that bleſſed ſociety of miniſters, wh wrought that unparalleled work in the north of Ireland, about the ye 1636, but was himſelf a man moſt ſadly exerciſed with doubts abo his own ſalvation all his time, and would ordinarily ſay, That mini was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak ſaints, a had no comfort himſelf. He died in his youth, and left for his ſucce Mr John Welch, miniſter in Irongray in Galloway, the place of grandfather's nativity. What buſineſs this made in Scotland, in t time of the late Epiſcopal perſecution, for the ſpace of twenty yea is known to all Scotland. He maintained his dangerous poſt of preac ing the goſpel upon the mountains of Scotland, notwithſtanding of t threatenings of the ſtate, the hatred of the biſhops, the price ſet up his head, and all the fierce induſtry of his cruel enemies. It is w known, that bloody Claverhouſe, upon ſecret information from ſpies, that Mr John Welch was to be found in ſome lurking place forty miles diſtance, would make all that long journey in one winte night, that he might catch him; but when he came, he miſſed alwa his prey. I never heard of a man that endured more toil, adventu upon more, or eſcaped ſo much hazard, not in the world. He uſed tell his friends who counſelled him to be more cautious, and not hazard himſelf ſo much, that he firmly believed dangerous u dertakings would be his ſecurity; and that whenever he ſhould g over that courſe, and retire himſelf, his miniſtry ſhould come to an e which accordingly came to paſs; for when, after the battle of Bo well bridge, he retired to London, the Lord called him by death, a there he was honourably interred, not far from the King's palace.

and ſome friends waiting upon him in his houſe, and wearying becauſe of his long ſtay, one of them chanced to open a window toward the place where he walked, and ſaw clearly a ſtrange light ſurround him, and heard him ſpeak ſtrange words about his ſpiritual joy." But though Mr Welch had, upon the account of his holineſs, abilities, and ſucceſs, acquired among his ſubdued people a very great reſpect, yet was he never in ſuch admiration as after the great plague which raged in Scotland in his time.

And one cauſe was this: The magiſtrates of Ayr, foraſmuch as this town alone was free, and the country about infected, thought fit to guard the ports with ſentinels and watchmen; and one day, two travelling-merchants, each with a pack of cloth upon a horſe, came to the town, deſiring entrance, that they might ſell their goods, producing a paſs from the magiſtrates of the town from whence they came, which was at that time ſound and free; yet, notwithſtanding all this, the ſentinels ſtopt them till the magiſtrates were called; and when they came, they would do nothing without their miniſter's advice; ſo Mr Welch was called, and his opinion aſked. He demurred, and putting off his hat, with his eyes towards heaven for a pretty ſpace, though he uttered no audible words, yet continued in a praying poſture; and after a little ſpace told the magiſtrates, they would do well to diſcharge theſe travellers their town, affirming, with great aſſeveration, the plague was in theſe packs; ſo the magiſtrates commanded them to be gone; and they went to Cumnock, a town about twenty miles diſtant, and there ſold their goods; which kindled ſuch an infection in that place, that the living were hardly able to bury their dead. This made their people begin to think of Mr Welch as an oracle: Yet, as he walked with God, and kept cloſe with him, ſo he forgot not man, for he uſed frequently to dine abroad with ſuch of his friends, as he thought were perſons with whom he might maintain the communion of the ſaints; and once in the year, he uſed always to invite all his familiar acquaintances in the town, to a treat in his houſe, where there was a banquet of holineſs and ſobriety.

He continued the courſe of his miniſtry in Ayr, till King James's purpoſe of deſtroying the church of Scotland, by eſtabliſhing biſhops, was ripe, and then it became his duty to edify the church by his ſufferings, as formerly he had done by his doctrine.

The reaſon why King James was ſo violent for biſhops, was neither their divine inſtitution, which he denied they had, nor yet the profit the church ſhould reap by them, for

he knew well both the men and their communications, but merely becauſe he believed they were uſeful inſtruments to turn a limited monarchy into abſolute dominion, and ſubjects into ſlaves; the deſign in the world he minded moſt.

Always in the purſuit of his deſign, he followed this method: in the firſt place, he reſolved to deſtroy General Aſſemblies, knowing well that ſo long as Aſſemblies might convene in freedom, biſhops could never get their deſigned authority in Scotland; and the diſſolution of Aſſemblies he brought about in this manner.

The General Aſſembly at Holyroodhouſe, in 1602, with the King's conſent, indict their meeting to be kept at Aberdeen, the laſt Tueſday of July, in 1604; and before that day came, the King, by his Commiſſioner the Laird of Laurieſton, and Mr Patrick Galloway, Moderator of the laſt General Aſſembly, in a letter directed to the ſeveral preſbyteries, prorogued the meeting till the firſt Tueſday of July 1605, at the ſame place; laſt of all, in June 1605, the expected meeting to have been kept in July following, is by a new letter from the King's Commiſſioner, and the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, abſolutely diſcharged and prohibited, but without naming any day or place, for any other Aſſembly; and ſo the ſeries of our Aſſemblies expired, never to revive again in due form, till the covenant was renewed in 1638. However, many of the godly miniſters of Scotland, knowing well, if once the hedge of the government was broken, the corruption of the doctrine would ſoon follow, reſolved not to quit their aſſemblies ſo; and therefore a number of them convened at Aberdeen, upon the firſt Tueſday of July 1605, being the laſt day that was diſtinctly appointed by authority; and when they had met, did no more but conſtitute themſelves and diſſolve. Amongſt thoſe was Mr Welch, who, though he had not been preſent upon that preciſe day, yet becauſe he came to the place, and approved what his brethren had done, he was accuſed as guilty of the treaſonable fact committed by them. So dangerous a point was the name of a General Aſſembly in King James's jealous judgement.

Within a month after this meeting, many of theſe godly men were incarcerated, ſome in one priſon, ſome in another. Mr Welch was ſent firſt to Edinburgh tolbooth, and then to Blackneſs; and ſo from priſon to priſon, till he was baniſhed to France, never to ſee Scotland again.

And now the ſcene of his life begins to alter; but, before his ſufferings, he had this ſtrange warning.

After the meeting at Aberdeen was over, he retired immediately to Ayr; and one night he roſe from his wife, and went

went into his garden, as his cuſtom was, but ſtaid longe than ordinary, which troubled his wife, who, when he returned, expoſtulated with him very hard for his ſtaying ſo long to wrong his health; he bid her be quiet, for it ſhould be well with them. But he knew well he ſhould never preach more at Ayr; and accordingly, before the next Sabbath, he was carried priſoner to Blackneſs caſtle. After that, he, with many others who had met at Aberdeen, were brought before the Council of Scotland at Edinburgh, to anſwer for their rebellion and contempt, in holding a General Aſſembly not authoriſed by the King. And becauſe they declined the Secret Council, as judges competent in cauſes purely ſpiritual, ſuch as the nature and conſtitution of a General Aſſembly is, they were firſt remitted to the priſon at Blackneſs, and other places; and thereafter, ſix of the moſt conſiderable of them, were brought under night from Blackneſs to Linlithgow, before the criminal judges, to anſwer an accuſation of high treaſon, at the inſtance of Sir Thomas Hamilton, the King's Advocate, for declining, as he alledged, the King's lawful authority, in refuſing to admit the Council judges competent in the cauſe of the nature of church-judicatories; and, after their accuſation and anſwer was read, by the verdict of a jury of very conſiderable gentlemen, they were condemned as guilty of high treaſon, the puniſhment deferred till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known; and thereafter their puniſhment was made baniſhment, that the cruel ſentence might ſomewhat ſeem to ſoften their ſevere puniſhment, as the King had contrived it.

While he was in Blackneſs, he wrote his famous letter to Lilias Graham, Counteſs of Wigton; in which he utters, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his conſolation in ſuffering; his deſire to be diſſolved, that he might be with the Lord; the judgements he forſaw coming upon Scotland, &c. He alſo ſeems moſt poſitively to ſhew the true cauſe of their ſufferings, and ſtate of the teſtimony, in theſe words:

"Who am I, that he ſhould firſt have called me, and then conſtituted me a miniſter of the glad tidings of the goſpel of ſalvation theſe years already, and now, laſt of all, to be a ſufferer for his cauſe and kingdom. Now, let it be ſo, that I have fought my fight, and run my race, and now from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, that righteous God, will give, and not to me only, but to all that love his appearance, and chooſe to witneſs this, that Jeſus Chriſt is the King of ſaints, and that his church is a moſt free kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven, not only to convocate, hold, and keep her meetings, and

conventions, and aſſemblies; but alſo to judge of all her affairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongſt her members and ſubjects. Theſe two points, 1. That Chriſt is the head of the church. 2. That ſhe is free in her government from all other juriſdiction except Chriſt's: Theſe two points, I ſay, are the ſpecial cauſe of our impriſonment; being now convict as traitors for the maintaining thereof. We have been ever waiting with joyfulneſs to give the laſt teſtimony of our blood in confirmation thereof, if it ſhould pleaſe our God to be ſo favourable, as to honour us with that dignity; yea, I do affirm, that theſe two points above written, and all other things which belong to Chriſt's crown, ſceptre, and kingdom, are not ſubject, nor cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own altogether. So that I would be moſt glad to be offered up as a ſacrifice for ſo glorious a truth: It would be to me the moſt glorious day, and the gladdeſt hour, I ever ſaw in this life; but I am in his hand, to do with me whatſoever ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty.

"I am alſo bound and ſworn, by a ſpecial covenant, to maintain the doctrine and diſcipline thereof, according to my vocation and power, all the days of my life, under all the pains contained in the book of God, and danger of body and ſoul, in the day of God's fearful judgement; and therefore, though I ſhould periſh in the cauſe, yet will I ſpeak for it, and to my power defend it, according to my vocation."

He wrote about the ſame time to Sir William Livingſtone of Kilſyth. There are ſome prophetical expreſſions in that letter that merit notice.

"As for that inſtrument, Spottiſwood, we are ſure the Lord will never bleſs that man, but a malediction lies upon him, and ſhall accompany all his doings; and it may be, Sir, your eyes ſhall ſee as great confuſion covering him, ere he go to his grave, as ever did his predeceſſors. Now, ſurely, Sir, I am far from bitterneſs, but here I denounce the wrath of an everlaſting God againſt him, which aſſuredly ſhall fall, except it be prevented. Sir, Dagon ſhall not ſtand before the ark of the Lord, and theſe names of blaſphemy that he wears, of Arch and Lord Biſhop, will have a fearful end. Not one beck is to be given to Haman, ſuppoſe he were as great a courtier as ever he was; ſuppoſe the decree was given out, and ſealed with the King's ring, deliverance will come to us elſewhere, and not by him, who has been ſo ſore an inſtrument, not againſt our perſons, that were nothing, (for I proteſt to you, Sir, in the ſight of God, I forgive him all the evil he has done, or can do, to me), but unto Chriſt's poor kirk, in ſtamping under foot ſo glorious a kingdom and beauty as

was

was once in this land. He has helped to cut Sampſon's hair, nd to expoſe him to mocking; but the Lord will not be mocked. He ſhall be caſt away as a ſtone out of a ſling; his ame ſhall rot; and a malediction ſhall fall upon his poſterity, fter he is gone. Let this, Sir, be a monument of it, that it as told before, that when it ſhall come to paſs, it may be een there was warning given him: And therefore, Sir, ſeeng I have not the acceſs myſelf, if it would pleaſe God to nove you, I wiſh you would deliver this hand-meſſage to him, ot as from me, but from the Lord."

The man of whom he complains, and threatens ſo ſore, as Biſhop Spottiſwood, at that time deſigned Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; and this prophecy was punctually accompliſhed, hough after the ſpace of forty years: For, firſt the Biſhop imſelf died in a ſtrange land, and, as many ſay, in miſery; ext, his ſon Robert Spottiſwood, ſometime Preſident of the ſſion, was beheaded by the parliament of Scotland, at the arket-croſs of St Andrew's, in the winter after the battle of hiliphaugh, to which many thouſands witneſſed; and as ſoon ever he came upon the ſcaffold, Mr Blair, the miniſter of town, told him, that now Mr Welch's prophecy was fulled upon him; to which he replied in anger, That Mr elch and he were both falſe prophets.

But before he left Scotland, ſome remarkable paſſages in behaviour are to be remembered. And, firſt, when the ſpute about church-government began to warm, as he was lking upon the ſtreet of Edinburgh, betwixt two honeſt ciens, he told them, They had in their town two great miniers, who were no great friends to Chriſt's cauſe preſently in ntroverſy, but it ſhould be ſeen, the world ſhould never ar of their repentance. The two men were Mr Patrick Galway and Mr John Hall: and accordingly it came to paſs; Mr Patrick Galloway died eaſing himſelf upon a ſtool; d Mr John Hall, being at that time in Leith, and his ſernt woman having left him alone in his houſe, while ſhe nt to the market, he was found dead at her return.

He was ſome time priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle before he nt into exile; where, one night ſitting at ſupper with the rd Ochiltree, who was uncle to Mr Welch's wife, as his nner was, he entertained the company with godly and edig diſcourſe, which was well received by all the company, cept a debauched Popiſh young gentleman, who ſometimes ghed, and ſometimes mocked, and made wry faces; whereon Mr Welch brake out into a ſad abrupt charge upon all company to be ſilent, and obſerve the work of the Lord on that profane mocker, which they ſhould preſently behold;

hold; upon which the profane wretch ſunk down and die beneath the table, to the great aſtoniſhment of all the com pany.

Another wonderful ſtory they tell of him at the ſame time —The Lord Ochiltree, the captain, being both ſon to the goo Lord Ochiltree, and Mr Welch's uncle-in-law, was indee very civil to Mr Welch; but being for a long time, throug the multitude of affairs, kept from viſiting Mr Welch in h chamber, as he was one day walking in the court, and eſpyi Mr Welch at his chamber-window, aſked him kindly, how h did, and if in any thing he could ſerve him? Mr Welch an ſwered him, he would earneſtly intreat his Lordſhip, being at th time to go to Court, to petition King James in his name, th he might have liberty to preach the goſpel; which my Lo promiſed to do. Mr Welch anſwered, my Lord, both becau you are my kinſman, and for other reaſons, I would earneſt intreat and obteſt you not to promiſe, except you faithful perform. His Lordſhip anſwered, he would faithfully pe form his promiſe; and ſo went for London. But thoug at his firſt arrival, he was really purpoſed to preſent the pe tion to the King, when he found the King in ſuch a rage gainſt the godly miniſters, that he durſt not at that ti preſent it; ſo he thought fit to delay it, and thereafter e tirely forgot it.

The firſt time that Mr Welch ſaw his face after his retu from Court, he aſked him what he had done with his petitio His Lordſhip anſwered, he had preſented it to the King, b that the King was in ſo great a rage againſt the miniſters that time, he believed it had been forgotten, for he had no anſwer. Nay, ſaid Mr Welch to him, my Lord, y ſhould not lie to God, and to me; for I know you never livered it, though I warned you to take heed not to undertake except you would perform it; but becauſe you have dealt unfaithfully, remember God ſhall take from you both eſt and honours, and give them to your neighbour, in your o time: which accordingly came to paſs, for both his eſtate honours were in his own time tranſlated to James Stuart, of Captain James, who was indeed a cadet, but not the lin heir of the family.

While he was detained priſoner in Edinburgh caſtle, wife uſed for the moſt part to ſtay in his company, but upo time fell into a longing to ſee her family in Ayr, to which ſome difficulty he yielded; but when ſhe was to take journey, he ſtrictly charged her not to take the ordinary wa her own houſe, when ſhe came to Ayr, nor to paſs by bridge through the town, but to paſs the river above

bridge, and so get the way to his own house, and not to come into the town; for, said he, before you come thither, you shall find the plague broken out in Ayr; which accordingly came to pass.

The plague was at that time very terrible, and he being necessarily separate from his people, it was to him the more grievous; but when the people of Ayr came to him to bemoan themselves, his answer was, that Hugh Kennedy, a godly gentleman in their town, should pray for them, and God should hear him. This counsel they accepted, and the gentleman, convening a number of the honest citizens, prayed earnestly for the town, as he was a mighty wrestler with God, and accordingly after that the plague decreased.

Now the time is come when he must leave Scotland, and never see it again. So, upon the 7th of November 1606, in the morning, he with his neighbours took ship at Leith; and though it was but two o'clock in the morning, many were waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell*. After prayer, they sung the 23d psalm, and so, to the great grief of the spectators, set sail for the south of France, and landed in the river of Bourdeaux. Within fourteen weeks after his arrival, such was the Lord's blessing upon his diligence, he was able to preach in French; and accordingly was speedily called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; one of them was Nerac, and thereafter was settled in St Jean d'Angely, a considerable walled town; and there he continued the rest of the time he sojourned in France, which was about sixteen years. When he began to preach, it was observed by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke very correct French, but when he came to his application, and when his affections kindled, his fervour made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the French construction. But there were godly young men who admonished him of this, which he took in very good part; so, for preventing mistakes of that kind, he desired the young gentlemen, when they perceived him beginning to decline, to give him a sign, viz. that they were to stand up; and thereafter he was more exact in his expression through his whole

* With Mr Welch, other five godly ministers were banished for the same cause, viz. John Forbes, who went to Middleburgh, to the English chapel there; Robert Dury, who went to Holland, and was minister to the Scots congregation in Lyden; John Sharp, who became minister and professor of divinity at Dia in the Dulphinate, where he wrote Carsus Theologicus, &c.; and Andrew Duncan and Alexander Strachan, who in about a year got liberty to return unto their former places. *Calderwood's Hist. p. ult.*

whole ſermon: ſo deſirous was he, not only to deliver good matter, but to recommend it in neat expreſſion.

There were many times perſons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was juſt as bold as ever he had been in a Scots village; which moved Mr Boyd of Trochrig once to aſk him, after he had preached before the univerſity with Saumer, with ſuch boldneſs and authority, as if he had been before the meaneſt congregation, how he could be ſo confident among ſtrangers, and perſons of ſuch quality? To which he anſwered, That he was ſo filled with the dread of God, he had no apprehenſions from man at all; and this anſwer, ſaid Mr Boyd, did not remove my admiration, but rather increaſe it.

There was in his houſe, amongſt many others who boarded with him for good education, a young gentleman of great quality, and ſuitable expectations, and this was the heir of Lord Ochiltree, captain of the caſtle of Edinburgh. This young nobleman, after he had gained very much upon Mr Welch's affections, fell ill of a grievous ſickneſs, and after he had been long waſted with it, cloſed his eyes, and expired, to the apprehenſion of all ſpectators, and was therefore taken out of his bed, and laid on a pallat on the floor, that his body might be the more conveniently dreſſed. This was to Mr Welch a very great grief, and therefore he ſtayed with the dead body full three hours, lamenting over him with great tenderneſs. After twelve hours, the friends brought in a coffin, whereinto they deſired the corpſe to be put, as the cuſtom is; but Mr Welch deſired, that, for the ſatisfaction of his affections, they would forbear it for a time; which they granted and returned not till twenty-four hours after his death were expired; then they deſired, with great importunity, that the corpſe might be coffined, and ſpeedily buried, the weather being extremely hot; yet he perſiſted in his requeſt, earneſtly begging them to excuſe him once more; ſo they left the corpſe upon the pallat for full thirty-ſix hours; but even after all that, though he was urged, not only with great earneſtneſs, but diſpleaſure, they were conſtrained to forbear for twelve hours more. After forty-eight hours were paſt, Mr Welch ſtill held out againſt them; and then his friends perceiving that he believed the young man was not really dead but under ſome apoplectic fit, propoſed to him, for his ſatisfaction, that trial ſhould be made upon his body by doctors and chirurgeons, if poſſibly any ſpark of life might be found in him; and with this he was content.—So the phyſicians are ſet to work, who pinched him with pincers in the fleſhy parts of his body, and twiſted a bow-ſtring about his head with great force; but no ſign of life appearing in him, the phyſi-

cians pronounced him cold dead, and then there was no more delay to be made; yet Mr Welch begged of them once more that they would but ſtep into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and this they granted. Then Mr Welch fell down before the pallet, and cried to the Lord with all his might, and ſometimes looked upon the dead body, continuing in wreſtling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr Welch, whom he diſtinctly knew, O Sir, I am all whole, but my head and legs; and theſe were the places they had ſore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr Welch perceived this, he called upon his friends, and ſhewed them the dead young man reſtored to life again, to their great aſtoniſhment. And this young nobleman, tho' he loſt the eſtate of Ochiltree, lived to acquire a great eſtate in Ireland, and was Lord Caſtleſtuart, and a man of ſuch excellent parts, that he was courted by the Earl of Stafford to be a counſellor in Ireland; which he refuſed to be, until the godly ſilenced Scottiſh miniſters, who ſuffered under the biſhops in the north of Ireland, were reſtored to the exerciſe of their miniſtry; and then he engaged, and continued ſo for all his life, not only in honour and power, but in the profeſſion and practice of godlineſs, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. This ſtory the nobleman himſelf communicated to his friends in Ireland.

While Mr Welch was miniſter in one of theſe French villages, upon an evening, a certain Popiſh friar travelling through the country, becauſe he could not find a lodging in the whole village, addreſſed himſelf to Mr Welch's houſe for one night. The ſervants acquainted their maſter, and he was content to receive this gueſt. The family had ſupped before he came, and ſo the ſervants convoyed the friar to his chamber; and after they had made his ſupper, they left him to his reſt. There was but a timber partition betwixt him and Mr Welch; and after the friar had ſlept his firſt ſleep, he was ſurpriſed with the hearing of a ſilent but conſtant whiſpering noiſe; at which he wondered very much, and was not a little troubled.

The next morning he walked in the fields, where he chanced to meet with a country-man, who ſaluting him becauſe of his habit, aſked him, where he had lodged that night? The friar anſwered, he had lodged with the Huguenot miniſter. Then the country-man aſked him, what entertainment he had? The friar anſwered, very bad: for, ſaid he, I always held, that devils haunted theſe miniſters houſes, and am perſuaded there was one with me this night, for I heard a continual whiſper all the night over, which I believe was no other thing

than the miniſter and the devil converſing together. The country-man told him, he was much miſtaken, and that it was nothing elſe than the miniſter at his night-prayer. O, ſaid the friar, does the miniſter pray any? Yes, more than any man in France, anſwered the country-man; and if you pleaſe to ſtay another night with him, you may be ſatisfied. The friar got home to Mr Welch's houſe, and, pretending indiſpoſition, intreated another night's lodging; which was granted him.

Before dinner, Mr Welch came from his chamber, and made his family-exerciſe, according to his cuſtom. And firſt he ſung a pſalm, then read a portion of ſcripture, and diſcourſed upon it; thereafter he prayed with great fervour; to all which the friar was an aſtoniſhed witneſs. After exerciſe, they went to dinner, where the friar was very civilly entertained, Mr Welch forbearing all queſtion and diſpute with him for the time; when the evening came, Mr Welch made exerciſe, as he had done in the morning, which occaſioned more wonder to the friar, and after ſupper they went to bed; but the friar longed much to know what the night-whiſper was: and therein he was ſoon ſatisfied; for after Mr Welch's firſt ſleep, the noiſe began; then the friar reſolved to be certain what it was; and to that end he crept ſilently to Mr Welch's chamber-door, and there he heard not only the ſound, but the words diſtinctly, and communications betwixt God and man, ſuch as he thought had not been in this world. The next morning, as ſoon as Mr Welch was ready, the friar went to him, and told him, that he had lived in ignorance the whole of his life, but now he was reſolved to adventure his ſoul with Mr Welch; and thereupon declared himſelf Proteſtant; Mr Welch welcomed and encouraged him; and he continued a Proteſtant to his death.

When Lewis XIII. King of France, made war upon the Proteſtants there, becauſe of their religion, the city of St Jean d'Angely was beſieged by him with his whole army, and brought into extreme danger. Mr Welch was miniſter of the town, and mightily encouraged the citizens to hold out, aſſuring them God would deliver them. In the time of the ſiege, a cannon-ball pierced the bed where he was lying, upon which he got up; but would not leave the room, till he had, by ſolemn prayer, acknowledged his deliverance. During this ſiege, the townſmen made ſtout defence, till one of the King's gunners planted a great gun ſo conveniently upon a riſing ground, that therewith he could command the whole wall upon which the townſmen made their greateſt defence. Upon this, they were conſtrained to forſake the whole wall in great terror; and tho

they

they had ſeveral guns planted upon the wall, no man durſt undertake to manage them. This being told to Mr Welch, he notwithſtanding encouraged them to hold out, and running to the wall, found the cannoneer, who was a Burgundian, near the wall, him he intreated to mount the wall, promiſing to aſſiſt him in perſon. The cannoneer told Mr Welch, that they behoved to diſmount the gun upon the riſing ground, elſe they were ſurely loſt; Mr Welch deſired him to aim well, and he would ſerve him, and God would help him; the gunner fell to work, and Mr Welch ran to fetch powder for a charge; but as he was returning, the King's gunner fired his piece, which carried the ladle with the powder out of his hands. This did not diſcourage him; for having left the ladle, he filled his hat with powder, wherewith the gunner diſmounted the King's gun at the firſt ſhot, and the citizens returned to their poſt of defence.

This diſcouraged the King ſo much, that he ſent to the citizens to offer them fair conditions, viz. That they ſhould enjoy the liberty of their religion, their civil privileges, and their walls ſhould not be demoliſhed; the King only deſired that he might enter the city in a friendly manner with his ſervants. This the city thought fit to grant, and the King, with a few more, entered the city for a ſhort time. While the King was in the city, Mr Welch preached as uſual; which offended the French Court; for while he was at ſermon, the King ſent the Duke de Eſpernon to fetch him out of the pulpit into his preſence. The Duke went with his guard, and when he entered the church where Mr Welch was preaching, Mr Welch commanded to make way, and to place a ſeat, that the Duke might hear the word of the Lord. The Duke, inſtead of interrupting him, ſat down, and gravely heard the ſermon to an end; and then told Mr Welch, he behoved to go with him to the King; which he willingly did. When the Duke came to the King, the King aſked him, why he brought not the miniſter with him? and why he did not interrupt him? The Duke anſwered, Never man ſpake like this man. But he had brought him along with him. Whereupon Mr Welch is called; and when he had entered the King's room, he kneeled, and ſilently prayed for wiſdom and aſſiſtance. Thereafter the King challenged him, how he durſt preach in that place, ſince it was againſt the laws of France that any man ſhould preach within the verge of his court? Mr Welch anſwered, Sir, if you did right, you would come and hear me preach, and make all France hear me likewiſe. For, ſaid he, I preach, that you muſt be ſaved by the death and merits of Jeſus Chriſt, and not your own; and I preach, that as you are King of France, you are

under the authority of no man on earth. Thoſe men, he ſaid, whom you hear, ſubject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do. The King replied, Well, well, you ſhall be my miniſter; and, as ſome ſay, called him father, which is an honour beſtowed upon few of the greateſt prelates in France. However, he was favourably diſmiſſed at that time, and the King alſo left the city in peace.

But within a ſhort time thereafter the war was renewed, and then Mr Welch told the inhabitants of the city, that now their cup was full, and they ſhould no more eſcape; which accordingly came to paſs, for the King took the town, and commanded Vitry, the captain of his guard, to enter and preſerve his miniſter from all danger; then horſes and waggons were provided for Mr Welch, to tranſport him and his family for Rochelle, whither he went, and there ſojourned for a time.

After his flock in France was ſcattered, he obtained liberty to return to England, and his friends intreated that he might have permiſſion to come to Scotland, becauſe the phyſicians declared, there was no other method to preſerve his life, but by the freedom he might have in his native air. But to this King James would never yield, proteſting, he would be unable to eſtabliſh his beloved biſhops in Scotland, if Mr Welch was permitted to return thither; ſo he languiſhed at London a conſiderable time; his diſeaſe was conſidered by ſome to have a tendency to a ſort of leproſy; phyſicians ſaid he had been poiſoned; a languor he had, together with a great weakneſs in his knees, cauſed by his continual kneeling at prayer, by which it came to paſs, that though he was able to move his knees, and to walk, yet he was wholly inſenſible in them, and the fleſh became hard like a ſort of horn. But when, in the time of his weakneſs, he was deſired to remit ſomewhat of his exceſſive painfulneſs, his anſwer was, he had his life of God, and therefore it ſhould be ſpent for him.

His friends importuned King James very much, that if he might not return to Scotland, at leaſt he might have liberty to preach in London; which he would not grant till he heard all the hopes of life were paſt, and then he allowed him liberty to preach not fearing his activity.

Then, as ſoon as ever he heard he might preach, he greedily embraced this liberty; and having acceſs to a lecturer's pulpit, he went and preached both long and fervently: which was his laſt performance; for after he had ended his ſermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, he reſigned his ſpirit into his Maker's hands,

and

d was buried near Mr Deering, the famous Engliſh divine, er he had lived little more than fifty-two years.

During his ſickneſs, he was ſo filled and overcome with e ſenſible enjoyment of God, that he was overheard to ut- theſe words: "O Lord, hold thy hand, it is enough, thy rvant is a clay veſſel, and can hold no more."

If his diligence was great, ſo it may be doubted, whether s ſowing in painfulneſs, or his harveſt in ſucceſs, was great- ; for if either his ſpiritual experiences in ſeeking the Lord, his fruitfulneſs in converting ſouls, be conſidered, they will found unparalleled in Scotland. And many years after Mr elch's death, Mr David Dickſon, at that time a flouriſhing iniſter at Irvine, was frequently heard to ſay, when people ked to him of the ſucceſs of his miniſtry, that the grape- eanings in Ayr in Mr Welch's time, were far above the ntage of Irvine in his own. Mr Welch, in his preaching, s ſpiritual and ſearching, his utterance tender and moving; did not much inſiſt upon ſcholaſtic purpoſes, and made no ew of his learning. One of his hearers, who was after- rds miniſter at Moor-kirk in Kyle, uſed to ſay, that no n could hear him, and forbear weeping, his conveyance s ſo affecting.

There is a large volume of his ſermons now in Scotland, ly a few of them have come to the preſs; nor did he ever pear in print, except in his diſpute with Abbot Brown, herein he makes it appear, his learning was not behind other rtues; and in another, called Dr Welch's Armageddon, ppoſed to have been printed in France, wherein he gives his editation upon the enemies of the church, and their de- ruction; but the piece itſelf is rarely to be found.

Mr ROBERT BOYD.

HE was firſt ſettled miniſter at Vertal in France, but was afterwards, by the intereſt of Sieur du Pleſſis, tranſlated be profeſſor of divinity at Samur, and ſome time after was vited home by King James, and ſettled principal of the col- ge of Glaſgow, and miniſter of Govan, at which place he dinarily wrote his ſermons in full; and yet when he came the pulpit, he appeared with great life and power of affec- on. While he was in France, the Popiſh controverſy em- oyed his thoughts; but the church of Scotland ingroſſed al- oſt his whole attention after his return home; and he be- me a zealous friend and ſupporter of the more faithful part

of

of the miniſtry, againſt the uſurpation of the biſhops and the ceremonies.

But the prelatiſts knowing that the eminency of his place his piety and learning, would influence many to take part wi that way, they therefore laboured with great aſſiduity, bot by intreaties, threatenings, and the perſuaſions of ſome of h friends; inſomuch that he gave in a paper to Law, Archbiſho of Glaſgow, in which he ſeemed in ſome ſort to acknowled the pre-eminence of biſhops; but he got no reſt the next nigh after this; being ſore troubled for what he had done, he wen back and ſought his paper again with tears; but the Biſho pretended that he had already ſent it up to the King, ſo th he could not obtain it.

Mr Boyd, finding that from this time forward he coul enjoy no peace in this place, he demitted both, and was cho ſen principal of the college of Edinburgh, and one of the m niſters of that city. Dr Cameron came into his places Glaſgow in October 1622. Some of the other miniſters Edinburgh, particularly one Ramſay, envied him on a count of his high reputation, both as a preacher, and as teacher, (the well-affected part of the people both in tow and country crowding to his church), and gave the King i formation againſt him as a non-conformiſt: the King ſent letter, December the 13th, to the magiſtrates of the town, r buking them for admitting him, and commanding him to removed. The magiſtrates were not obedient to the com mand, and by a courtier intreated he might be continued but the King would not grant their requeſt. Accordingly, o the laſt day of January 1623, he renewed the order to remo him; and he was in a little time after that turned out of h place and office.

Some ſhort time after this, Biſhop Law was again prevail on to admit Mr Boyd to be miniſter of Paiſley; for althoug no man was more oppoſite to the Perth articles than M Boyd, as he had refuſed conformity to them both at Glaſgo and Edinburgh, yet his learning and prudence recommend him to the Biſhop's eſteem. Here he remained in ſecuri and peace, until the Earl of Abercorn's brother, a zealous P piſt, diſpoſſeſſed him on a Sabbath afternoon, while he w preaching, and threw all his books out of the houſe where had his reſidence. Upon complaining to the Privy Counc the offender was impriſoned, and the Court, and bailies Paiſley, having undertaken to repoſſeſs Mr Boyd again, a the gentleman profeſſing his ſorrow for what he had don Mr Boyd interceding with them for him, the Council paſſ the matter over.

But no ſooner went he to take poſſeſſion, than he found he church-doors ſecured, ſo that no acceſs could be had; and hough the magiſtrates would have broke them open, yet the nob (urged on, as was ſuppoſed, by the Earl's mother) preſſed o hard upon the good man, not only by opprobrious ſpeeches, ut alſo threw ſtones at him, as if he had been a malefactor, hat he was forced to fly to Glaſgow; and afterwards, ſeeing o proſpect of a peaceable ſettlement at Paiſley, he returned o his own houſe at Trochrig in Carrick, where he probably ontinued to his death, which was ſome years after.

He was a man of great learning for that time, as his Comnentary on the Epheſians teſtifies. He would ſometimes ſay, f he had his choice of languages wherein to deliver his ſentinents, it would be in Greek. He was of an auſtere counteance and carriage, and yet very tender-hearted. He had ut a mean opinion of himſelf, but a high eſteem of others in hom he perceived any ſigns of grace and ingenuity. In the ime of that convincing and converting work of the Lord, commonly called Stuarton ſickneſs), he came from his wn houſe in Carrick, and met with many of the people; and aving converſed with them, he heartily bleſſed the Lord for e grace that was given unto them.

Mr ROBERT BRUCE.

MR ROBERT BRUCE was born about the year 1554. He was ſecond ſon to the Laird of Airth, of whom e had the eſtate of Kinnaird, who being at that time a baron f the beſt quality in the kingdom, educated Mr Robert with ntention of being one of the Lords of Seſſion; and for his etter accompliſhment, ſent him to France to ſtudy the civil aw. After his return home, his father injoined him to wait pon ſome affairs of his that were then before the Court of eſſion, as he had got a patent inſured for his being one of heſe Lords. But God's thoughts being not as men's thoughts, nd having other deſigns with him, he began then to work ightily upon his conſcience, that he could get no reſt till he as ſuffered to attend Mr Andrew Melvill at St Andrew's, to udy divinity under him; but to this his mother was averſe, for e would not condeſcend until he firſt gave up ſome lands nd caſualities wherein he was inveſt. This he moſt willingly id, and ſhaking off all impediments, he fully reſolved upon employment more fitted to the ſerious turn of his mind.

He went to St Andrew's ſome time before Mr Andrew Melill left the country, and continued there until his return.

Here

Here he wanted not ſome ſharp conflicts on this head; in
much that upon a certain time, walking in the fields with th
holy and religious man Mr James Melvill, he ſaid to hi
"Before I throw myſelf again into ſuch torment of conſcienc
which I have had in reſiſting the call to the miniſtry, I woul
rather chooſe to walk through a fire of brimſtone, even thou
it were half a mile in length." After he was accompliſh
for the miniſtry, Mr Andrew Melvill, perceiving how th
Lord wrought with him, brought him over to the Gener
Aſſembly in 1587, and moved the church of Edinburgh
call him to a charge there.

And although he was moved by ſome brethren to acce
the charge of the miniſtry in place of Mr James Lawſon, y
he could not be prevailed upon to take the charge *ſimplicite*
(although he was willing to beſtow his labour thereon for
time), until by the joint advice of the miniſtry of the city, an
this ſtratagem, he was as it were trapped into it: thus, on
time when the ſacrament was to be diſpenſed at Edinburg
one of the miniſters deſired Mr Bruce, who was to preach
the afternoon, to ſit by him; and after he had ſerved two
three tables, he went out of the church, as if he had been
return in a little; but inſtead of that, he ſent notice to M
Bruce, that unleſs he ſerved the reſt of the tables, the wo
behoved to ſtop. Mr Bruce not knowing but the miniſ
had been ſeized on a ſudden with ſome kind of ſickneſs, an
the eyes of all the people being fixed on him, many intre
ing him to ſupply the miniſter's place, he proceeded to
adminiſtration of the remainder, and that with ſuch aſſiſtan
to himſelf, and emotion amongſt the people, that the like h
never before been ſeen in that place.

When he was afterwards urged by the reſt of his brethr
to receive, in the ordinary way, the impoſition of hands,
refuſed it, becauſe he wanted not the material part of ordin
tion, viz. the call of the people, and the approbation of t
miniſtry; and beſides, he had already celebrated the ſacrame
of the ſupper, which was not by a new ordination to be ma
void. So having made trial of the work, and found t
bleſſing of God upon his labours, he accepted the charge, a
was from that time forth principal actor in the affairs of t
church, and a conſtant and ſtrenuous maintainer of the eſ
bliſhed doctrine and diſcipline thereof.

While he was miniſter at Edinburgh he ſhined as a gr
light through all theſe parts of the land, the power and e
cacious energy of the Spirit accompanying the word preach
by him in a moſt ſenſible manner, ſo that he was a terror
evil doers, the authority of God appearing with him; in

much that he forced fear and reſpect even from the greateſt in the land. Even King James and his Court had ſuch high thoughts of him, that when he went to bring home his Queen in 1590, at his departure, he expreſsly deſired Mr Bruce to acquaint himſelf with the affairs of the country, and the proceedings of the Council, profeſſing that he repoſed more in him than the reſt of his brethren, or even all his nobles. And indeed in this his hopes were not diſappointed; for the country was more quiet during his abſence than either before or afterwards: in gratitude for which, Mr Bruce received a congratulatory letter, dated February 19. 1590, wherein the King acknowledgeth, "He would be obligated to him all his life for the pains he had taken in his abſence to keep his ſubjects in good order." Yea, it is well known, that the King had that eſteem for Mr Bruce, that upon a certain time, before many witneſſes, he gave him this teſtimony, that he judged him worthy of the half of his kingdom; but he proved in this, as in others of his fair promiſes, no ſlave to his word; for, not many years after, he obliged this good man, for his faithfulneſs, to depart and leave the kingdom.

Mr Bruce being a man of public ſpirit and heroic mind, was always on that account pitched upon to deal in matters of high moment; and amongſt other things, upon the 19th of November 1596, he and Meſſ. Andrew Melvill and John Davidſon were directed by the counſel of the brethren, to deal with the Queen concerning her religion, and, for want of religious exerciſes and virtuous occupation amongſt her maids, to move her to hear now and then the inſtructions of godly and diſcreet men. They went to her, but were refuſed admittance until another time.

About the ſame time he was ſent to the King, then ſitting with the Lords in Seſſion, to preſent ſome articles for redreſs of the wrongs then done to the church; but, in the mean time, a buſtle falling out at Edinburgh by the mob, he removed to Linlithgow. Upon the Sabbath following, Mr Bruce, preaching upon the 51ſt pſalm, ſaid, "The removal of your miniſters is at hand, our lives ſhall be bitterly ſought after; but ye ſhall ſee with your eyes, that God ſhall guard us, and be our buckler and defence," &c.; and the day following, this was in part accompliſhed; for the King ſent a charge from Linlithgow to Mr Bruce, and the reſt of the miniſters of Edinburgh, to enter in ward at the caſtle there within ſix hours after the proclamation, under pain of horning. The reſt of the miniſters, knowing the King's anger was kindled againſt them, thought proper to withdraw; but Mr Bruce, knowing his own innocence, ſtaid, and gave in an apology for

himſelf and the reſt of his faithful brethren. In April 1599, the King returned to Edinburgh, and was entertained in the houſe of Mr Bruce, although he himſelf was not yet releaſed.

But all this was nothing more than the drops before the ſhower, or as the gathering of waters before an inundation breaks forth; for the King having for ſome time laboured to get Prelacy eſtabliſhed in Scotland, and becauſe Mr Bruce would not comply with his meaſures, and refuſed to give praiſe to God in public for the King's deliverance from the pretended conſpiracy in 1600, until he was better aſcertained of the fact, he not only diſcharged him from preaching in Edinburgh, but alſo obliged him to leave the kingdom.—When he embarked at the Queensferry, on the 3d of November the ſame year, there appeared ſuch a great light as ſerved him and the company to ſail, although it was near midnight. He arrived at Dieppe on the 8th of November.

And although, by the King's permiſſion, he returned home the year following, yet becauſe he would not, (1.) Acknowledge Gowrie's conſpiracy; (2.) Purge the King in ſuch places as he ſhould appoint; and, (3.) Crave pardon of the King for his long diſtruſt and diſobedience, &c.; he could not be admitted to his place and office again, but was commanded by the King to keep ward in his own houſe of Kinnaird. After the King's departure to England, he had ſome reſpite for about a year or more; but in 1605, he was ſummoned to compear at Edinburgh, on the 29th of February, before the commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, to hear and ſee himſelf removed from his function at Edinburgh; they had before, in his abſence, decerned his place vacant, but now they intimated the ſentence, and Livingſtone had a commiſſion from the King to ſee it put in execution; he appealed; they prohibited him to preach; but he obeyed not. In July thereafter, he was advertiſed by Chancellor Seaton of the King's expreſs order, diſcharging him to preach any more; and ſaid, he would not uſe his authority in this, but only requeſt him to deſiſt for nine or ten days; to which he conſented, thinking it but of ſmall moment for ſo ſhort a time. But he quickly knew how deep the ſmalleſt deviation from his Maſter's cauſe and intereſt might go; for that night, as he himſelf afterward declared, his body was caſt into a fever, with ſuch terror of conſcience, that he promiſed and fully reſolved to obey their commands no more.

Upon the 18th of Auguſt following, he was charged to enter in ward at Inverneſs, within the ſpace of ten days, under pain of horning; which he obeyed upon the 17th following. And in this place he remained for the ſpace of four

years, teaching every Wedneſday and Sabbath forenoon, and was exerciſed in reading public prayers every other night; in which his labours were bleſſed, for this dark country was wonderfully illuminated, and many brought to Chriſt, by means of his miniſtry, and a ſeed ſown in theſe remote places, which remained for many years afterwards.

When he returned from Inverneſs to his own houſe, and though his ſon had obtained a licence for him, yet here he could find nothing but grief and vexation, eſpecially from the miniſters of the Preſbyteries of Stirling and Linlithgow, and all for curbing the vices ſome of them were ſubject to. At laſt he obtained liberty of the Council to tranſport his family to another houſe he had at Monkland; but, becauſe of the Biſhop of Glaſgow, he was forced to retire back again to Kinnaird. Thus this good man was toſſed about, and obliged to go from place to place.

In this manner he continued, until he was by the King's order ſummoned before the Council, in September 19. 1621, to anſwer for tranſgreſſing the law of his confinement, &c. When he compeared, he pleaded the favour granted him by his Majeſty when in Denmark, and withal purged himſelf of the accuſation laid againſt him; and yet, notwithſtanding of all theſe, (ſaid he), the King hath exhauſted both my eſtate and perſon, and has left me nothing but my life, and that apparently he is ſeeking; I am prepared to ſuffer any puniſhment, only I am careful not to ſuffer as a malefactor or evildoer. A warrant was delivered to him to enter in ward in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where he continued till the 1ſt January; the biſhops abſented from the Council that day; however, they were his delators. He was again brought before the Council, where the King's will was intimate to him, viz. that he ſhould return to his own houſe, until the 21ſt of April, and then tranſport himſelf again to Inverneſs, and remain within four miles thereof during the King's pleaſure.

Here he remained, for the moſt part, until September 1624, when he obtained licence again to return from his confinement to ſettle ſome of his domeſtic affairs; the condition of his licence was ſo ſtrait, that he purpoſed with himſelf to return back to Inverneſs; but in the mean time the King died, and ſo he was not urged to go back to his confinement; and although King Charles I. did again renew this charge againſt him, ſome years after this, yet he continued moſtly in his own houſe, preaching and teaching wherever he had occaſion.

About this time, the pariſh of Larber, having neither church nor ſtipend, Mr Bruce repaired the church, and diſcharged all the parts of the miniſtry there, and many, beſides the pa-

riſh, attended upon his miniſtry at that place, with great ſucceſs; and it would appear, that about this time Mr Henderſon, then miniſter at Leuchars, afterwards the famous Henderſon, was at firſt converted by his miniſtry.

At this place it was his cuſtom, after the firſt ſermon, to retire by himſelf ſome time for private prayer; and on a time, ſome noblemen who had far to ride ſent the beadle to learn if there was any appearance of his coming in; the man returned, ſaying, I think he ſhall not come out this day, for I overheard him ſay to another, "I proteſt, I will not go unleſs thou goeſt with me." However, in a little time he came, accompanied by no man, but in the fulneſs of the bleſſing of the goſpel of Chriſt; for his very ſpeech was with much evidence and demonſtration of the Spirit. It was eaſy for his hearers to perceive that he had been in the mount with God, and that indeed he had brought that God whom he had met in private, *unto his mother's houſe, and unto the chambers of her that conceived him.*

Mr Bruce was alſo a man who had ſomewhat of the ſpirit of diſcerning future events, and did prophetically ſpeak of ſeveral things that afterwards came to paſs; yea, and divers perſons diſtracted, (ſays Mr Fleming, in his Fulfilling of the Scripture, Part I. p. 450.), and thoſe who were paſt recovery with the epileptical diſeaſe, or falling ſickneſs, were brought to Mr Bruce, and were, after prayer by him in their behalf, fully reſtored from that malady. This may ſeem ſtrange; but it was true, for he was ſuch a wreſtler with God, that he had more than ordinary familiarity with him.

Some time before his death, being then at Edinburgh, where through weakneſs he often kept his chamber, whither a meeting of godly miniſters, anent ſome matter of church-concernment, hearing he was in town, came and gave him an account of the prelates actings. After this, Mr Bruce prayed, in which he repeated over again to the Lord the very ſubſtance of their diſcourſe, which was a very ſad repreſentation of the caſe of the church; all which time there was an extraordinary motion in all preſent, and ſuch a ſenſible downpouring of the Spirit, that they could hardly contain themſelves. Mr Wemyſs of Lathockar, being occaſionally preſent, at departing, ſaid, O how ſtrange a man is this, for he knocketh down the Spirit of God upon us all: this he ſaid, becauſe Mr Bruce, in the time of that prayer, divers times knocked with his fingers upon the table.

About this time, he related a ſtrange dream, how he had ſeen a long broad book with black boards, flying in the air, with many black fowls like crows flying about it; and as it touched

uched any of them, they fell down dead; upon which he eard an audible voice ſpeak to him, ſaying, *Hæc eſt ira Dei ntra paſtores eccleſiæ Scoticanæ;* upon which he fell a-weep-g, and praying that he might be kept faithful, and not be ne of theſe who were thus ſtruck down by a torch of his rath, through deſerting the truth. He ſaid, when he a-kened, he found his pillow all wet and drenched with tears. he accompliſhment of this dream, I need not deſcribe; all quainted with our church-hiſtory know, that ſoon after at, Prelacy was introduced into Scotland. Biſhops ſet up, d with them uſhered in Popiſh and Arminian tenets, with manner of corruptions and profanity, which continued in otland a number of years.

One time, ſays Mr Livingſtone, I went to Edinburgh to ſee n, in the company of the tutor of Bonnington. When we led on him at eight o'clock in the morning, he told us, he s not for any company; and when we urged him to tell us cauſe, he anſwered, that when he went to bed he had a d meaſure of the Lord's preſence, and that he had wreſtled h him about an hour or two before we came in, and had yet got acceſs; and ſo we left him. At another time, I t to his houſe, but ſaw him not till very late: when he e out of his cloſet, his face was foul with weeping; and told me, that that day he had been thinking on what tor- and hardſhips Dr Leighton, our countryman, had been to at London *; and added, if I had been faithful, I ght have had the pillory, and ſome of my blood ſhed for riſt, as well as he; but he hath got the crown from us all. eard him once ſay, ſaith he, I would deſire no more at my appeal from King James, but one hour's converſe with : I know he has a conſcience; I made him once weep bitterly

* This was the famous Leighton, Doctor of Divinity in the two erſities of St Andrew's and Leyden, who, for writing of Zion's againſt Prelacy, was apprehended at London by two ruffians, and ght before Archbiſhop Laud, who ſentenced him, beſides a fine 10,000, to be tied to a ſtake, and receive thirty-ſix ſtripes with ple cord, and then to ſtand two hours in the pillory, which he did cold winter night, and then to have his ear cut, his face fired, his noſe ſlit; and the ſame to be repeated that day ſe'ennight, his other ear cut off, with the ſlitting of the other ſide of his noſe, burning his other cheek; all which was done with the utmoſt ri- and then he was ſent priſoner to the fleet, where he continued, pon a petition to the parliament in 1640, he was releaſed, and got s reparation a vote of L. 6000, which it is ſaid was never paid, and warden of that priſon wherein he had been ſo long confined; through infirmity and bad treatment, he did not long ſurvive, being ſeventy-two years of age. See this more at length in Stevenſon's y, vol. iii. p. 948.

bitterly at Holyroodhouſe. About the year ——, I hea him ſay, I wonder how I am kept ſo long here: I have liv two years already in violence; meaning, that he was th much beyond ſeventy years of age *.

When the time of his death drew near, which was in A guſt 1631, through age and infirmity, he was moſtly co fined to his chamber, where he was frequently viſited by friends and acquaintances; (and being, on a certain time, a ed by one of them, how matters ſtood betwixt God and ſoul? He made this return, "When I was young, I was ligent, and lived by faith on the Son of God; but now I old, and am not able to do ſo much, yet he condeſcends feed me with lumps of ſenſe." And that morning, before was removed, his ſickneſs being moſtly a weakneſs throu age, he came to breakfaſt; and having, as uſual, eaten an e he ſaid to his daughters, "I think I am yet hungry, ye m bring me another egg." But inſtantly thereafter, falling i deep meditation, and after having muſed a little, he ſa "Hold, daughter, my Maſter calls me." With theſe wor his ſight failed him; and calling for his family Bible, but fi ing he could not ſee, he ſaid, "Caſt up to me the eighth ch ter of the epiſtle to the Romans, and ſet my finger on th words, *I am perſuaded, that neither death nor life*, &c. *ſha able to ſeparate me from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſu Lord.* Now, ſaid he, is my finger upon them?" and being t it was, he ſaid, "Now God be with you, my children; I h breakfaſted with you, and ſhall ſup with my Lord Jeſus Ch this night." And ſo, like Abraham of old, he gave up ghoſt in a good age †, and was gathered to his people.

In this manner did this occidental ſtar ſet in our horiz There was none, in his time, who did ſpeak with ſuch dence of the power of the Spirit; and no man had more ſ of his miniſtry; yea, many of his hearers thought, that man ſince the days of the apoſtles ever ſpoke with ſuch po And although he was no Boanerges, as being of a ſlow grave delivery, yet he ſpoke with ſuch authority and wei as became the oracles of the living God: ſo that ſome of moſt ſtout hearted of his hearers were ordinarily made tremble, and by having this door, which had formerly b ſhut againſt Jeſus Chriſt, as by an irreſiſtable power br open, and the ſecrets of their hearts made manifeſt, they of times went away under deep convictions. He had a very

* Livingſtone's Memorable Characters, p. 74.

† By the calculation in Mr Livingſtone's account, he behoved t only 75 years of age; but Mr Calderwood makes him 77; and he had an honourable burial, being accompanied with four or five t ſand people to the grave. Vide his Hiſtory, p. 818.

tic countenance; in prayer he was ſhort, eſpecially when in blic, but every word or ſentence he ſpoke was as a bolt ſhot m heaven; he ſpent much of his time in private prayer. e had a very notable faculty in ſearching the ſcriptures, and plaining the moſt obſcure myſteries therein; and was a man o had much inward exerciſe of conſcience anent his own rſonal caſe, and was oftentimes aſſaulted anent that grand ndamental truth, the being of a God; inſomuch that it was moſt cuſtomary to him to ſay, as when he firſt ſpoke in the lpit, "I think it a great matter to believe there is a God;" d by this he was the more fitted to deal with others under e like temptations *.

Mr Bruce was alſo an eloquent and ſubſtantial writer, as e fore-mentioned apology, and his excellent letters to M. ſpignol, the Duke of Parma, Col. Semple, &c. doth copiouſ- evidence, Argal's ſleep, &c. He was alſo deeply affected th the public cauſe and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, and much preſſed in ſpirit when he beheld the naughtineſs and pro- nity of many miniſters then in the church, and the carriage d deportment of others unſuitable to ſo great a calling; which le him expreſs himſelf with much fear, that the miniſtry Scotland would prove the greateſt perſecutors it had; which lately came to paſs.

MR JOSIAS WELCH.

MR JOSIAS WELCH was a younger ſon to the famous Mr John Welch, ſometime miniſter of the goſpel at yr, and Eliſabeth Knox, daughter to the great Mr John nox, who was miniſter at Edinburgh, from whom he recei- d a moſt liberal and religious education. But what en- nced his reputation more, was, that he was heir to his fa- er's graces and virtues. And although he had received all e branches of uſeful learning, in order for the miniſtry, et, Prelacy being then prevalent in Scotland, he was detain- for ſome time from that function, ſeeing he was not clear his own mind to enter into that office, by the door of piſcopacy. But ſome time after, it ſo fell out, that meeting ith worthy Mr Blair, (who was then ſettled a miniſter at angor in Ireland), he finding how zealous a ſpirit Mr elch was of, exhorted and ſolicited him much to haſten over

* Mr Blair ſays, that he told him, that for three years he durſt not , my God, and that his conſcience ſmote him for the ſame.—*Blair's Memoirs*, p. 39.

over there, where he would find work enough, and he hope ſucceſs likewiſe; which accordingly came to paſs; for upon h going thither, he was highly honoured and provided of t Lord, to bring the covenant of grace to the people at the fir mile water, (on whom Mr Glendinning, formerly minift there, had wrought ſome legal convictions); and havi preached ſome time at Oldſtone, he was ſettled at Temple patrick, where he with great vigilance and diligence exerci ſed his office, which, by the bleſſing of God upon his labour gained him many ſeals of his miniſtry.

But the devil, envying the ſucceſs of the goſpel in th quarter, ſtirred up the Prelatical clergy; whereupon the Bi ſhop of Down, in May 1632, cauſed cite him, Meſſ. Blai Livingſtone, and Dunbar, before him, and urged them t conform, and give their ſubſcription to that effect; but the anſwered with great boldneſs, that there was no law no canon in that kingdom requiring this; yet, notwithſtandin they were all four depoſed by him from the office of the ho miniſtry.

After this, Mr Welch continued for ſome time preachin in his own houſe, where he had a large auditory; and ſuc was his deſire to gain ſouls to Chriſt, that he commonly ſto in a door looking towards a garden, that ſo he might be hea without as well as within; by means of which, being of weakly conſtitution, he contracted ſuch a cold as occaſione his death in a ſhort time thereafter.

He continued in this way, until May 1634, when, by th interceſſion of Lord Caſtleſtuart with the King in their be half, the foreſaid miniſters received a grant from the Biſho of ſix months liberty; which freedom none more willingl embraced than Mr Welch: but he had preached only a fe weeks in his own pulpit before he ſickened, and the Sabbat afternoon before his death, which was on the Monday fol lowing. "I heard of his ſickneſs," ſaith Mr Livingſtone, "an came to him about eleven o'clock at night, and Mr Blai came about two hours thereafter. He had many gracious diſcourſes, as alſo ſome wreſtling and exerciſe of mind. On time he cried out, Oh for hypocriſy; on which Mr Blair ſaid See how Satan is nibbling at his heels before he enter int glory. A very little before he died, being at prayer by hi bed-ſide, and the word victory coming out of my mouth, h took hold of my hand, and deſiring me to forbear a little, an clapping his hands, cried out, Victory, victory, victory fo ever more; then he deſired me to go on, and in a little expi red—on the 23d of June 1634."

Thu

Thus died the pious and faithful Mr Josias Welch, in the flower of his youth, leaving only one son behind him, viz. Mr John Welch, who was afterward minister at Irongray in Galloway.

JOHN GORDON, VISCOUNT KENMUIR.

JOHN GORDON of Lochinvar (afterwards Viscount Kenmuir) was born about the year 1599. He received a reasonable measure of education; and yet, through the circumstance of his birth, the corruption of the age, but above all the depravity of nature, and want of restraining grace in his younger years, he became somewhat irreligious and profane, which, when he arrived at manhood, broke out into more gross acts of wickedness; and yet all the while the Lord never left him altogether without a check or witness in his conscience; yea, sometimes when at ordinances, particularly sacramental occasions, he would be filled with some sense of sin, which being borne powerfully in upon his soul, he was scarce able to hold out against it. But for a long time he was a stranger to true and saving conversion. The most part of his life, after he advanced in years, he spent like the rich man in the gospel, casting down barns, and building greater ones; for at his houses of Rusco and Kenmuir, he was much employed in building, parking, planting, and seeking wordly honours.

About the year 1628, he was married to that virtuous and religious Lady Jean Campbell, sister to the worthy Marquis of Argyle, by whom he had some children, two at least, one of whom it appears died about the beginning of the year 1635; for we find Mr Rutherford, in one of his letters, about that time, comforting this noble Lady upon such a mournful occasion.

In 1633, Charles I. to honour his coronation, in the place of his birth and first parliament, dignified many of the Scots nobility and gentry with higher titles, and places of office and honour, among whom was Sir John Gordon, who, upon the 18th of May, was created Viscount Kenmuir, and Lord Gordon of Lochinvar *.

Accordingly, the Viscount came to the parliament which sat down at Edinburgh, June 16. 1633, and was present the

* About this time the King created one Marquis, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and eight Lords; and while he was in Scotland he dubbed fifty-four Knights on different occasions. See Crawford's Peerage, &c.

firſt day, but ſtaid only a few days thereafter; for being afraid to diſpleaſe the King, from whom he had both received ſome, and expected more honours, and not having the courage to glorify God by his preſence, when his cauſe was at ſtake, deſerted the parliament, under pretence of indiſpoſition of body, and returned home to his houſe at Kenmuir in Galloway, and there ſlept ſecurely, for about a year, without check of conſcience, till Auguſt 1634, that his affairs occaſioned his return to Edinburgh, where he remained ſome days, not knowing that with the ending of his affairs he was to end his life. He returned home with ſome alteration of bodily health, and from that day, his ſickneſs increaſed until September 12. enſuing, which was the day of his death.

But the Lord had other thoughts than that this nobleman ſhould die without ſome ſenſe of his ſin, or yet go out of this world unobſerved.—And therefore it pleaſed him, with his bodily affliction, to ſhake his ſoul with fears, making him ſenſible of the power of eternal wrath, for his own good and for an example to others in after ages, never to wrong their own conſciences, or to be wanting to the cauſe or intereſt of God, when he gives them an opportunity to that purpoſe.

Upon the Sabbath, Auguſt 31. being much weakened, he was viſited by a religious and learned miniſter, who then lived in Galloway, not far from the houſe of Kenmuir; his Lordſhip much rejoiced at his coming, obſerving the all-ruling providence in ſending him ſuch a man (who had been abroad from Galloway ſome time) ſooner home than he expected. After ſupper, his Lordſhip drew on a conference with the miniſter, ſhewing he was much taken up with the fears of death, and extremity of pain. "I never dreamed," ſaid he, "that death had ſuch a terrible, auſtere, and gloomy countenance. I dare not die; howbeit, I know I muſt die. What ſhall I do, for I dare not venture in grips with death, becauſe I find my ſins grievous, and ſo many, that I fear my account is out of order, and not ſo as becomes a dying man."

The miniſter for ſome time diſcourſed to him, anent the weakneſs of nature, which was in all men, believers not excepted, which made them afraid of death; but he hoped Chriſt would be his ſecond in the combat, willing him to rely upon the ſtrength of Chriſt; but withal ſaid, "My Lord, I fear more the ground of your fear of death, which is (as you ſay) the conſciouſneſs of your ſins, for there can be no plea betwixt you and your Lord, if your ſins be not taken away by Chriſt; and therefore make that ſure, and fear not." My Lord anſwered, "I have been too late in coming to God

and have deferred the time of making my account ſo long, that I fear I have but the fooliſh virgins part of it, who came and knocked at the door of the bridegroom ſo late, and never got in."

The miniſter having reſumed ſomewhat both of his own and his father's ſins, particularly their cares for this world and worldly honours, and thinking his Lordſhip deſigned to extenuate his fault in this, he drew ſeveral weighty propoſitions, in way of conference, about the fears of death and his eternal all, which depended upon his being in or out of Chriſt; and obteſted him in theſe words: "Therefore, I intreat you, my Lord, by the mercies of God, by your appearing before Chriſt your Judge, and by the ſalvation of your ſoul, that you would look ere you leap, and venture not into eternity, without a certificate under Jeſus Chriſt's hand, becauſe it is ſaid of the hypocrite, Job. xx. 11. *He lieth down in the grave, and his bones are full of the ſins of his youth.*"

My Lord replied, "When I begin to look upon my life, I think all is wrong in it, and the lateneſs of my reckoning affrighteth me; therefore ſtay with me, and ſhew me the marks of a child of God, for you muſt be my ſecond in this combat, and wait upon me." His Lady anſwered, "You muſt have Jeſus Chriſt to be your ſecond;" to which he heartily ſaid, "Amen—but," continued he, "how ſhall I know that I am in the ſtate of grace, for while I be reſolved, my fears will ſtill overburden me." The miniſter ſaid, "My Lord, ſcarcely or never doth a caſt-away anxiouſly and carefully aſk the queſtion, whether he be a child of God or not?" But my Lord excepted againſt that ſaying, "I do not think there is any reprobate in hell, but he would with all his heart have the kingdom of heaven." The miniſter having explained the different deſires in reprobates, his Lordſhip ſaid, "You never ſaw any tokens of true grace in me; and that is my great and only fear."

The miniſter ſaid, "I was indeed ſorry to ſee you ſo fearfully carried away with temptation, and you know, I gave you faithful warning, that it would come to this. I wiſh your ſoul was deeply humbled for ſin; but to your demand, I thought you ever had a love for the ſaints, even to the pooreſt, who carried Chriſt's image, although they could never ſerve nor profit you in any way, 1 John iii. 14. *By this we know we are tranſlated from death unto life*," &c. And at laſt with this mark, after ſome objections, he ſeemed convinced. The miniſter aſked him, "My Lord, dare you now quit your part in Chriſt, and ſubſcribe an abſolute reſignation of him?" My Lord ſaid, "O Sir, that is too hard, I hope

he and I have more to do together, and I will be adviſed ere I do that;" and then aſked, "What mark is it to have judgement to diſcern a miniſter called and ſent of God from an hireling?" The miniſter allowed it to be a good mark, and cited John x. 4. *My ſheep know my voice.*

At the ſecond conference, the miniſter urged deep humiliation. He acknowledged the neceſſity thereof; but ſaid, "Oh! if I could get him! But ſin cauſeth me to be jealous of his love to ſuch a man as I have been." The miniſter adviſed him "to be jealous of himſelf, but not of Jeſus Chriſt, there being no meeting betwixt them without a ſenſe of ſin," Iſa. lxi. 2. 3. Whereupon my Lord ſaid, with a deep ſigh accompanied with tears, "God ſend me that;" and thereafter reckoned out a certain number of his ſins, which were as ſerpents or crocodiles before his eyes. The miniſter told him, "That death and him were yet ſtrangers, and hoped, he would tell another tale ere all the play be ended, and you ſhall think death a ſweet meſſenger to carry you to your Father's houſe." He ſaid with tears, "God make it ſo;" and deſired him to pray.

At the third conference, he ſaid, "Death bindeth me ſtrait. O how ſweet a thing it is to ſeek God in health, and in time of proſperity to make our accounts, for now I am ſo diſtempered, that I cannot get my heart framed to think on my account, and the life to come." The miniſter told him, "He behoved to fight againſt ſickneſs and pain, as well as ſin and death, ſeeing it is a temptation."—He anſwered, "I have taken the play long, God hath given me thirty-five years to repent; but, alas! I have miſpent it:" and with that he covered his face and wept. The miniſter aſſured him, that altho' his day was far ſpent, yet he behoved in the afternoon, yea, when near evening, to run faſt, and not to lie in the field, and miſs his lodging; upon which he, with uplifted eyes, ſaid, "Lord, how can I run? Lord, draw me, and I ſhall run," Cant. i. 4. The miniſter hearing this, deſired him to pray, but he anſwered nothing; yet within an hour, he prayed before him and his own Lady, very devoutly, and bemoaned his own weakneſs, both inward and outward, ſaying, "I dare not knock at thy door, I lie at it ſcrambling as I may, till thou come out and take me in; I dare not ſpeak; I look up to thee, and look for one kiſs of Chriſt's fair face. O when wilt thou come!"

At the fourth conference, he charged the miniſter to go to a ſecret place and pray for him, and do it not for the faſhion; I know, ſaid he, prayer will pull Chriſt out of heaven. The miniſter ſaid, "What ſhall we ſeek, give us a commiſſion?" He

anſwered, "I charge you to tell my beloved, *that I am ſick of love.* The miniſter deſired if they ſhould ſeek life or recovery, he ſaid, "Yea, if it be God's good pleaſure, for I find my fear of death now leſs, and I think, God is now looſing the root of the deep-grown tree of my ſoul, ſo firmly faſtened to this life." The miniſter told him, If it were ſo, he behoved to covenant with God, in dedicating himſelf and all he had to God and his ſervice; to which he heartily conſented: and after the miniſter had recited ſeveral ſcriptures for that purpoſe, ſuch as Pſal. lxxviii. 36. &c. he took the Bible, and ſaid, Mark other ſcriptures for me, and he marked 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxi. and xxii. Pſal. xxxviii. John xv. Theſe places he turned over, and cried often for one love-blink, "O Son of God, for one ſight of thy face."

When the miniſter told him his prayers were heard, he took hold of his hand, and drew him to him, and ſaid with a ſigh, Good news indeed; and deſired him and others to tell him what acceſs they had got to God in Chriſt for his ſoul. —They told him, they had got acceſs; at which he rejoiced, and ſaid, "Then will I believe and wait on, I cannot think but my beloved is coming leaping over the hills."

When friends or others came to viſit him, whom he knew feared God, he would cauſe them go and pray for him, and ſent ſome of them expreſsly to the wood of Kenmuir on that errand. After ſome cool of a fever, (as was thought), he cauſed one of his attendants call for the miniſter, to whom he ſaid, ſmiling, "Rejoice now, for he is come. O! if I had a tongue to tell the world what Jeſus Chriſt hath done for my ſoul."

And yet, after all this, conceiving hopes of recovery, he became more careleſs, remiſs, and dead, for ſome days, and ſeldom called for the miniſter, though he would not ſuffer him to go home to his flock; which his lady and others perceiving, went to the phyſician, and aſked his judgement anent him. He plainly told them; there was nothing but death for him, if his flux returned, as it did. This made the miniſter go to him, and give him faithful warning of his approaching danger, telling him, his glaſs was ſhorter than he was aware of, and that Satan would be glad to ſteal his ſoul out of the world ſleeping. This being ſeconded by the phyſician, he took the miniſter by the hand, thanked him for his faithful and plain dealing, and acknowledged the folly of his deceiving heart, in looking over his affection to this life, when he was so fairly once on his journey toward heaven; then ordered them all to leave the chamber, except the miniſter, and

cauſing

cauſing him to ſhut the door, he conferred with him anent the ſtate of his ſoul.

After prayer, the miniſter told him, he feared that his former joy had not been well grounded, neither his humiliation deep enough; and therefore deſired him to dig deeper, repreſenting his offence both againſt the firſt and ſecond table of the law, &c.: whereupon his Lordſhip reckoned out a number of great ſins, and, amongſt the reſt, freely confeſſed his ſin in deſerting the laſt parliament, ſaying, "God knoweth I did it with fearful wreſtling of conſcience, my light paying me home within, when I ſeemed to be glad and joyful before men," &c. The miniſter being ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this reckoning, after ſuch fair appearance of found marks of grace in his ſoul, ſtood up and read the firſt eight verſes in the ſixth of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, and diſcourſed thereon; then cited Rev. xxi. *But the fearful and unbelieving*, &c. and told him he had not one word of mercy from the Lord to him, and ſo turned his back; at which he cried out with tears, (that they heard him at ſome diſtance), ſaying, "God armed is coming againſt me to beat out my brains; I would die; I dare not die; I would live; I dare not live; O what a burden is the hand of an angry God! Oh! what ſhall I do! Is there no hope of mercy?" In this agony he lay for ſome time. Some ſaid, the miniſter would kill him,—Others he would make him deſpair. But he bore with them, and went to a ſecret place, where he ſought words from God to ſpeak to this patient.

After this another miniſter came to viſit him, to whom he ſaid, "He hath ſlain me;" and before the miniſter could anſwer for himſelf ſaid, "Not he, but the Spirit of God in him. The miniſter ſaid, Not I, but the law hath ſlain you; and withal told him of the proceſs the Lord had againſt the houſe of Kenmuir. The other miniſter read the hiſtory of Manaſſeh, and of his wicked life, and how the Lord was intreated of by him. But the former miniſter * went ſtill upon wrath, telling him, he knew he was extremely pained both in body and mind, but what would he think of the lake of fire and brimſtone, of everlaſting burning, and of utter darkneſs, with the devil and his angels. My Lord anſwered, "Woe is me if I ſhould ſuffer my thoughts to dwell upon it at any time, it were enough to cauſe me go out of my ſenſes; but I pray you, what ſhall I do?" The miniſter told him he was ſo

* This miniſter is ſuppoſed to have been Mr Rutherford, who by ſome ſaid to be the author of that pamphlet, entitled, The Laſt Heavenly Speech, &c. of John Viſcount of Kenmuir.

in the ſame ſituation, only the ſentence was not given out, and therefore deſired him to mourn for offending God. And farther ſaid, What, my Lord, if Chriſt had given out the ſentence of condemnation againſt you, and come to your bedſide and told you of it, would you not ſtill love him, truſt in him, and hang upon him? He anſwered, "God knoweth, I durſt not challenge him, howbeit he ſhould ſlay me, I will ſtill love him; yea, though the Lord ſhould ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him, I will lie down at God's feet, let him trample upon me; I will die, if I die, at Chriſt's feet." The miniſter, finding him claiming kindneſs to Chriſt, and hearing him often cry, "O Son of God, where art thou, when wilt thou come to me! Oh! for a love-look!" ſaid, "Is it poſſible, my Lord, that you can love and long for Chriſt, and he not love and long for you? Can love and kindneſs ſtand only on your ſide? Is your poor love more than infinite love, ſeeing he hath ſaid, Iſa. xlix. 15. *Can a woman forget*, &c.? My Lord, be perſuaded yourſelf, you are graven upon the palms of God's hands." Upon this he, with a hearty ſmile, looked about to a gentleman, (one of his attendants), and ſaid, "I am written, man, upon the palms of Chriſt's hands, he will not forget me; is not this brave talking?"

Afterwards the miniſter, finding him weaker, ſaid, My Lord, the marriage-day is drawing near; make ready; ſet aſide all care of your eſtate and the world, and give yourſelf to meditation, and prayer and ſpiritual conference. After that, he was obſerved to be ſtill upon that exerciſe; and when none were near him, he was found praying; yea, when to appearance ſleeping, he was overheard to be engaged in that duty. After ſome ſleep, he called for one of his kinſmen, with whom he was not reconciled, and alſo for a miniſter, who had before offended him, that they might be friends again; which was done quickly. To the preacher he ſaid, "I have ground of offence againſt you, as a natural man, and now I do to you that which all men breathing could not have moved me to do; but now, becauſe the Holy Spirit commands me, I muſt obey, and therefore freely forgive you, as I would wiſh you to forgive me. You are in an eminent ſtation, walk before God and be faithful to your calling; take heed to your ſteps; walk in the right road; hold your eye right; for all the world, decline not from holineſs; and take example by me." To his couſin he ſaid, "Serve the Lord, and follow not the footſteps of your father-in-law," for he had married the Biſhop of Galloway's daughter; "learn to know that you have a ſoul, for I ſay unto you the thouſandth part of the world know not that they have a ſoul. The world liveth without any ſenſe of God."

He

He desired the minister to sleep in a bed made upon the ground in a chamber by him, and urged him to take a sleep, saying, "You and I have a far journey to go; make ready for it." Four nights before his death, he would drink a cup of wine to the minister, who said, "Receive it, my Lord, in hope you shall drink of the pure river of the water of life, proceeding from the throne of God and from the Lamb."—And when the cup was in his hand, with a smiling countenance, he said, "I think I have good cause to drink with good will to you." After some heaviness, the minister said, "My Lord, I have good news to tell you. Be not afraid of death and judgement, because the process that your Judge had against you is cancelled and rent in pieces, and Christ hath trampled it under his feet." My Lord answered, with a smile, "Oh! that is a lucky tale, I will then believe and rejoice, for sure I am, that Christ and I once met, and will he not come again?" The minister said, "You have gotten the first fruit of the Spirit, the earnest thereof, and Christ will not lose his earnest; therefore the bargain betwixt him and you holdeth." Then he asked, "What is Christ like, that I may know him?" The minister answered, "He is like love and altogether lovely," Cant. v. &c.

The minister said, "My Lord, if you had the man Christ in your arms, would your heart, your breast, and sides, be pained with a stitch?" He answered, "God knoweth I would forget my pain, and thrust him to my heart; yea, if I had my heart in the palm of my hand, I would give it to him, and think it a gift too unworthy of him." He complained of Jesus Christ in coming and going—"I find," said he, "my soul drowned in heaviness; when the Lord cometh he stayeth not long." The minister said, "Wooers dwell not together, but married folk take up house, and sunder not. Jesus Christ is now wooing, and therefore he feedeth his own with hunger; which is as growiug meat as the sense of his presence." He said often, "Son of God, when wilt thou come? God is not a man, that he should change; or as the son of man, that he should repent. Them that come to Christ, he casteth not away, but raiseth them up at the last day." He was heard to say in his sleep, "My beloved is mine, and I am his." Being asked, if he had been sleeping? he said, he had; but he remembered he had been giving a claim to Christ, &c. He asked, "When will my heart be loose, and my tongue untied, that I may express the sweetness of the love of God to my own soul;" and before the minister answered any thing, he answered himself, "Even when the wind bloweth."

At another time, being asked his judgement anent the ceremonies then used in the church, he answered, "I think, and am persuaded in my conscience, they are superstitious, idolatrous, and antichristian, and come from hell. I repute it a mercy that my eyes shall not see the desolation that shall come upon this poor church. It is plain Popery that is coming among you. God help you, God forgive the nobility, for they are either very cold in defending the true religion, or ready to welcome Popery; whereas they should resist; and woe be to a dead time-serving and profane ministry!"

He called his lady, and a gentleman come from the east country to visit him, and caused shut the door; then from his bed directed his speech to the gentleman thus: "I ever found you faithful and kind to me in my life; therefore I must now give you a charge, which you shall deliver to all noblemen you are acquainted with; go through them, and show them from me, that I have found the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord my God, when I had occasion once in my life at the last parliament, for which fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord! My soul hath raged and roared; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. Tell them that they will be as I am now: encourage my friends that stood for the Lord; tell them that failed, if they would wish to have mercy when they are as I am now, they must repent, and crave mercy of the Lord. For all the earth I would not do as I have done."

To a gentleman, one of his kinsmen, he said, "I love you, soul and body; you are a blessed man if you improve the blessed means of the word preached beside you. I would not have you drown yourself so much with the concerns of this world, as I did. My grief is, that I had not the occasion of good means, as you have; and if you yourself make not a right use of them, one day they shall be a witness against you," &c.

To Lord Herries, his brother-in-law, he said, "Mock not at my counsel, my Lord. In case you follow the course you are in, you shall never see the face of Jesus Christ; you are deceived with the merchandise of the whore, that makes the world drunk out of the cup of her fornication; your soul is built upon a sandy foundation. When you come to my state, you will find no comfort in your religion. You know not what wrestling I have had, before I came to this state of comfort. The kingdom of heaven is not gotten with a skip or leap, but with much seeking and thrusting," &c.

To his sister, he said, "Who knows, sister, but the words of a dying brother may prevail with a loving sister. Alas!

you incline to a rotten religion; caſt away theſe rotten rags, they will not avail you, when you are brought to this caſe, as I am. The half of the world are ignorant, and go to hell, and know not that they have a ſoul. Read the ſcriptures, they are plain eaſy language to all who deſire wiſdom from God, and to be led to heaven."

To a gentleman, his neighbour, he ſaid, "Your ſoul is in a dangerous caſe, but you ſee it not. Leave theſe ſinful courſes. There are ſmall means of inſtruction to be had, ſeeing the moſt part of the miniſtry are profane and ignorant. Search God's word for the good old way, and ſearch and find out all your own ways."

To a gentleman, his couſin, he ſaid, "You are a young man, and know not well what you are doing. Seek God's direction for wiſdom in your affairs, and you ſhall proſper; and learn to know, that you have need of God to be your friend."

To another couſin he ſaid, "David, you are an aged man, and you know not well what an account you have to make. I know you better than you believe, for you worſhip God according to men's devices; you believe lies of God; your ſoul is in a dreadful caſe; and, till you know the truth, you ſhall never ſee your own way aright."

To a young man, his neighbour, "Becauſe you are but young, beware of temptation and ſnares; above all, be careful to keep yourſelf in the uſe of means; reſort to good company, and howbeit you be named a Puritan, and mocked, care not for that, but rejoice, and be glad that they would admit you to their ſociety, for I muſt tell you, when I am at this point in which you ſee me, I get no other comfort to my ſoul from any other ſecond means under heaven, but from theſe who are nicknamed Puritans; they are the men that can give a word of comfort to a wearied ſoul in due ſeaſon, and that I have found by experience."

To one of his natural ſiſters, "My dove, thou art young, and, alas! ignorant of God. I know thy breeding and upbringing well enough; ſeek the Spirit of regeneration. Oh if thou knew it, and felt the power of the Spirit as I do now! Think not all is gone becauſe your brother is dead. Truſt in God, and beware of the follies of youth. Give yourſelf to reading and praying, and be careful in hearing God's word, and take heed whom you hear, and how you hear, and God be with you."

To a miniſter he ſaid, "Mr James, it is not holiness enough to be a miniſter, for you miniſters have your own faults, and thoſe more hainous than others. I pray you, be more painful in your calling, and take good heed to the flock

God

God; know that every ſoul that periſheth by your negligence, ſhall be counted, to your ſoul, murdered before God. Take heed, in theſe dangerous days, how you lead the people of God, and take heed to your miniſtry."

To Mr George Gilleſpie, then his chaplain, "You have carried yourſelf diſcreetly to me, ſo that I cannot blame you. I hope you ſhall prove an honeſt man; if I have been at any time harſh to you, forgive me. I would I had taken better heed to many of your words, I might have gotten good by the means God gave me, but I made no uſe of them, &c. I am grieved for my ingratitude againſt my loving Lord, and that I ſhould have ſinned againſt him who came down from heaven to the earth for my cauſe, to die for my ſins; the ſenſe of this love borne in upon my heart hath a reflex, making me love my Saviour, and grip to him again."

To another kinſman he ſaid, "Learn to uſe your time well. Oh, alas! the miniſtry in this country are dead, God help you, ye are not led right, ye had need to be buſy among yourſelves. Men are as careleſs in the practice of godlineſs as it were but words, faſhions, ſigns, and ſhews; but all theſe will not do the turn. Oh! but I find it hard now to thruſt in and take the kingdom of heaven by force."

To two neighbouring gentlemen, he ſaid, "It is not riſing ſoon in the morning, and running to the park or ſtone-dike, that will bring peace to the conſcience, when it comes to this part of the play. You know how I have been beguiled with this world, I would counſel you to ſeek that one thing neceſſary, even the ſalvation of your ſouls," &c.

To a couſin, bailie of Ayr, he ſaid, "Robert, I know you have light and underſtanding; and though you need not be inſtructed by me, yet you need to be incited. Care not overmuch for the world, but make uſe of good means which you have in your country, for here is a pack of dumb dogs that cannot bark, they tell over a claſh of terror, and clatter of comfort, without any ſenſe or life."

To a couſin, and another gentleman who was along with him, he ſaid, "Ye are young men, and have far to go, and it may be ſome of you have not far to go, and though your journey be ſhort, it is yet very dangerous. Now are you happy, becauſe you have time to lay your accounts with Jeſus Chriſt. I intreat you to give your youth to Chriſt, for it is the beſt and moſt acceptable gift you can give him. Give not your youth to the devil and your luſts, and then reſerve nothing to Jeſus Chriſt but your rotten bones: it is to be feared that then he will not accept you. Learn, therefore, to watch, and take example by me."

He called Mr Lamb, who was then Biſhop of Galloway, and commanding all others to leave the room, he had a long conference with him, exhorting him earneſtly not to moleſt or remove the Lord's ſervants, or enthrall their conſciences to receive the five articles of Perth, or do any thing againſt their conſciences, as he would wiſh to have mercy from God. The Biſhop anſwered, "My Lord, our ceremonies are, of their own nature, but things indifferent, and we impoſe them for decency and order in God's kirk. They need not ſtand ſo ſcrupulouſly on them as matter of conſcience in God's worſhip." My Lord replied, "I will not diſpute with you, but one thing I know, and can tell you from dear experience, that theſe things, indeed, are matters of conſcience, and not indifferent; and ſo I have found them. For ſince I lay on this bed, the ſin that lay heavieſt on my ſoul, was, withdrawing myſelf from the parliament, and not giving my voice for the truth, againſt theſe things which they call indifferent; and in ſo doing I have denied the Lord my God."—When the Biſhop began to commend him for his well-led life, putting him in hopes of health, and praiſed him for his civil carriage and behaviour, ſaying, he was no oppreſſor, and without any known vice, he anſwered, "No matter; a man may be a good civil neighbour, and yet go to hell."—The Biſhop anſwered, "My Lord, I confeſs we have all our faults;" and thereafter, he inſiſted ſo long, that my Lord thought him impertinent. This made him interrupt the Biſhop, ſaying, "What ſhould I more, I have got a grip of Jeſus Chriſt, and Chriſt of me," &c. On the morrow, the Biſhop came to viſit him; and, upon aſking how he did, he anſwered, I thank God, as well as a ſaved man haſtening to heaven can.

After he had given the clerk of Kirkcudbright ſome ſuitable advice, anent his Chriſtian walk and particular calling, he cauſed him ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn terms, that he ſhould never conſent to, but oppoſe the election of, a corrupt miniſter or magiſtrate. And to his coachman, he ſaid, You will go to any one who will give you the moſt hire; but do not ſo, go where you can get the beſt company, though you get leſs wages, yet you will get the more grace. Then he made him hold up his hand, and promiſe before God ſo to do. And to two young ſerving-men, who came to him weeping to get his laſt bleſſing, he ſaid, Content not yourſelves with a ſuperficial view of religion, bleſſing yourſelves in the morning, only for a faſhion; yea, though you would pray both morning and evening, yet that will not avail you, except likewiſe ye make your account every day. Oh! ye will find few to direct or counſel you; but I will tell you what to

do, firſt pray to the Lord fervently, to enlighten the eyes of your mind, then ſeek grace to rule your affections; you will find the good of this when you come to my ſituation. Then he took both their oaths to do ſo.

He gave many powerful exhortations to ſeveral perſons, and cauſed each man to hold up his hand, and ſwear in his preſence, that by God's grace they ſhould forbear their former ſins, and follow his counſel, &c.

When giving a divine counſel to a friend, he reſted in the midſt of it, and, looking up to Heaven, prayed for a looſened heart and tongue to expreſs the goodneſs of God to men; and thereafter went on in his counſel, not unlike Jacob, Gen. xlix. 18. who, in the midſt of a prophetical teſtament, reſted a little, and ſaid, *I have waited for thy ſalvation*.

He gave his lady, divers times, openly, an honourable and ample teſtimony of her holineſs, goodneſs, and reſpective kindneſs to him, and earneſtly craved her forgiveneſs wherein he had offended her, and deſired her to make the Lord her comforter; and ſaid, he was gone before, and it was but fifteen or ſixteen years up or down *.

He ſpoke to all the boys of the houſe, the butler, cook, &c. omitting none, ſaying, Learn to ſerve and fear the Lord, and uſe carefully the means of your ſalvation. I know what is ordinarily your religion, ye go to kirk, and when ye hear the devil or hell named in the preaching, ye ſigh and make a noiſe, and it is forgot by you before you come home, and then ye are holy enough. But I can tell you, the kingdom of heaven is not got ſo eaſily. Uſe the means yourſelf, and win to ſome ſenſe of God, and pray as you can, morning and evening. If you be ignorant of the way to ſalvation, God forgive you, for I have diſcharged myſelf in that point towards you, and appointed a man to teach you; your blood be upon yourſelves. He took an oath of his ſervants, that they ſhould follow his advice, and ſaid to them ſeverally, If I have been rough to or offended you, I pray for God's ſake to forgive me; and amongſt others, one to whom he had been rough ſaid, Your Lordſhip never did me wrong, I will never get ſuch a maſter again. Yet he urged the boy to ſay, My Lord I forgive you; howbeit the boy was hardly brought to utter theſe words. He ſaid to all the beholders about him, Sirs, behold how low the Lord hath brought me.

To a gentleman burdened in his eſtate, he ſaid, "Sir, I counſel you to caſt your burden upon the Lord your God."—

A

* It would appear, from the date of the laſt of Mr Rutherford's letters to this noble Lady, that ſhe lived till, or a little after, the Reſtoration.

A religious gentleman of his own name coming to visit him, four days before his death, when he beheld him, he said, Robert, come to me, and leave me not till I die. Being much comforted with his speeches, he said, Robert, you are a friend to me, both in soul and body.—The gentleman asked him, What comfort he had in his love towards the saints?—He answered, I rejoice at it.—Then he asked him, What comfort he had in bringing the minister who attended him from Galloway? He answered, God knoweth that I rejoice, that ever he put it in my heart so to do, and now, because I aimed at God's glory in it, the Lord hath made me find comfort to my soul in the end: the ministers of Galloway murdered my father's soul; and if this man had not come, they had murdered mine also.

Before his sister, Lady Herries, who was a Papist, he testified his willingness to leave the world, that Papists may see, said he, that those who die in this religion, both see and know whither they go for the hope of our Father's house. When letters were brought him from friends, he caused deliver them to his Lady, saying, I have nothing to do with them. I had rather hear of news from heaven concerning my eternal salvation. It was observed, that when any came to him anent worldly business, before they were out of doors, he was returned to his spiritual exercises, and was exceeding short in dispatching all needful writs. He recommended the poor's case to his friends. Upon coming out of a fainting-fit, into which his weakness had thrown him, he said, with a smiling countenance, to all around him, I would not exchange my life with you all; I feel the smell of the place where I am going.

Upon Friday morning, the day of his departure from this life, he said, This night must I sup with Jesus Christ in paradise. The minister read to him 2 Cor. v. Rev. xxii. and some observations on such places as concerned his state. After prayer, he said, "I conceive good hopes that God looked upon me, when he granteth such liberty to pray for me. Is it possible that Jesus Christ can lose his grip of me? neither can my soul get itself plucked from Jesus Christ." He earnestly desired a sense of God's presence; and the minister said, What, my Lord, if that be suspended till you come to your own home, and be before the throne, clothed in white and get your harp in your hand, to sing salvation to the Lamb, and to him that sitteth on the throne, for that in heaven; and who dare promise it to you upon earth! That is a piece of nature in desiring a sense of God's love, it being an apple that the Lord's children delight to play with. Be

my Lord, if you would have it only as a pledge of your ſalvation, we ſhall ſeek it from the Lord for you, and you may lawfully pray for it.—Earneſt prayers were made for him, and he teſtified that he was filled with the ſenſe of the Lord's love. Being aſked, what he thought of the world? he anſwered, It is more bitter than gall or wormwood. And being demanded, if he now feared death, he anſwered, "I have taſted death, now it is more welcome, it is the meſſenger of Jeſus Chriſt," &c.

The miniſter ſaid, There is a proceſs betwixt the Lord and your father's houſe, but your name is taken out of it. How dear was heaven bought for you by Jeſus Chriſt! He frequently ſaid, I know there is wrath againſt it, but I ſhall get my ſoul for a prey. Oft-times he ſaid, It is a ſweet word God ſaith, *As I live, I delight not in the death of a ſinner.* I will not let go the hold I have got of Jeſus Chriſt; *though he ſhould ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him.*

In deep meditation on his change, he put this queſtion, What will Chriſt be like when he cometh? It was anſwered, Altogether lovely. Before he died, he was heard praying very fervently, and ſaid to the doctor, I thought to have been diſſolved ere now. The miniſter ſaid, weary not of the Lord's yoke, Jeſus Chriſt is poſting faſt to be at you, he is within a few miles. He anſwered, This is my infirmity. I will wait on, he is worth the on-waiting; though he be long in coming, yet I dare ſay he is coming, leaping over the mountains, and ſkipping over the hills. The miniſter ſaid, Some have gotten their fill of Chriſt in this life, howbeit he is often under a maſk to his own. Even his beſt ſaints, Job, David, Jeremiah, &c. were under deſertions. My Lord ſaid, But what are theſe examples to me? I am not in holineſs near to them. The miniſter ſaid, It is true, you cannot take ſo wide ſteps as they did, but you are in the ſame way with them. A young child followeth his father at the back, though he cannot take ſuch wide ſteps as he. My Lord, your hunger overcometh your faith, only but believe his word; you are longing for Chriſt, only believe he is faithful, and will come quickly. To which he anſwered, I think it is time—Lord Jeſus, come.

Then the miniſter ſaid, My Lord, our nature is anxious for our own deliverance; whereas God ſeeketh firſt to be glorified in our faith, patience, and hope. He anſwered, Good reaſon to be firſt ſerved. Lord, give me to wait on; only, Lord, turn me not to droſs.

Another ſaid, Caſt back your eyes, my Lord, on what you have received, and be thankful.—At the hearing of which he brake

brake forth in praiſing of God; and finding himſelf now weak, and his ſpeech failing more than an hour before his death, he deſired the miniſter to pray. After prayer, the miniſter cried in his ear, "My Lord, may you now ſunder with Chriſt?" To which he anſwered nothing, nor was it expected he would ſpeak any more:—Yet in a little the miniſter aſked, Have you any ſenſe of the Lord's love?—He anſwered, I have. The miniſter ſaid, Do you now enjoy? He anſwered, I do enjoy. Thereafter he aſked him, Will ye not ſunder with Chriſt?—He anſwered, By no means. This was his laſt word, not being able to ſpeak any more.—The miniſter aſked, if he ſhould pray; and he turned his eyes towards him. In the time of the laſt prayer, he was obſerved joyfully ſmiling and looking upward. He departed this life about ſun-ſetting, September 12. 1634, aged thirty-five years. It was obſerved, that he died at the ſame inſtant that the miniſter concluded his prayer.

Mr Rutherford, in one of his letters to the Viſcounteſs of Kenmuir, a little after the death of her huſband, to comfort her, among other things, lets fall this expreſſion, "In this late viſitation, that hath befallen your Ladyſhip, ye have ſeen God's love and care in ſuch a meaſure, that I thought our Lord brake the ſharp point of the croſs, and made us and your Ladyſhip ſee Chriſt take poſſeſſion and infeftment upon earth, of him who is now reigning and triumphing with the hundred and forty and four thouſand who ſtand with the Lamb on Mount Zion," &c.

Some may object, what did this nobleman for the cauſe of Chriſt, or Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, that he ſhould be inſerted among the Scots Worthies? To this it may be anſwered, What did the moſt eminent ſaint that ever was in Scotland, or any where elſe, until they were enabled by the grace of God? So it was with reference to him; for no ſooner was he made partaker of this, than he gave a moſt ample and faithful teſtimony for his truths and intereſt; and although the Lord did not ſee it proper, that he ſhould ſerve him after this manner, in his day and generation; yet he no doubt accepted of the will for the deed; and why ſhould we not inrol his name among theſe Worthies on earth, ſeeing he hath written his name among the living in Jeruſalem.

M

☞[Deſirous of making this Edition of the WORTHIES more uſeful and entertaining than any former one, the Publiſhers are to ſubjoin an Account of the Battle of BOTHWELL BRIDGE, and of the Trial and Execution of that Noble and faithful Martyr for the Truth, ARCHIBALD EARL OF ARGYLE, in 1685. This they do, though not in the Propoſals, and without increaſing the expence to the Subſcriber.]

Mr ROBERT CUNNINGHAM.

AFTER Mr Robert Cunningham had received a good education, he became chaplain to the Duke of Buccleugh's regiment in Holland, and was afterwards ſettled miniſter at Holywood in Ireland, ſome time before Mr Blair was ſettled at Bangor, and with whom Mr Blair, after his ſettlement in that place, contracted ſuch an acquaintance as was comfortable to them both.

He applied himſelf cloſe unto the work of the miniſtry, which no doubt to him was the moſt deſirable of all employments, being in the pulpit in his own element, like a fiſh in the water, or bird in the air, always judging that therein a Chriſtian might enjoy much fellowſhip with Chriſt, and have an opportunity of doing him the beſt of ſervices, conſidering what Chriſt ſaid to Peter, John xxi. 15. &c. *Loveſt thou me more than theſe?——feed my lambs——feed my ſheep.*

Here he continued to exerciſe his office as a faithful paſtor over the flock to whom he was appointed overſeer, until the time that ſeveral of his faithful brethren were depoſed and rejected by the biſhops; at which time the Biſhop of Down threatened Mr Blair with a proſecution againſt him, Mr Cunningham, and ſome others; to whom Mr Blair ſaid, "Ye may do with me and ſome others as you pleaſe; but if ever ye meddle with Mr Cunningham, your cup will be full: and indeed he was longer ſpared than any of the reſt; which was a great benefit to their flocks, for when they were depoſed, he preached every week in one or other of their kirks. So with great pains, both at home and abroad, he wore out his body, which before was not very ſtrong.

When Mr Blair and Mr Livingſtone were ſummoned before the Biſhop to be depoſed, they went, the night before their appearance, to take their leave of Mr Cunningham; but the next day, as they were going to the church of Parphilips, he came up to them; whereat being ſurpriſed, they aſked, why he came thither? To which he anſwered, "All night I have been troubled with that place; *at my firſt anſwer no man ſtood with me;* therefore I am come to ſtand by you." But being the eye-ſore of the devil, and the Prelatical clergy in that part of the country, he could not be ſuffered long to exerciſe his miniſtry; and in Auguſt 1636, he, with other of his faithful brethren, was thruſt out and depoſed. He continued moſtly after this with the reſt of his ſuffering brethren, until after the defeat of their enterpriſe to New England, that they were obliged to leave Ireland, and come over to Scotland; and not

long after he took his laſt ſickneſs in Irvine, whereof he ſoon after died.

During his ſickneſs, beſides many other gracious expreſſions, he ſaid, "I ſee Chriſt ſtanding over death's head, ſaying, Deal warily with my ſervant, looſe thou this pin, then that pin, for his tabernacle muſt be ſet up again."

The day before his death, the members of the preſbytery of Irvine made him a viſit, whom he exhorted to be faithful to Chriſt and his cauſe; and to oppoſe the ſervice-book, then preſſed upon the church. "The Biſhop," ſaid he, "hath taken my miniſtry from me, and I may ſay, my life alſo, for my miniſtry is dearer to me than my life." A little before his departure, his wife ſitting by his bed-ſide, with his hand in hers, he did by prayer recommend the whole church of Ireland, the pariſh of Holywood, his ſuffering brethren in the miniſtry, and his children, to God; and withal added, "Lord, I recommend this gentlewoman to thee, who is no more my wife;—and with that he ſoftly looſed his hand from hers, and thruſt it a little from him; at which ſhe and ſeveral of the company fell a-weeping; he endeavoured to comfort them with ſeveral gracious expreſſions, and, with the Lord's ſervant of old, mentioned Acts xiii. 36. *Having ſerved his own generation, by the will of God he fell on ſleep*, March 27. 1637.

Mr Cunningham was a man moſtly under deep exerciſes of mind, and although in public preaching he was, to his own ſenſe, ſometimes not ſo aſſiſted as ordinary, yet even then the matter he treated of was edifying and refreſhful, being ſtill carried through with a full gale, uſing more piercing expreſſions than many others. For meekneſs he was another Moſes, and in patience another Job;—"To my diſcerning (ſays one of our Scots Worthies *), he was the man who moſt reſembled the meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt in all his carriage, that ever I ſaw; and was ſo far reverenced of all, even by the wicked, that he was often troubled with that ſcripture, *Woe to you when all men ſpeak well of you.*"

MR JAMES MITCHELL.

HE was ſon to James Mitchell of Dykes, in the pariſh of Ardroſſan, and was born about the year 1621. His father, being factor to the Earl of Eglinton, and a very religious man himſelf, gave his ſon a moſt liberal and religious education. For being ſent to the univerſity of St Andrews when very young, he profited to ſuch a degree, that by the

* Mr Livingſtone, in his Memorable Characteriſtics.

time that he was eighteen years of age, he was made master of arts.

After this he returned home to his father's house, where he studied for near two years and a half, the Lord in a good measure blessing his pains and endeavours therein. Mr Robert Bailie, then minister at Kilwinning, shewed him no small kindness, by the loan of his books, by his counsel, and by superintending his studies.

Thereafter, he was called by the Lady Houston, to attend her eldest son at the college, in which employment he continued other two years and a half; in the which time the Lord blessed his studies there exceedingly; and the great pains taken upon him by Mr David Dickson, then professor of the university of Glasgow, Mr Bailie, and others, had such a blessing from heaven, that he passed both his private and public trials in order for the ministry, to their great contentment.

After he was licensed, he came west and preached in Kilwinning and Stevenson, to the satisfaction of all who heard him; so that they blessed God in his behalf, and were very hopeful of his great abilities.

But before Martinmas 1643, he went back to Glasgow, where he both attended his studies and his pupil. He preached some few times in Glasgow, wherewith all those who loved Christ, and his cause and gospel, were exceeding well pleased. At this time, Mr Dickson, Mr Bailie, and Mr Robert Ramsay, having great hopes of his gifts in preaching, told his father, that he had great reason to bless God for the gifts and graces bestowed upon him, above all their expectation; for besides these, the Lord had taken him truly by the heart, and wrought graciously with his soul. He had given himself entirely up to prayer, and the study of the word of God; and reading thereof, was now become his delight.

But the Lord having other thoughts concerning him, in a short time all their great expectations of him in the ministry were frustrated. For by his extreme abstinence, drinking of water, and indefatigable pains, he contracted that sickness of which he died soon after. His body began to languish, his stomach to refuse all meat, and his constitution to alter. Mr Dickson laid his condition much to heart, (Mr Bailie being at London), and kept him fifteen days with him; thereafter he went to Houston, and staid as long there, where the Lady and her daughter shewed more love and kindness than can be expressed, and that not only for the care he had for her son, but also for the rare gifts and graces God had bestowed on him. His father having sent for him, he returned home. The first night on his journey, he was with Ralston; and the Laird of

Ducathall, being there occaſionally, attended him all the reſt of the way homeward; for not being able to ride two miles together, he behoved to go into a houſe to reſt himſelf for an hour: ſuch was his weakly condition.

After his arrival at home, he put on his clothes every day, for fifteen days, and after that lay bedfaſt for ten weeks, until the day of his death; during which time the Lord was very merciful and gracious to him, both in an external and internal way. For his body, by degrees, daily languiſhed, till he became like a ſkeleton; and yet his face remained ever pleaſant, beautiful, and well coloured, even to his laſt.

The laſt five or ſix weeks he lived, there were always three or four waiting on him, and ſometimes more; yet they never had occaſion to weary of him, but were rather refreſhed with every day's continuance, by the many wiſe, ſweet, and gracious diſcourſes, which proceeded out of his mouth.

In the time of his ſickneſs, the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to guard his mind and heart from the malice of Satan, ſo that his peace and confidence in God was not much diſturbed; or if the Lord was pleaſed to ſuffer any little aſſault, it ſoon evaniſhed. His feeling and ſenſe was not frequent nor great, but his faith and confidence in God, through Jeſus Chriſt, was ever ſtrong, which he told his father divers times was more ſure and ſolid than the other. He ſaid, that the Lord, before his ſickneſs, had made faſt work with him about the matters of his ſoul, and that before that he had been under ſore exerciſes of mind, by the ſenſe of his own guiltineſs for a long time, before ever he had ſolid peace and clear confidence; and often ſaid, "Unworthy I, and naughty I, am freely beloved of the Lord, and the Lord knows, my ſoul dearly loves him back again." And the Lord knew his weakneſs to encounter with a temptation, and ſo out of tender compaſſion thus pitied him.

He was alſo poſſeſſed of all manner of patience and ſubmiſſion under all this ſore trouble, and never was heard to murmur in the leaſt, but often thought his Maſter's time well worth the waiting on, and was frequently much refreſhed with the ſeeing and hearing of honeſt and gracious neighbours, who came to viſit him; ſo that he had little reaſon, with Heman, to complain, Pſal. lxxxviii. 18. *Lover and friend haſt thou put far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkneſs.*

Among other of his gracious diſcoveries, he declaimed much againſt imprudent ſpeaking, wiſhing it might be amended, eſpecially in young ſcholars and young miniſters, as being but the froth and vanity of the fooliſh mind. Among other things, he lamented the pride of many young preachers and ſtudents

ſtudents, by uſurping priority of place, &c. which became them not; and exclaimed frequently againſt himſelf for his own practice; yet he ſaid he was in the ſtrength of God brought to mortify the ſame. He frequently exhorted his parents to carry themſelves to one another as the word of God required, and above all things to fear God, and delight in his word; and often ſaid, that he dearly loved the book of God, and ſought them to be earneſt in prayer, ſhowing that it was an unknown thing, and a thing of another world, and that the influence of prayer behoved to come out of heaven; therefore the Spirit of ſupplication muſt be wreſtled for, or elſe all prayer would be but lifeleſs and natural; and ſaid, that being once with Lady Houſton and ſome country gentlemen at Bagles, the Spirit of prayer and ſupplication was poured upon him, in ſuch a powerful and lively manner, two ſeveral days before they went to dinner, that all preſent were much affected, and ſhed tears in abundance; and yet at night he found himſelf ſo emptied and dead, that he durſt not adventure to pray any at all theſe two nights, but went to bed, and was much vexed and caſt down, none knowing the reaſon.—By this he was from that time convinced, that the diſpenſation and influence of ſpiritual and lively prayer came only from Heaven, and from no natural abilities that were in man.

The Laird of Cunningham coming to viſit him, as he did frequently, he enumerated all the remarkable paſſages of God's goodneſs and providence to him, eſpecially ſince he contracted ſickneſs, as in ſhewing infinite mercies to his ſoul, tender compaſſion towards his body and natural ſpirits, patience and ſubmiſſion to his will without grudging, calmneſs of ſpirit without paſſion, ſolid and conſtant peace within and without, &c. This is far beyond the Lord's manner of dealing with many of his dear ſaints, &c. "Now, Sir, think ye not but I ſtand greatly indebted to the goodneſs and kindneſs of God, that deals thus graciouſly and warmly with me every way;" and then he burſt out in praiſe to God in a ſweet and lively manner.

At another time, the Laird being preſent, May 26. looking out of his bed to the ſun ſhining brightly on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, he ſaid, "O what a ſplendour and glory will all the elect and redeemed ſaints have one day; and O! how much more will the glory of the Creator be, who ſhall communicate that glory to all his own, but the ſhallow thoughts of filly men are not able to conceive the excellency thereof," &c.

Again, Mr Macqueen being preſent, his father inquired at him, wherein our communion with God ſtood? He ſaid, in reconciliation and peace with him, which is the firſt effect of

our

our juſtification; then there was acceſs and love to God, patience and ſubmiſſion to his will, &c.; then the Lord's manifeſtation of himſelf to us, as Chriſt ſays, John xiv. 21. See the 20th verſe, which he inſtanced.

He ſaid one morning to Hugh Macgaven and his father, "I am not afraid of death, for I reſt on infinite mercy, procured by the blood of the Lamb." Then he ſpake as to himſelf, "Fear not, little flock, it is the Father's good will to give you the kingdom." Then he ſaid, "What are theſe who are of this little flock? Even ſinners. I came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance." But what kind of ſinners? Only thoſe who are ſenſible of ſin and wrath, and ſee themſelves to be loſt; therefore, ſays Chriſt, "I came to ſeek and to ſave them who are loſt." There are two words here, ſeeking and ſaving; and who are theſe? Even thoſe who are loſt bankrupts, who have nothing to pay. Theſe are they whom Chriſt ſeeks, and who are of his flock.

To John Kyle, another morning, he ſaid twice over, "My ſoul longeth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." And at another time, perceiving his father weeping, he ſaid, "I cannot blame you to mourn, for I know you have thought that I might, with God's bleſſing have proved a comfortable child to you; but comfort yourſelf in this that ere it be long I will be at a bleſſed reſt, and in a far better ſtate than I can be in this life, free from ſin and every kind of miſery, and within a ſhort time ye will follow after me. And in the mean time encourage yourſelf in the Lord and let not your mourning be like thoſe who have no hope. The Lord by degrees will aſſuage your grief, for ſo he has appointed, elſe we would be ſwallowed up, and come to nought &c.. for I could never have been removed out of this life in a more ſeaſonable time than now, having both the favour of God and man, being hopeful that my name ſhall not be unſavoury when I am gone, for none knoweth what affronts, grief, and calamities, I might fall into, had I lived much longer in this life. And for croſſes and trouble, how might my life have been made bitter to me! for when I think what oppoſition I might have ere I was an actual miniſter, by diviſions of the people, the patron, and the preſbytery, it could not but overwhelm me; and then being entered, what a fighting life with a ſtubborn people, might be my lot I know not; and then what diſcontentment I might have in a wife, which is the lot of many an honeſt man, is uncertain; then cares, fears, ſtraits of the world, reproaches of men, perſonal deſires, and the devil and an evil world to fight with, theſe and many more cannot but keep a man in a ſtruggling ſtate in this life.

An

And now, leſt this ſhould ſeem a mere ſpeculation, I could inſtance theſe things in the perſons of many worthy men; I paſs all, and only point out one, whoſe gifts and graces are well known to you, viz. Mr David Dickſon, who I am ſure God has made the inſtrument of the converſion of many ſouls, and of much good to the country; and yet this gracious perſon has been toſſed to and fro. And you know that the Lord made him a gracious inſtrument in this late reformation, and yet he has in a great meaſure been ſlighted by the ſtate and the kirk alſo. What reaſon have I then to bleſs God, who in mercy is timeouſly removing me from all trouble, and will make me as welcome to heaven as if I had preached forty years, for he knows it was my intention, by his grace, to have honoured him in my miniſtry; and ſeeing he has accepted the will for the deed, what reaſon have I to complain? for now I am willing and ready to be diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all: wherefore, dear father, comfort yourſelf with this."

One time, in conference concerning the ſin in the godly, his father ſaid to him, "I am ſure you are not now troubled with corruption, being ſo near death." He anſwered, "Ye are altogether deceived, for ſo long as my foot remaineth on this earth, though the other were tranſlated above the clouds, my mind would not be free of ſinful motions." Whereupon he regretted that he could not get his mind and his affections lifted up, to dwell or meditate on God, his word, or that endleſs life, as he could have wiſhed, and that he could not find that ſpirituality by entertaining ſuch thoughts of God's greatneſs and goodneſs as became him, and was often much perplexed with vain thoughts; but he was confident, that the Lord, in his rich mercy, would pity and paſs by this his weakneſs and infirmity, &c.

Some time before his death, he fell into ſeveral fainting-fits: about ten or twelve days before his diſſolution, he fell into one, and was ſpeechleſs near an hour, ſo that none preſent had any hopes that he would again recover; but in the mean time, he was wrapt up in divine contemplation. At laſt he began to recover, and his heart being enlarged, he opened his mouth with ſuch lively exhortations as affected all preſent, and directing his ſpeech to his father, he ſaid, "Be glad, Sir, to ſee your ſon, yea, I ſay, your ſecond ſon, made a crowned king." And to his mother, he ſaid, "Be of good courage, and mourn not for want of me, for ye will find me in the all-ſufficiency of God." Then he ſaid, "O death, I give thee a defiance, through Jeſus Chriſt; and then again he ſaid to on-lookers, Sirs, this will be a blythe and joyful good-night."

In the mean time, Mr Bell came in, to whom he ſaid, "Sir, you are welcome to be witneſs to ſee me fight out my laſt fight." After which he fell quiet, and got ſome reſt. Within two days, Mr Bell being come to viſit him, he ſaid, "O Sir, but I was glad the laſt night when you was here, when I thought to be diſſolved, that I might have met with my Maſter, and have enjoyed his preſence for ever; but I was much grieved, when I perceived a little reverting, and that I was likely to live longer," &c.

To Mr Gabriel Cunningham, when conferring about death and the manner of diſſolution, he ſaid, "O! how ſweet a thing it were, for a man to ſleep to death in the arms of Chriſt." He had many other lively and comfortable ſpeeches, which were not remembered, the day never paſſing in the time of his ſickneſs, but the on-waiters were refreſhed by him.

The night before his departure, he was ſenſible of great pain; whereupon he ſaid, "I ſee it is true, that we muſt enter into heaven through trouble, but the Lord will help us through it." Then he ſaid, "I have great pain, but mixed with great mercy, and ſtrong confidence." He called to mind that ſaying of Mr John Knox, on his deathbed, "I do not eſteem that pain, which will be to me an end of all trouble, and the beginning of eternal felicity."

His laſt words were theſe: "Lord, open the gates that I may enter in;" and a little after, his father aſked, What he was doing? Whereupon he lifted up his hands, and cauſed all his fingers ſhiver and twinkle, and in preſence of many honeſt neighbours, he yielded up his ſpirit, and went to his reſt, a little after ſun-riſing, upon the 11th of June 1643, being twenty-three years of age.

Thus, in the bloom of youth, he ended his Chriſtian warfare, and entered into the heavenly inheritance, a young man, but a ripe Chriſtian. There were three ſpecial gifts vouchſafed to him by the Lord; a notable invention, a great memory, with a ready expreſſion.

Among other fruits of his meditation and pains, he drew up a model and frame of preaching, which he entitled, "The Method of Preaching." Many other manuſcripts he left behind him, (as evidences of his indefatigable labour), which, if yet preſerved in ſafe cuſtody, might be of no ſmall benefit to the public, as it appears that they have not hitherto been publiſhed.

Mr ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

WHEN Mr Alexander Henderſon had paſſed his degrees at the univerſity with great applauſe, he was, by the Biſhop of St Andrew's, about the year 1620, preferred to be miniſter of Leuchars, in the ſhire of Fife. But being brought in there againſt the conſent of that pariſh, unto ſuch a degree, that, on the day of his ordination, the church-doors were ſhut ſo faſt by the people, that they were obliged to break in by a window.

And being very prelatical in his judgement at this time, until a little after, that upon the report of a communion to be in the neighbourhood, where Mr Bruce was to be an helper, he went thither ſecretly, and placed himſelf in a dark corner of the church, where he might not be readily ſeen or known. When Mr Bruce was come to the pulpit, he did for ſome time keep ſilence, as his uſual manner was, which did aſtoniſh Mr Henderſon; but it aſtoniſhed him much more, when he heard him begin with theſe words, *He that entereth not in by the door, but climbeth ſome other way, the ſame is a thief and a robber*;—which words, by the bleſſing of God, and the effectual working of the Holy Spirit, took ſuch hold on him at that very inſtant, and made ſuch impreſſions on his heart afterward, as proved the very firſt mean of his converſion unto Chriſt.

After this, he became not only a moſt faithful and diligent miniſter of the goſpel, but alſo a ſtaunch Preſbyterian, and had a very active hand in carrying on the covenanted work of reformation, from the year 1638 to the day of his death, and was among the very firſt who got a charge of horning from the Biſhop of St Andrew's, for refuſing to buy and uſe the ſervice-book, and book of canons, then impoſed by the King upon the church; which occaſioned him and ſome others to give in ſeveral petitions and complaints to the Council, both craving ſome mitigation therein, and ſhewing the ſinfulneſs thereof; for which, and ſome other conſiderations and overtures for relief, moſtly compiled by Mr Henderſon, they were by order of proclamation charged, within twenty-four hours, to leave the town of Edinburgh, under the pain of rebellion.

Again, in 1638, when the national confeſſion or covenant was agreed upon, and ſworn unto, by almoſt all ranks in the land, the Marquis of Hamilton being ſent by the King to ſuppreſs the covenanters, who, having held ſeveral conferences with him to little or no purpoſe, at laſt he told them,

that the book of canons and liturgy ſhould be diſcharged, on condition they ſhould yield up their covenants; which propoſition did not only diſpleaſe them, but alſo made them more vigilant to ſupport and vindicate that ſolemn deed. Whereupon Mr Henderſon was again ſet to work, and in a ſhort time favoured the public with ſufficient grounds and reaſons why they could not recede from any part of that covenant.

Some time after this, the table (ſo called) which was erected at Edinburgh for carrying on the reformation, being ſorry that the town and ſhire of Aberdeen (excited by the perſuaſion of their doctors) ſtood out and oppoſed the covenant and work of reformation, ſent ſome Earls with Meſſ. Henderſon, Dickſon, and Cant, to deal with them once more, and to ſee if they could reclaim that town and country. But upon their arrival there, they could have no acceſs to preach in any church; whereupon the three miniſters reſolved to preach in the Earl of Marſhal's cloſe and hall, as the weather favoured them. Accordingly they preached by turns; Mr Dickſon preached in the morning, to a very numerous multitude; at noon, Mr Cant preached; and Mr Henderſon preached at night, to no leſs an auditory than in the morning; and all of them preſſed and produced arguments for ſubſcribing the covenant; which had ſuch effect upon the people, that, after public worſhip was over, about 500 perſons ſubſcribed the covenant, at one table there, of whom ſeverals were people of the beſt quality in that place *.

And here one thing was very obſervable, that while Mr Henderſon preached, the crowd being very great, there were ſeveral mockers; and, among the reſt, one John Logie, a ſtudent, threw clods at the commiſſioners; but it was remarked that within a few days after, he killed one Nicol Torrie, a young boy, becauſe the boy's father had beat him for ſtealing his peaſe; and though at that time he had eſcaped juſtice, yet he was again taken, and executed in 1644. Such was the conſequence of diſturbing the worſhip of God, and mocking at the ambaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt.

In the ſame year, at that famous General Aſſembly, convened at Glaſgow, where many of the nobility were preſent, Mr Henderſon, without one contrary vote, was choſe moderator, when he did, by ſolemn prayer, conſtitute the Aſſembly *de novo* in the name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for "among that man's other qualifications," ſaith Mr Baillie, "he had a faculty of grave, good, and fervent prayer, which

* See Stevenſon's Hiſtory of Church and State, vol. ii. p. 334.

he exercised without fainting unto the end of that Assembly *."

It was on the 20th session of this Assembly, that Mr Henderson the moderator, after a most pious and learned sermon, to a very great auditory, from Psal. cx. 1. *The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*, &c. did, in a most grave and solemn manner, excommunicate and depose the bishops, according to the form published among the printed acts of that Assembly. In the 21st session, a supplication was given in for liberty to transport him from Leuchars to Edinburgh; but this he was unwilling to do, having been near eighteen years minister there. He pled, that he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil, &c.; yet, after much contest betwixt the two parties for some days, Edinburgh carried it by seventy-five votes, very much against his own inclination. However, he submitted, on condition, that when old age should overtake him, he should be again removed to a country charge. At the conclusion of this Assembly, he said, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho, (meaning Prelacy), let him that buildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite," &c.

In 1639, he was one of those commissioned for the church, to treat upon the articles of pacification † with the King and his commissioners, at Birks near Berwick, where he behaved with great prudence and candour. And when the General Assembly, the same year, sat down at Edinburgh, August 12. Mr Henderson having been the former moderator, preached to them from Acts v. 33. *When they heard that, they were cut to the heart*, &c. Towards the close of his discourse, he addressed John Earl of Traquair, his Majesty's Commissioner, in these words:—"We beseech your Grace to see that Cæsar have his own, but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your Grace unto many high places, within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. Some are exalted like Haman, some like Mordecai, &c. When the Israelites came out of Egypt, they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence, for the building of the tabernacle: in like manner, your Grace must employ all your parts and endowments for the building up the church of God in this land," &c.

And to the members chosen, he said, "Right Honourable, Worshipful, and Reverend, go on in your zeal and constancy: true zeal doth not cool, but the longer it burns, the more

* Bailey's Letters, &c. p. 587.

† See these articles in the History of Church and State, vol. ii. 745. and the Civil Wars of Great Britain, p. 10. &c.

fervent it will grow; if it ſhall pleaſe God, that by your means the light of the goſpel ſhall be continued, and that you have the honour of being inſtrumental of a bleſſed reformation, it ſhall be uſeful and comfortable to yourſelves and your poſterity. But let your zeal be always tempered with moderation; for zeal is a good ſervant, but a bad maſter; like a ſhip that hath a full ſail, but no rudder. We had much need of Chriſtian prudence, for we know what advantage ſome have attempted to take of us this way. For this reaſon, let it be ſeen to the world, that Preſbytery, the government we contend for in the church, can conſiſt very well with monarchy in the ſtate; and thereby we ſhall gain the favour of our King, and God ſhall get the glory." After this diſcourſe and the calling of the commiſſions, Traquair deſired that Mr Henderſon might be continued moderator. Whether this was to corroborate his Maſter's deſign, or from a regard to Mr Henderſon's abilities, as he himſelf profeſſed, is not certain; but the Aſſembly oppoſed this, as ſavouring too much of the conſtant moderator, the firſt ſtep taken of late to introduce Prelacy; and no man could oppoſe Traquair's motion more than Mr Henderſon himſelf, and by that means it was over-ruled.

Mr Henderſon was one of thoſe miniſters who went with the Scots army to England, in the year 1640, every regiment having one of the moſt able miniſters in the bounds where they were raiſed as chaplain; and when the treaty was ſet on foot, which began at Rippon, and ended at London, he was alſo one nominated as commiſſioner for the church; the duties of which he diſcharged with great prudence and advantage; and the very next year, he was, by the commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, authoriſed to go with Lord London, Warriſton, and Barclay, to the King, to importune him to call his Engliſh parliament, as the only and beſt expedient to obtain an honourable and laſting peace; but his embaſſy had not the deſired effect.

After his return, he was choſen moderator to the General Aſſembly in 1643; and when the Engliſh commiſſioners, viz. Sir William Armyn, Sir Harry Vane the younger, Mr Hatcher, and Mr Darly, from the parliament, and two miniſters, Mr Stephen Marſhall a Preſbyterian, and Phil. Nye an Independent, from the General Aſſembly of divines at Edinburgh, where the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland was then ſitting, craving their aid and counſel upon ſuch an emergent occaſion, he was among the firſt of those nominated as commiſſioners, to go up to the parliament and aſſembly of England. And ſo in a little after, Mr Hend-

ſon, and Mr Gilleſpie, with Mr Hatcher and Mr Nye, ſet out for London, to get the ſolemn league ratified there, the reſt of the commiſſioners ſtaying behind, until it ſhould be returned. Upon their arrival at London, and having received a warrant from the parliament to ſit in the next Aſſembly, (which warrant was preſented by Mr Henderſon), the Aſſembly ſent out three of their number to introduce them; at their entry, Dr Twiſſe, the prolocutor, welcomed them unto the Aſſembly, and complimented them for the hazard they had undergone on their account, both by ſea and land, in ſuch a rigorous ſeaſon, it being then November; after which, they were led to a place the moſt convenient in the houſe, which they kept ever after *.

Again, in 1646, being ſent down from London to attend the King, then with the Scots army at Newcaſtle, at which time the General Aſſembly appointed alſo, Meſſ. Robert Blair, James Guthrie, Robert Douglas, and Andrew Cant, to wait on his Majeſty; here Mr Henderſon officiated for ſome time as his chaplain; and although he and Mr Blair, of all the Preſbyterians, were the beſt beloved of the King, yet they could by no means prevail upon him to grant the firſt demand of his ſubjects; yea, he obſtinately refuſed, though they beſought him on their knees.

In the interval of theſe affairs, a ſeries of letters were continued betwixt the King, aſſiſted by Sir Robert Murray on the one hand, and Mr Henderſon on the other; the one in defence of Epiſcopacy, and the other of Preſbytery, which were exchanged from the 19th of May to the midſt of July, as each perſon was in readineſs.

But during this controverſy, Mr Henderſon's conſtitution being much worn out with fatigue and travel, he was obliged to break off an anſwer to the King's laſt paper, and to return to Edinburgh, where, in a little time after his arrival, he laid down his earthly tabernacle, in exchange for an heavenly crown, about the middle of Auguſt 1646.

Some

* At that time the Aſſembly ſat in King Henry VIII.'s Chapel, and when the weather grew cooler, in Jeruſalem Chamber, a ſpacious room in Weſtminſter abbey. The prolocutor, Dr Twiſſe, had a chair ſet at the upper end, a foot higher than the earth; before it ſtood two chairs for Dr Burgeſs and Mr White, aſſeſſors; before theſe ſtood a table, where Mr Byfield and Mr Roborough, the two ſcribes, ſat; upon the prolocutor's right-hand ſat the Scots commiſſioners; on the left-hand the Engliſh divines, to the number of about 118, whereof about two thirds only attended cloſe. They met every day of the week, except Saturday, ſix or ſeven hours at a time, and began and ended with prayer.

Some of the abettors of Prelacy, ſenſible of his great abilities, were earneſtly deſirous to bring him over to their ſide at his death *; and for that purpoſe, palmed upon the world moſt groundleſs ſtories of his changing his principles at his laſt hours; yea, the anonymous author of the Civil Wars of Great Britain goes farther, when he ſays, p. 200, "Mr Henderſon had the honour to be converted by his Majeſty's diſcourſe at Newcaſtle, and died reconciled to the church of England." But from theſe falſe calumnies he hath been ſufficiently vindicated a long time ago, by a declaration in the 9th act of the General Aſſembly in 1648. See alſo Mr Logan's letter, in vindication of Mr Henderſon from theſe aſperſions caſt on him by Meſſ. Sage and Ruddiman.

Some time after his death, a monument was erected on his grave, in the Grayfriars church-yard of Edinburgh; in form of a quadrangular urn, inſcribed on three ſides; and becauſe there was ſome mention thereon of the ſolemn league and covenant, or rather becauſe Mr Henderſon had done much for and in behalf of the covenant, Commiſſioner Middleton, ſome time in June or July 1662, ſtooped ſo low as to procure an order of parliament, to raze and demoliſh ſaid monument, which was all the length their malice could go againſt a man who had been near ſixteen years in his grave. Hard enough, if he had died in the Prelatical perſuaſion, from thoſe who pretended to be the prime promoters of the ſame †.

Mr Henderſon was a man who ſpared no pains in carrying on the work of reformation in that period. For whether he was called forth to church-judicatories, to the pulpit, or any other buſineſs, no trouble or danger could make him decline the work. One of his colleagues and intimate acquaintances gave him no mean teſtimony, when he ſays, "May I be permitted

* Such as the author of the Appendix to Spottiſwood's Hiſtory, and others.

† Mr Henderſon's monument was afterwards repaired, as it now ſtands entire, a little to the weſtward of the church. On one ſide the inſcription begins with theſe words:

Hanc quiſquis urnam tranſiens, &c.

On another ſide it begins,

Qui contra graſſantes per fraudem et tyrannidem.

And the Engliſh inſcription on a third ſide:

Reader, bedew thine eyes
Not for the duſt here lies,
It quicken ſhall again,
And aye in joy remain:
But for thyſelf, the church and ſtates,
Whoſe woe this duſt prognoſticates.

The fourth ſide of the urn has no inſcription.

mitted to conclude with my earneſt wiſh, that that glorious ſoul of worthy memory, who is now crowned with the reward of all his labours for God and us, may be fragrant among us, as long as free and pure Aſſemblies remain in this land, which I hope ſhall be to the coming of our Lord. You know he ſpent his ſtrength, wore out his days, and that he did breathe out his life in the ſervice of God, and of this church; this binds it on us and poſterity, to account him the faireſt ornament, after Mr John Knox, of incomparable memory, that ever the church of Scotland did enjoy *."

Beſide the fore-named papers, with another entitled, The Remonſtrances of the Nobility, &c.; a Tract on Church Government; and, An Inſtruction for Defenſive Arms, &c. the General Aſſembly appointed him, Mr Calderwood, and Mr Dickſon, to prepare a directory for the worſhip of God; which not only had the deſired effect, but at length brought about uniformity in all our churches. There are alſo ſome few of his ſermons in print, ſome of which were preached before the parliament.

MR GEORGE GILLESPIE.

MR GEORGE GILLESPIE was the ſon of Mr John Gilleſpie, ſome time miniſter of the goſpel at Kirkaldy. After Mr George had been for ſome time at the univerſity, where he ſurpaſſed the moſt part of his fellow-ſtudents, he was licenſed to preach ſome time before the year 1638, but could have no entry into any pariſh, becauſe the biſhops had then the aſcendant in the affairs of the church. This obliged him to remain for ſome time chaplain † in the family of the Earl of Caſſillis. And here it was that he wrote that elaborate piece, though he was ſcarce twenty-five years of age, entitled, a Diſpute againſt the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, &c.; which book was, in the year 1637, diſcharged, by order of proclamation, to be uſed, as being of too corroſive a quality to be digeſted by the biſhops weak ſtomachs.

After this, he was ordained miniſter of Wemyſs, by Mr Robert Douglas, April 26. 1638, being the firſt who was admitted by a preſbytery in that period, without an acknowledgement

* Mr Bailey, in his ſpeech to the General Aſſembly, 1647.

† It appears he was alſo chaplain to the Viſcount Kenmuir, about the year 1634.

ledgement of the biſhops. And now Mr Gilleſpie began in a more public way to exert himſelf in defence of the Preſbyterian intereſt, when at the 11th ſeſſion of that Venerable Aſſembly held at Glaſgow 1638, he preached a very learned and judicious ſermon from theſe words: *The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord*, &c.; in which ſermon, the Earl of Argyle thought that he touched the royal prerogative too near, and did very gravely admoniſh the Aſſembly concerning the ſame; which they all took in good part, as appeared from a diſcourſe then made by the moderator for the ſupport of that admonition.

At the General Aſſembly held at Edinburgh 1641, Mr Gilleſpie had a call tabled from the town of Aberdeen, but the Lord Commiſſioner and himſelf here pled his cauſe ſo well that he was for ſome time continued at Wemyſs.—Yet he got no ſtaying there long; for the General Aſſembly, in the following year, ordered him to be tranſported to the city of Edinburgh, where it appears he continued until the day of his death, which was about ſix years after.

Mr George Gilleſpie was one of thoſe four miniſters who were ſent as commiſſioners from the church of Scotland to the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, in the year 1643, where he diſplayed himſelf to be one of great parts and learning, debating with ſuch perſpicuity, ſtrength of argument, and calmneſs of ſpirit, that few could equal, yea, none excel him, in that Aſſembly. As for inſtance, one time, when both the Parliament and the Aſſembly were met together, and a long ſtudied diſcourſe being made in favours of Eraſtianiſm, to which none ſeemed ready to make an anſwer, and Mr Gilleſpie being urged thereunto by his brethren the Scots commiſſioners, repeated the ſubject-matter of the whole diſcourſe, and refuted it, to the admiration of all preſent;—and that which ſurpriſed them moſt was, that though it was uſual for the members to take down notes of what was ſpoken in the Aſſembly for the help of their memory, and that Mr Gilleſpie ſeemed to be that way employed, during the time of that ſpeech unto which he made anſwer; yet thoſe who ſat next him declared, that having looked into his note-book, they found nothing of that ſpeech written, but here and there, "Lord, ſend light,—Lord, give aſſiſtance,—Lord, defend thine own cauſe," &c.

And although the practice of our church gave all our Scots commiſſioners great advantages, (the Engliſh divines having ſo great a difference), that they had the firſt forming of all theſe pieces * which were afterwards compiled and approved

* Such as our Catechiſms, Directory for worſhip, Form of Church government; and when the Confeſſion of Faith was about to be compiled

of by that Aſſembly, yet no one was more uſeful at ſupporting them therein than Mr Gilleſpie, the youngeſt of them. "None (ſays one of his colleagues who was preſent) in all the Aſſembly, did reaſon more pertinently than Mr Gilleſpie: he is an excellent youth; my heart bleſſes God in his behalf." Again, when Acts xvii. 28. was brought for the proof of the power of ordination, and keen diſputing aroſe upon it, "The very learned and accurate Gilleſpie, a ſingular ornament to our church, than whom not one in the Aſſembly ſpoke to better purpoſe, nor with better acceptance of all the hearers, ſhewed that the Greek word, of purpoſe, by the Epiſcopals, tranſlated ordination, was truly chooſing, importing the people ſuffrage in electing their own office-bearers." And elſewhere ſays, "We get good help in our Aſſembly debates of Lord Warriſton, an occaſional commiſſioner, but of none more than that noble youth Mr Gilleſpie. I admire his gifts, and bleſs God, as for all my colleagues, ſo for him in particular, as equal in theſe to the firſt in the Aſſembly." [See Mr Bailie's Letters.]

After his return from the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, he was employed moſtly in the public affairs of the church, until 1648, when he was choſen moderator to the General Aſſembly; in which Aſſembly ſeveral famous acts were made in favour of the covenanted work of reformation, particularly that againſt the unlawful engagement then made againſt England, by the Duke of Hamilton, and thoſe of the malignant faction. In this Aſſembly, he was one of theſe nominated to proſecute the treaty of uniformity in religion with England; but in a ſhort time after this, the ſickneſs ſeized him, whereof he died about the 17th of December following.

Mr Rutherford ſays to him, in a letter when on his death-bed, "Be not heavy, the life of faith is now called for; doing was never reckoned on your accounts, though Chriſt in and by you hath done more than by twenty, yea, an hundred grey haired and godly paſtors. Look to that word, Gal. ii. 20. *Nevertheleſs, I live: yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me,*" &c.

In his lifetime, he was always firmly attached to the work of reformation, and continued ſo to the end of his life. For about two months before his deceaſe, he ſent a paper to the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, wherein he gave faithful warning againſt every ſin and backſliding that he then perceived to be on the growing hand, both in church and ſtate;

filed, they added to our Scots commiſſioners, Dr Gouge, Dr Hoyl, Mr Herle the prolocutor, (Dr Twiſſe being then dead), Mr Gataker, Mr Tuckney, Mr Reynolds, and Mr Reeves, who prepared materials for that purpoſe.

and laſt of all, he emitted the following faithful teſtimony againſt aſſociation and compliance with the enemies of truth and true godlineſs, in theſe words:

"Seeing now, in all appearance, the time of my diſſolution draweth near, although I have, in my latter will, declared my mind of public affairs, yet I have thought good to add this further teſtimony, that I eſteem the malignant party in theſe kingdoms to be the ſeed of the ſerpent, enemies to piety and Preſbyterial government, pretend what they will to the contrary, a generation who have not ſet God before them. With the malignant are to be joined the profane and ſcandalous; from all which, as from hereſy and error, the Lord, I truſt, is about to purge his church. I have often comforted myſelf, and ſtill do, with the hopes of the Lord's purging this polluted land. Surely the Lord hath begun, and will carry on that great work of mercy, and will purge out the rebels. I know there will be always a mixture of hypocrites; but that cannot excuſe the conniving at groſs and ſcandalous ſinners, &c. I recommend to them that fear God, ſeriouſly to conſider, that the holy ſcriptures doth plainly hold forth, 1. That the helping of the enemies of God, joining or mingling with wicked men, is a ſin highly diſpleaſing. 2. That this ſin hath ordinarily entangled ſnared God's people into divers other ſins. 3. That it hath been puniſhed of God with grievous judgements. And, 4. That utter deſtruction is to be feared, when a people, after great mercies and judgements, relapſe into this ſin, Ezra ix. 13. 14.

"Upon theſe and the like grounds, for my own exoneration, that ſo neceſſary a truth want not the teſtimony of a dying witneſs of Chriſt, although the unworthieſt of many thouſands, and that light may be held forth, and warning given, I cannot be ſilent at this time, but ſpeak by my pen when I cannot by my tongue, yea, now alſo by the pen of another when I cannot by my own, ſeriouſly, and in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, exhorting and obteſting all that fear God, and make conſcience of their ways, to be very tender and circumſpect, to watch and pray, that he be not enſnared in that great and dangerous ſin of compliance with malignant or profane enemies of the truth, &c.; which if men will do, and truſt God in his own way, they ſhall not only not repent it, but to the greater joy and peace of God's people, they ſhall ſee his work go on and proſper glorioufly. In witneſs of the premiſes, I have ſubſcribed the ſame, at Kirkaldy, 5th December 1648, before theſe witneſſes," &c. And in about two days after, he gave up the ghoſt, death ſhutting his eyes, that he might then ſee God, and be for ever with him.

Thus died Mr George Gilleſpie, very little paſt the prime of life; a pregnant divine, a man of much boldneſs, and great freedom of expreſſion. He ſignaliſed himſelf on every occaſion where he was called forth to exerciſe any part of his miniſterial function. No man's death, at that time, was more lamented than his; and ſuch was the ſenſe the public had of his merit, that the Committee of Eſtates, by an act dated December 20. 1648, did, "as an acknowledgement for his faithfulneſs in all the public employments intruſted to him by this church, both at home and abroad, his faithful labours, and indefatigable diligence in all the exerciſes of his miniſterial calling, for his Maſter's ſervice, and his learned writings publiſhed to the world, in which rare and profitable employments, both for church and ſtate, he truly ſpent himſelf, and cloſed his days, ordain, That the ſum of one thouſand pounds Sterling be given to his wife and children," &c. And though the parliament did, by their act, dated June 8. 1650, unanimouſly ratify the above act, and recommended to their Committee to make the ſame effectual; yet, the Uſurper preſently over-running the country, this good deſign was fruſtrated, as his grandſon, the Rev. Mr George Gilleſpie miniſter at Strathmiglo, did afterwards declare *.

Beſides the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, already mentioned, he wrote alſo Aaron's Rod Bloſſoming, &c. and his Miſcellaneous Queſtions, firſt printed 1649; all which, with the forecited teſtimony and ſome other papers, ſhew that he was a man of moſt profound parts, learning, and abilities.

Mr JOHN M'CLELLAND.

MR JOHN M'CLELLAND having gone through ſeveral branches of uſeful learning, kept a ſchool for ſome time at Newton in Ireland, where he became inſtrumental in training up ſeveral hopeful youth for the univerſity. Afterwards he was tried and approven of by the honeſt miniſters in the county of Down, and being licenſed, he preached in their churches, until, among others, for faithfulneſs, he was depoſed and excommunicated by the biſhops.

He was alſo engaged with the reſt of his faithful brethren in their intended voyage to New England in 1636; but that enterpriſe proving abortive, by reaſon of a ſtorm, which forced them to return back to Ireland, he preached for ſome

* See Preface to Stevenſon's Hiſtory.

time through the counties of Down, Tyron, and Donnegal, in private meetings, till being purſued by the Biſhop's official, he was obliged to come over in diſguiſe to Scotland, where, about the year 1638, he was admitted miniſter at Kirkcudbright; in which place he continued until the day of his death.

It would appear that he was married to one of Mr Livingſtone's wife's ſiſters, and the ſtricteſt friendſhip ſubſiſted betwixt theſe two worthy men, both while in Ireland, and after their return to Scotland. While he was miniſter at Kirkcudbright, he diſcovered more than ordinary diligence, not only in teſtifying againſt the corruptions of the time, but alſo for his own ſingular walk and converſation, being one who was ſet for the advancement of all the practical parts of religion, and that as well in private duties as in public. For inſtance, when Mr Henry Guthrie, then miniſter at Stirling, but afterwards Biſhop of Dunkeld, thought to have brought in a complaint to the General Aſſembly 1639, againſt private ſociety-meetings, which were then become numerous through the land, yet ſome of the leading members, knowing that Mr Guthrie did it partly out of reſentment againſt the Laird of Leckie, who was a great practiſer and defender of theſe meetings, thought proper, rather than it ſhould come to the Aſſembly, to yield that Mr Guthrie ſhould preach up the duty of religious exerciſe in families, and that Meſſ. M'Clelland, Blair, and Livingſtone, ſhould preach againſt night-meetings (for they were ſo called then becauſe moſtly kept in the night) and other abuſes; but theſe brethren endeavoured by conference to gain ſuch as had offended by exceſs in this matter, but by no means could be prevailed with to preach againſt them; which ſo offended Mr Guthrie, that he gave in a charge or complaint to the General Aſſembly 1640, wherein he alledged theſe three miniſters were the only encouragers of theſe meetings. Mr M'Clelland roundly took him up, and craved that a committee might be appointed to try theſe diſorders, and to cenſure the offenders, whether thoſe complained of or the complainers; which ſo nettled Mr Guthrie, the Earl of Seaforth, and others of their fraternity, that nothing was heard in the Aſſembly for ſome time for confuſion and noiſe ſtirred up by them.

Mr M'Clelland was alſo one who was endued with the ſpirit of diſcerning what ſhould afterwards come to paſs, as is evident from ſome of his prophetical expreſſions, particularly that letter which he wrote to John Lord of Kirkcudbright, dated February 20. 1649, a little before his death, an abſtract of which may not be improper, and is as follows:

"M

" My Noble Lord,

" I have received yours, and do acknowledge my obligation to your Lordſhip is redoubled. I long much to hear what deciſion followed on that debate concerning patronages *. Upon the moſt exact trial, they will be found a great plague to the kirk, an obſtruction to the propagation of religion. I have reaſon to hope that ſuch a wiſe and well-conſtitute parliament will be loath to lay ſuch a yoke upon the churches, of ſo little advantage to any man, and ſo prejudicial to the work of God, as hath been many times repreſented. Certainly the removing it were the ſtopping the way of ſimony, except we will apprehend that whole preſbyteries will be bribed for patronage. I can ſay no more but what Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſees. It was not ſo from the beginning, the primitive church knew nothing of it.

" But as for their pernicious diſpoſition to a rupture among ſectaries, I can ſay nothing to them; only this, I conclude their judgement ſleeps not: *Shall they eſcape, ſhall they break the covenant, and be delivered?* &c. Ezek. xvii. 16. &c.; which

I

* Although patronage be a yoke upon the neck of the church, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, contrary to Acts i. 13. &c. vi. 6. xiv. 23. 2 Cor. viii. 19. the practice of the primitive church, reaſon, and the natural rights of mankind; yet in the beginning of our reformation from Popery, it was ſomewhat more tolerable (not to ſay neceſſary) than now, when there were few miniſters, the people but juſt emerging out of groſs darkneſs, and our noblemen and gentlemen then being generally not only pious religious men, but alſo promoters of our reformation, (the quite contrary of which is the caſe at preſent); and yet our wiſe reformers, while in an advancing ſtate, made ſeveral acts, both in church and ſtate, as barriers againſt this increaſing evil, and never reſted until, by an act of parliament 1649, they got it utterly aboliſhed. Soon after the Reſtoration, this act, among others, was declared null, and patronage in its full force reſtored; which continued till the Revolution, when its form was changed, by taking that power from patrons, and lodging it in the hands of ſuch heritors and elders as were qualified by law. But as if this had not been enough, to denude the people of that right purchaſed to them by the blood of Chriſt, patronage was, in its extent, by act of parliament 1712, reſtored, and is now univerſally practiſed, with as bad circumſtances as ever. And yet it is to be feared after all, that there are many now a-days more irritated and chagrined at this evil, becauſe it more ſenſibly croſſes their own inclination, than becauſe it is an uſurpation upon the church of Chriſt, elſe they would give a more ample teſtimony againſt the other branches of thoſe incroachments made upon Chriſt's crown and royal dignity. Thoſe who would ſee more of the evil conſequences of patronage and popular elections vindicated, may conſult *Rectius inſtituendum*; Park upon Patronage; the Suffrages of the People; the Full Vindication of the People's Right, &c. a Plea for the Church of Scotland againſt Patronage; the Candid Inquiry; and, An Attempt to prove every ſpecies of Patronage foreign to the nature of the Church, &c.

I dare apply to England, I hope, without wreſting of ſcripture, *And therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, As I live, ſurely mine oath that he hath deſpiſed, and my covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompenſe on his own head*, &c. This covenant was made with Nebuchadnezzar, the matter was civil, but the tie was religious; wherefore the Lord owns it as his covenant, becauſe God's name was invoked and interponed in it; and he calls England to witneſs. England's covenant was not made with Scotland only, but with the high and mighty God, principally for the reformation of his houſe, and it was received in the moſt ſolemn manner that I have heard; ſo that they may call it God's covenant both formally and materially; and the Lord did ſecond the making of it with more than ordinary ſucceſs to that nation. Now, it is manifeſtly deſpiſed and broken in the ſight of all nations; therefore it remains that the Lord avenge the quarrel of his covenant *. England hath had to do with the Scots, French, Danes, Picts, Normans, and Romans, but they never had ſuch a party to deal with as the Lord of armies, pleading for the violation of his covenant, &c. Engliſhmen ſhall be made ſpectacles to all nations for a broken covenant, when the living God ſwears, *As I live, even the covenant that he hath deſpiſed, and the oath that he hath broken, will I recompenſe upon his own head.* There is no place left for doubting. *Hath the Lord ſaid it*, hath the Lord ſworn it? *and will he not do it?* His aſſertion is a ground for faith, his oath a ground of full aſſurance of faith, if all England were as one man united in judgement and affection, and if it had a wall round about it reaching to the ſun, and if it had as many armies as it has men, and every ſoldier had the ſtrength of Goliah, and if their navies could cover the ocean, and if there were none to peep

* And may we not tremble and be afraid of the ſame judgements? for how applicable is this to our caſe in Scotland at preſent, wherein theſe our national vows and covenants are not only ſlighted and neglected, yea, flouted at by many in this profane generation, but even ſome having a more ſeeming zeal for religion, ſtand not to argue and ſay, "That although theſe covenants were binding on our forefathers who made and took them, yet they can be no way obligatory on us, who were never perſonally engaged therein." But let ſuch for certainty know, that as theſe ſolemn vows have their foundation in ſcripture, Numb. xxx. 2. Deut. v. 3. Joſh. xxiv. 25. Pſal. lxxvi. 11. Iſa. xix. 18. Jer. l. 5. Gal. iii. 15. the duties engaged to therein being purely theological and moral, they muſt have reſpect unto all circumſtances and periods of time; and beſides, their form being *formalis ratio*, i. e. formal reaſon, and the action ſolemn, the majeſty of Heaven being both a party and witneſs therein, the obligation muſt be perpetual, which no mortal on earth can lawfully diſpenſe with, and ſo ſhall bind and oblige all Scotſmen, under penalty of breach of God's covenant, while ſun and moon endure.

peep out or move the tongue againſt them, yet I dare not doubt of their deſtruction, when the Lord hath ſworn by his life, that he will avenge the breach of covenant. When, and by whom, and in what manner he will do it, I do profeſs ignorance, and leave it to his glorious Majeſty, his own latitude, and will commit it to him, &c.

"My Lord, I live and will die, and if I be called home before that time, I am in the aſſured hopes of the ruin of all God's enemies in the land; ſo I commit your Lordſhip and your Lady to the grace of God.

JOHN M'CLELLAND."

A very little after he wrote this letter, in one of his ſermons he expreſſed himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe, thus: "The judgements of England ſhall be ſo great, that a man ſhall ride fifty miles through the beſt plenifhed parts of England, before they hear a cock crow, a dog bark, or ſee a man's face." Alſo he further aſſerted, "That if he had the beſt land of all England, he would make ſale of it for two ſhillings the acre, and think he had come to a good market *." And although this may not have had its full accompliſhment as yet, yet there is ground to believe that it will be fulfilled, for the Lord will not alter the word that is gone out of his mouth.

Mr M'Clelland continued near twelve years at Kirkcudbright. About the year 1650, he was called home to his Father's houſe, to the full fruition of that which he had before ſeen in viſion.

He was a man moſt ſtrict and zealous in his life, and knew not what it was to be afraid of any man in the cauſe of God, being one who was moſt nearly acquainted with him, and knew much of his Maſter's will. Surely the Lord doth nothing but what he revealeth to his ſervants the prophets.

A little before his death he made the following epitaph on himſelf.

Come, ſtingleſs death, have o'er, lo! here's my paſs,
In blood character'd, by his hand who was,
And is, and ſhall be. Jordan, cut thy ſtream,
Make channels dry, I bear my Father's name,
Stampt on my brow. I am raviſh'd with my crown.
I ſhine ſo bright, down with all glory, down,
That world can give. I ſee the peerleſs port,

The

* See the forementioned letter and note in a pamphlet intitled, Some Predictions or Propheeies of our Scots Worthies, &c. from p. 20. &c.

The golden ſtreet, the bleſſed ſoul's reſort,
The tree of life, floods guſhing from the throne,
Call me to joys. Begone, ſhort woes, begone,
I lived to die, but now I die to live,
I do enjoy more than I did believe:
The promiſe me unto poſſeſſion ſends,
Faith in fruition, hope in having, ends.

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD.

MR DAVID CALDERWOOD, having ſpent ſome time at the grammar-ſchool, went to the univerſity to ſtudy theology, in order for the miniſtry, where, after a ſhort ſpace, being found fit for that office, he was made miniſter at Crailing, near Jedburgh; where, for ſome conſiderable time, he preached the word of God with great wiſdom, zeal, and diligence, and as a faithful wiſe harveſt-man, brought in many ſheaves into God's granary. But it being then a time when Prelacy was upon the advance in the church, and faithful miniſters every where thruſt out and ſuppreſſed, he among the reſt, gave in his declinature in 1608, and thereupon took inſtruments in the hands of James Johnſton, notar public, in preſence of ſome of the magiſtrates and council of the town; whereupon information being ſent to the King by the biſhops, a direction was ſent down from him to the Council, to puniſh him, and another miniſter who declined, exemplarily; but by the earneſt dealing of the Earl of Lothian with the Chancellor in favour of Mr Calderwood, their puniſhment reſolved only in a confinement within their own pariſh, &c.

Here he continued until June 1617, that he was ſummoned to appear before the High Commiſſion Court at St Andrew's upon the 8th of July following. Being called upon, the King being preſent, and his libel read and anſwered, the King among other things, ſaid, "What moved you to proteſt?" "An article concluded among the Lords of the articles," Mr David anſwered. "But what fault was there in it," ſaid the King. "It cutteth off our General Aſſemblies," anſwered Mr Calderwood. The King, having the proteſtation * in his hand, challenged him for ſome words of the laſt clauſe thereof. He anſwered, "Whatſoever was the phraſe of ſpeech they meant no other thing but to proteſt, that they would

* This proteſtation had been given in a little before this, to a meeting of miniſters in the little kirk of Edinburgh. See Calderwood's Hiſtory, p. 675.

give paſſive obedience to his Majeſty, but could not give active obedience unto any unlawful thing which ſhould flow from that article." "Active and paſſive obedience!" ſaid the King.—"That is, we will rather ſuffer than practiſe," ſaid Mr David. "I will tell thee," ſaid the King, "what is obedience, man.—What the centurion ſaid to his ſervant, *To this man, Go, and he goeth, and to that man, Come, and he cometh*, that is obedience."—He anſwered, "To ſuffer, Sir, is alſo obedience, howbeit not of the ſame kind; and that obedience was not abſolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a ſuperior power." "I am informed," ſaid the King, "ye are a refractor; the Biſhop of Glaſgow your ordinary, and Biſhop of Caithneſs the moderator, and your preſbytery, teſtify ye have kept no order, ye have repaired to neither preſbytery nor ſynod, and are no way conform." He anſwered, "I have been confined theſe eight or nine years, ſo my conformity or non-conformity in that point could not well be known." "Gude faith, thou art a very knave," ſaid the King; "ſee theſe ſame falſe Puritans, they are ever playing with equivocations."—The King aſked, if he was releaſed, if he would obey or not?—He anſwered, "I am wronged, in that I am forced to anſwer ſuch queſtions, which are beſides the libel," &c.; after which he was removed.

When called in again, it was intimated to him, that if he did not repair to ſynods and preſbyteries between this and October, conform in that time, and promiſe obedience in all time coming, the Biſhop of Glaſgow was to deprive him. Then Mr David begged leave to ſpeak to the biſhops; which being granted, he reaſoned thus: "Neither can ye ſuſpend or deprive me, in this Court of High Commiſſion, for ye have no power in this court but by commiſſion from his Majeſty; his Majeſty cannot communicate that power to you, which he claims not to himſelf." At which the King wagged his head, and ſaid to him, "Are there not biſhops and fathers in the kirk, &c. perſons clothed with power and authority to ſuſpend and depoſe?"—"Not in this court," anſwered Mr Calderwood. At which words there aroſe a confuſed noiſe, ſo that he was obliged to extend his voice, that he might be heard. In the end the King aſked him, if he would obey the ſentence? To which he anſwered, "Your ſentence is not the ſentence of the kirk, but a ſentence null in itſelf, and therefore I cannot obey it." At which ſome, reviling, called him proud knave. Others were not aſhamed to ſhake his ſhoulders in a moſt inſolent manner, till at laſt he was removed a ſecond time.

Being again called in, the ſentence of deprivation was pronounced, and he ordained to be committed to cloſe ward in the

tolbooth of St Andrew's till afterwards, that farther orders were taken for his baniſhment; after which he was upbraided by the Biſhop, who ſaid, that he deſerved to be uſed as Ogilvy the Jeſuit, who was hanged. When he would have anſwered, the biſhops would not allow him, and the King, in a rage, cried, Away with him:—And Lord Scoone taking him by the arm, led him out, where they ſtaid ſome time waiting for the bailiffs of the town. In the mean time Mr Calderwood ſaid to Scoone, "My Lord, this is not the firſt like turn that hath fallen into your hands."—I muſt ſerve the King, ſaid Scoone. And to ſome miniſters then ſtanding by, he ſaid, "Brethren, ye have Chriſt's cauſe in hand at this meeting, be not terrified with this ſpectacle, prove faithful ſervants to your Maſter." Scoone took him to his houſe till the keys of the tolbooth were had. By the way one demanded, "Whither with the man, my Lord?" "Firſt to the tolbooth, and then to the gallows," ſaid Scoone.

He was committed cloſe priſoner, and the ſame afternoon a charge was given to tranſport him to the jail of Edinburgh. After the charge, he was delivered to two of the guard to be tranſported thither, although ſeverals offered to bail him, that he might not go out of the country. But no order of Council could be had for that end, for the King had a deſign to keep him in cloſe ward till a ſhip was ready to convey him firſt to London, and then to Virginia: but Providence had ordered otherwiſe; for, upon ſeveral petitions in his behalf, he was liberate out of priſon, upon Lord Cranſton being bail that he ſhould depart out of the country.

After this, Mr Calderwood went with Lord Cranſton to the King at Carliſle, where the ſaid Lord preſented a petition to him, that Mr David might only be confined to his pariſh; but the King inveighed againſt him ſo much, that at laſt he repulſed Cranſton with his elbow. He inſiſted again for a prorogation of time for his departure till the laſt of April, becauſe of the winter-ſeaſon, that he might have leiſure to get up his year's ſtipend.—The King anſwered, Howbeit he begged, were no matter, he would know himſelf better the next time; and for the ſeaſon of the year, if he drowned in the ſeas, he might thank God that he had eſcaped a worſe death. Yet Cranſton being ſo importunate for the prorogation, the King anſwered, I will adviſe with my biſhops. Thus the time was delayed until the year 1619, that he wrote a book, called Perth Aſſembly, which was condemned by the Council in December that ſame year;—but, as he himſelf ſays, (Hiſtory p. 732.), neither the book nor the author could be found, for in Auguſt preceding he had embarked for Holland.

During his abode there, one Patrick Scot, a landed gent

man near Falkland, having wasted his patrimony, had no other means to recover his estate, but by some unlawful measure at Court; and for that end, in 1624, he set forth a recantation, under the name of a banished minister, viz. Mr David Calderwood, who, because of his long sickness before, was supposed by many to have been dead. The King, as he had alledged to some of his friends, furnished him with the matter, and he set it down in form. This project failing, he went over to Holland, and sought Mr Calderwood in several towns, particularly in Amsterdam, in November, in order to dispatch him, as afterwards appeared. After he had staid twenty days in Amsterdam, making all the search he could, he was informed that Mr Calderwood had returned home privately to his native country; which frustrated his intention.—After the death of King James, he put out a pamphlet full of this, intitled *Vox vera*; and yet, notwithstanding of all his wicked and unlawful pursuits, he died soon after, so poor, that he had not wherewith to defray the charges of his funeral.

Mr Calderwood, being now returned home, after the death of King James, remained as private as possible; and was mostly at Edinburgh, where he strengthened the hands of nonconformists, being also a great opposer of sectarianism; until after 1638, that he was admitted minister at Pancaitland, in East Lothian.

He contributed very much to the covenanted work carried on in that period; for first he had an active hand in drawing up some excellent papers, wherein were contained the records of church-policy betwixt 1576 and 1596, which were presented and read by Mr Johnston, the clerk, at the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638; as also, by recommendation of the General Assembly 1646, he was required to consider the order of the visitation of kirks, and trials of presbyteries, and to make report thereof unto the next General Assembly; and likewise at the General Assembly 1648, a further recommendation was given him, to draw a draught of the form of visitation of particular congregations, against the next Assembly; and was also one of those appointed, with Mr David Dickson, to draw up the form of the Directory for the public worship of God, by the General Assembly 1643 *.

After he had both spent and been spent, with the apostle,

* Mr Calderwood gave in a protest against the Assembly 1649, for rejecting the Directory for election of ministers; which protest was not given in in favours of patronage, as the author of the Modest Inquiry would insinuate; for Mr Calderwood, in his *Altare Damascenum*, hath affirmed once and again, in the strongest terms, the people's right to choose their own pastor.

for the cauſe and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, when the Engliſh army lay at Lothian in 1651, he went to Jedburgh, where he ſickened, and died in a good old age. He was another valiant champion for the truth, who, in pleading for the crown and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt, knew not what it was to be daunted by the face and frowns of the higheſt and moſt incenſed adverſaries.

Before he went to Holland, he wrote the book intitled, Perth Aſſembly. While in Holland, he wrote that learned book called *Altare Damaſcenum*, with ſome other pieces in Engliſh, which contributed ſomewhat to keep many ſtraight in that declining period. After his return, he wrote the hiſtory of our church as far down as the year 1625, of which the printed copy that we have is only a ſhort abſtract of that large written hiſtory, which, both as to the ſtyle and the manner wherein it is executed, is far preferable to the printed copy; and whoever compares the two, or the laſt, with his *Altare Damaſcenum*, both of which are yet in the hands of ſome, will readily grant the truth of this aſſertion; and yet all this derogates nothing from the truth of the facts reported in the printed copy; and therefore no offence need be taken at the information, that there is a more full and better copy than is yet printed. See the note on the 78th page of Mr Livingſtone's Life and Memorable Characteriſtics, &c.

MR HUGH BINNING.

HE was ſon to John Binning of Dalvennan, and Margaret M'Kell, daughter of Mr Matthew M'Kell miniſter at Bothwell, and ſiſter to Mr Hugh M'Kell, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh. His father's worldly circumſtances were ſo good, being poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable eſtate in the ſhire of Ayr, that he was enabled to give his ſon Hugh a very liberal education, the good effects of which appeared very early upon him;—for the greatneſs of his ſpirit and capacity of judgement gave his parents good grounds to conceive the pleaſing hopes of his being a promiſing child.

When he was at the grammar-ſchool, he made ſo great proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and the Roman authors, that he outſtripped his fellow-ſcholars, even ſuch as were by ſome years older than himſelf. When they went to their diverſions, he declined their ſociety, and choſe to employ himſelf either in ſecret duty with God, or conference with religious people, thinking time was too precious

be laviſhed away in theſe things. He began to have ſweet familiarity with God, and to live in near communion with him, before others began ſeriouſly to lay to heart their loſt and undone ſtate and condition by nature, &c.; ſo that before he arrived at the 13th or 14th year of his age, he had even attained to ſuch experience in the ways of God, that the moſt judicious and exerciſed Chriſtians in the place confeſſed they were much edified, ſtrengthened, and comforted by him, nay, that he provoked them to diligence in the duties of religion, being abundantly ſenſible that they were much outrun by ſuch a youth.

Before he was fourteen years of age, he entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy in the univerſity of Glaſgow, wherein he made a very conſiderable progreſs, by which means he came to be taken notice of in the college by the profeſſors and ſtudents, and at the ſame time he advanced remarkably in religion alſo. The abſtruſe depths of philoſophy, which are the torture of a ſlow genius and a weak capacity, he dived into without any pain or trouble; ſo that, by his ready apprehenſion of things, he was able to do more in one hour than others could do in many days by hard ſtudy and cloſe application; and yet he was ever humble, and never exalted with ſelf-conceit, the common foible of young men.

As ſoon as his courſe of philoſophy was finiſhed, he commenced Maſter of Arts with great applauſe. He began the ſtudy of divinity with a view to ſerve God in the holy miniſtry, at which time there happened to be a vacancy in the college of Glaſgow, by the reſignation of Mr James Dalrymple * of Stair, who had ſometime been his maſter. And though Mr Binning was but lately his ſcholar, yet he was determined, after much intreaty, to ſtand as a candidate for that poſt.

According to the uſual laudable cuſtom, the maſters of the college emitted a program, and ſent it to all the univerſities of the kingdom, inviting ſuch as had a mind for the profeſſion of philoſophy, to ſiſt themſelves before them, and offer themſelves to compete for that preferment; giving aſſurance, that without partiality the place ſhould be conferred upon him who ſhould be found *dignior et doctior*.

The miniſters of the city of Glaſgow, conſidering how much

* This gentleman entered advocate in 1648, and was by the Protector made one of the Judges of the Seſſion in 1657, and became Preſident in 1681. In 1682, he had to retire to Holland: in 1689, he was reſtored to his office; and in 1690, was created a Viſcount. He wrote the Inſtitutions of the Law of Scotland, and alſo publiſhed a ſyſtem of phyſic greatly valued at that time, with a book intitled, A Vindication of the Divine Attributes, in which there is diſcovered great force of argument and ſound knowledge.

much it was the intereſt of the church that well-qualified perſons be put into the profeſſion of philoſophy, &c. and knowing that Mr Binning was eminently pious, and of a bright genius, as well as ſolid judgement, ſet upon him to ſift himſelf among the other competitors; but they had difficulty to overcome his modeſty. They at laſt prevailed upon him to declare his willingneſs to undertake the diſpute before the maſters. Among others, there were other two candidates, one of whom had the advantage of great intereſt with Dr Strange, Principal of the college at that time, and the other a ſcholar of great abilities; yet Mr Binning ſo managed the diſpute, and acquitted himſelf in all parts of his trial, that, to the conviction of the judges, he darkened his rivals. But the Doctor, and ſome of the faculty who joined him, though they could not pretend the perſon they inclined to prefer had an equality, much leſs a ſuperiority, in the diſpute, yet they argued, *cæteris paribus*, that this perſon they intended was a citizen's ſon, of a competency of learning, and a perſon of more years, and by that means had greater experience than what Mr Binning, who was in a manner but of yeſterday, could be ſuppoſed to have. But to this it was replied, That Mr Binning was ſuch a pregnant ſcholar, ſo wiſe and ſedate, as to be above all the follies and vanities of youth; and what was wanting in years was made up ſufficiently by his more than ordinary and ſingular endowments. Whereupon a member of the faculty, perceiving the ſtruggle to be great, (as indeed there were plauſible reaſons on both ſides), propoſed a diſpute between the two candidates *extempore*, upon any ſubject they ſhould be pleaſed to preſcribe. This being conſidered, ſoon put a period to the diviſion amongſt them, and thoſe who had oppoſed him, not being willing to engage their friend with ſuch an able antagoniſt a ſecond time, Mr Binning was elected.

Mr Binning was not quite nineteen years of age when he commenced regent and profeſſor of philoſophy; and though he had not time to prepare a ſyſtem of any part of his profeſſion, as he had inſtantly to begin his claſs, yet ſuch was the quickneſs and fertility of his invention, the tenaciouſneſs of his memory, and the ſolidity of his judgement, that his dictates to the ſcholars had a depth of learning, and perſpecuity of expreſſion, and was among the firſt in Scotland that began to reform philoſophy from the barbarous terms and unintelligible jargon of the ſchoolmen.

He continued in this profeſſion three years, and diſcharged his truſt ſo as to gain the general applauſe of the univerſity for academical exerciſes: And this was the more remarkable that having turned his thoughts towards the miniſtry, he car-

ried on his theological ſtudies at the ſame time, and made great improvements therein; for his memory was ſo retentive, that he ſcarcely forgot any thing he had heard or read. It was eaſy and ordinary for him to tranſcribe any ſermon, after he returned to his chamber, at ſuch a length, that the intelligent and judicious reader, who had heard it preached, would not find one ſentence wanting.

During this period, he gave full proof of his progreſs and knowledge in divinity, by a compoſition from 2 Cor. v. 14. *For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us*, &c. Which performance he ſent to a gentlewoman who had been ſome time at Edinburgh, for her private edification; who having peruſed the ſame, judged it to have been a ſermon of ſome eminent miniſter in the weſt of Scotland, and put it into the hands of the then Provoſt of Edinburgh, who judged of it in the ſame manner. But when ſhe returned to Glaſgow, ſhe found her miſtake, by Mr Binning's aſking it at her. This was the firſt diſcovery he had given of his dexterity and abilities in explaining the ſcripture.

At the expiration of three years as a profeſſor of philoſophy, the pariſh of Govan, which lies adjacent to the city of Glaſgow, happened to be vacant, and before this, whoever was Principal of the college of Glaſgow, was alſo miniſter there; but this being attended with inconveniences, an alteration was made; and the preſbytery having a view to ſupply that vacancy with Mr Binning, they took him upon trials, in order to be licenſed a preacher;—and preaching there to the great ſatisfaction of that people, he was ſome time after called to be miniſter of that pariſh; which call the preſbytery approved of, and entered him upon trials for ordination about the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and he went through them to the unanimous approbation of the preſbytery, giving their teſtimony of his fitneſs to be one of the miniſters of the city upon the firſt vacancy, having a view at the ſame time to bring him back to the univerſity, whenever the profeſſion of divinity ſhould be vacant.

He was, conſidering his age, a prodigy of learning. For before he had arrived at the 26th year of his life, he had ſuch a large ſtock of uſeful knowledge, as to be *philologus, philoſophus, et theologus eximius*, and might well have been an ornament to the moſt famous and flouriſhing univerſity in Europe. This was the more ſurpriſing, conſidering his weakneſs and infirmity of body, as not being able to read much at a time, or to undergo the fatigue of continual ſtudy; inſomuch that his knowledge ſeemed rather to have been born with him, than to have been acquired by hard and laborious ſtudy.

Though

Though he was bookiſh, and much intent upon the fulfilling his miniſtry, yet he turned his thoughts to marriage, and did eſpouſe a virtuous and excellent perſon, Mrs Barbara Simpſon, daughter to Mr James Simpſon, a miniſter in Ireland. Upon the day he was to be married, he went, accompanied with his friend and ſome others, among whom were ſeveral worthy miniſters, unto an adjacent country-congregation, upon the day of their weekly ſermon. The miniſter of the pariſh delayed ſermon till they would come, hoping to put the work upon one of the miniſters whom he expected to be there; but all declining it, he tried next to prevail on the bridegroom, with whom he ſucceeded, though the invitation was not expected. It was no difficult taſk to him to preach upon a ſhort warning; he ſtepped aſide a little to premeditate, and implore his Maſter's preſence and aſſiſtance, (for he was ever afraid to be alone in this work), and entered the pulpit immediately, and preached upon 1 Pet. i. 15. *But as he that hath called you is holy*, &c. At which time he was ſo remarkably helped, that all acknowledged that God was with him of a truth, &c.

When the unhappy differences betwixt the reſolutioners and proteſters fell out, among whom Mr Binning was of the laſt denomination, this diſtinction proved to be of fatal conſequence. He ſaw ſome of the evils of it in his own time, and being of a catholic and healing ſpirit, with a view to the cementing of differences, he wrote an excellent treatiſe of Chriſtian love, which contains very ſtrong and pathetic paſſages, moſt appoſite to this ſubject. He was no fomenter of factions, but ſtudious of the public tranquillity. He was a man of moderate principles, and temperate paſſions, never impoſing or overbearing upon others, but willingly hearkened to advice, and always yielded to reaſon.

The prevailing of the Engliſh ſectarians under Oliver Cromwell *, to the overthrow of the Pryſbyterian intereſt in England, and the various attempts which they made in Scotland on the conſtitution and diſcipline of this church, was one of the greateſt difficulties, which the miniſters had then to ſtruggle with. Upon this he hath many excellent reflection

* It is ſaid that the Preſbyterians and Independents being on a certain time to diſpute before Cromwell, while he was in Scotland, in about Glaſgow, whereat Mr Binning being preſent, ſo managed the points controverted, that he not only nonpluſſed Cromwell's miniſters but even put them to ſhame, which, after the diſpute, made Oliver aſk the name of that learned and bold young man; and being told his name was Mr Hugh Binning, he ſaid, He hath bound well indeed; but clapping his hand on his ſword, ſaid, This will looſe all again.

in his ſermons, particularly in that ſermon from Deut. xxxii. 4. 5. See his Works, p. 502. 557. &c.

After he had laboured four years in the miniſtry, ſerving God with his ſpirit in the goſpel of his Son, he died in 1653, of a conſumption, when he was ſcarce come to the prime and vigour of his life, being only in the 26th year of his age; leaving behind him a ſweet ſavour, and an epiſtle of commendation, upon the hearts of thoſe who were his hearers.

He was a perſon of ſingular piety, of a humble, meek, and peaceable temper, a judicious and lively preacher; nay, ſo extraordinary a perſon, that he was juſtly accounted a prodigy of human learning and knowledge of divinity. From his childhood he knew the ſcriptures; and from a boy had been much under deep and ſpiritual exerciſe, until the time, or a little before, that he entered upon the office of the miniſtry, when he came to a great calm and tranquillity of mind, being mercifully relieved from all theſe doubtings, which for a long time he had been exerciſed with; and though he ſtudied in his diſcourſes to condeſcend to the capacity of the meaner ſort of hearers, yet it muſt be owned, that his gift of preaching was not ſo much accommodated to a country-congregation, as it was to the judicious and learned. Mr Binning's method was peculiar to himſelf, much after the haranguing way. He was no ſtranger to the rules of art; and knew well how to make his matter ſubſervient to the ſubject he handled. His diction and language were eaſy and fluent, void of all affectation and bombaſt; and has a kind of undeſigned negligent elegance, which arreſts the reader's attention. Conſidering the time he lived in, it might be ſaid, that he carried the orator's prize from his contemporaries in Scotland; and was not at that time inferior to the beſt pulpit-orator in England. While he lived, he was highly eſteemed, having been a ſucceſsful inſtrument of ſaving himſelf, and them that heard him; of turning ſinners unto righteouſneſs, and of perfecting the ſaints. He died much lamented by all good people who had the opportunity of knowing him. That great divine, Mr James Durham, gave him this verdict, "That there was no ſpeaking after Mr Binning;" and truly he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to ſpeak a word in ſeaſon.

Beſides his Works, which are bound up in one quarto volume, and that wrote upon occaſion of the public reſolutioners, which has been already mentioned, ſome other little pieces of his have been publiſhed ſince. There is alſo a book in quarto ſaid to be his, intitled, An uſeful Caſe of Conſcience, learnedly and acutely diſcuſſed and reſolved, concerning aſſociations and confederacies with idolaters, heretics, malignants,

&c. first printed in 1693, which was like to have had some influence at that time upon King William's soldiers while in Flanders, which made him suppress it, and raise a prosecution against Mr James Kid, for publishing the same at Utrecht, in the Netherlands.

MR ANDREW GRAY.

MR ANDREW GRAY, by the calculation of his age, and the date of his entry into the ministry, seems to have been born about 1634; and being very early sent to school, where he learned so fast, that in a short time he was sent to the university; and there, by the vivacity of his parts and ready genius, he made such proficiency, both in scholastic learning and divinity, that before he was twenty years of age, he was found accomplished for entering into the holy office of the ministry.

From his very infancy he had studied to be acquainted with the scriptures; and, like another young Samson, the Spirit of God began very early to move him, there being such a delightful gravity in his young conversation, that what Gregory Nazianzen once said of the great Bazil, might be applied to him,—"That he held forth learning beyond his age, and fixedness of manners beyond his learning."

This earthly vessel being thus filled with heavenly treasure, he was quickly licensed to preach, and got a call to be minister of the outer kirk of the high church of Glasgow, though he was scarce twenty years of age complete, far below the age appointed by the constitution of this church, unless in case extraordinary.

No sooner was this young servant of Christ entered into his Master's vineyard, than the people from all quarters flocked to attend his sermons, it being their constant emulation who should be most under the refreshing drops of his ministry; insomuch, that as he and his learned colleague, Mr Durham, were one time walking together, Mr Durham, observing the multitude thronging into that church where Mr Gray was to preach, and only a few going into the church where he was to preach, said to him, "Brother, I perceive you are to have a throng church to-day."—To which he answered, "Truly brother, they are fools to leave you and come to me."—Mr Durham replied, "Not so, dear brother, for none can receive such honour and success in his ministry, except it be

given

given him from Heaven. I rejoice that Chriſt is preached, and that his kingdom and intereſt is getting ground; for I am content to be any thing, or nothing, that Chriſt may be all and all."

And indeed Mr Gray had a notable and ſingular gift in preaching, being one experienced in the moſt myſterious points of a Chriſtian practice and profeſſion; and in handling of all his ſubjects, free of youthful vanity, or affectation of human literature, though he had a moſt ſcholaſtic genius, and more than ordinary abilities; that he did outſtrip many that entered into the Lord's vineyard before him, his experience being very warm and rapturous, and well adapted to affect the hearts of his hearers; yea, he had ſuch a faculty, and was ſo helped to preſs home God's threatenings upon the conſciences of his hearers, that his contemporary, the aforeſaid Mr Durham, obſerved, that many times he cauſed the very hairs of their heads to ſtand up.

Among his other excellencies in preaching, which were many, this was none of the leaſt, that he could ſo order his ſubject as to make it reliſh every palate. He could ſo dreſs a plain diſcourſe as to delight a learned audience, and at the ſame time preach with a learned plainneſs, having ſo learned to conceal his art. He had ſuch a clear notion of high myſteries, as to make them ſtoop to the meaneſt capacity. He had ſo learned Chriſt, and being a man of a moſt zealous temper, the great bent of his ſpirit, and that which he did ſpend himſelf anent, was to make people know their dangerous ſtate by nature, and to perſuade them to believe, and lay hold of the great ſalvation.

All which ſingularities ſeem to have been his peculiar mercy from the Lord, to make him a burning and ſhining light in the weſtern climate, for about the ſpace of two years* only, the Spirit of the Lord as it were ſtirring up a lamp unto a ſudden blaze, that was not to continue long in his church. On which a late prefacer of ſome of his ſermons has very pertinently obſerved,—"Yea, how awakening, convincing, and reproving, may the example of this very young miniſter be to many miniſters of the goſpel, who have been many years in the vineyard, but fall far ſhort of his labours and progreſs! God thinks fit now and then to raiſe up a child to reprove the ſloth and negligence of many thouſands of advanced years;

* According to the date of his exhortations at Kirkliſton, June 12. 1653, and his letter to Lord Warriſton, when on his deathbed, affixed to his ſelect ſermons, dated Feb. 7. 1656, it ſhould appear, if both be authentic, that he was at leaſt two years and a half in the miniſtry.

and ſhews, that he can perfect his own praiſe out of the mouths of babes," &c.

His ſermons are now in print, and well known in the world. His works do praiſe him in the gates; and though they are free from the metaphyſical ſpeculations of the ſchools, yet it muſt be granted that the excellencies of the ancient fathers and ſchoolmen do all concenter in them: For his doctrine carries light, his reproofs are weighty, and his exhortations powerful: and though they are not in ſuch an accurate or grammatical ſtyle as ſome may expect, yet that may be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider, (1.) The great alteration and embelliſhment in the ſtyle of the Engliſh language ſince his time; and, (2.) There can be no ground to doubt but they muſt be far inferior unto what they were when delivered by the author, who neither corrected, nor, as appears, intended that they ſhould ever be publiſhed; and yet all this is ſufficiently made up otherwiſe; for what is wanting in ſymmetry of parts, or equality of ſtyle, is made up in the pleaſure of variety, like the grateful odours of various flowers, or the pleaſant harmony of different ſounds; for ſo is truth in its own native dreſs.

It hath been often ſaid, that Mr Gray many times longed for the twenty-ſecond year of his age, wherein he expected to reſt from his labours by a perpetual jubilee, to enjoy his bleſſed Lord and Maſter. However, it is certain, that in his ſermons we often find him longing for his majority, that he might enter into the poſſeſſion of his heavenly Father's inheritance, prepared for him before the foundations of the world were laid.

He eſcaped death very narrowly, when going to Dundee, in company with Mr Robert Fleming, ſometime miniſter at Cambuſlang; which remarkable ſea-deliverance was matter of his thankfulneſs to God all his life after.

There is one thing that may be deſiderated by the inquiſitious, i. e. what Mr Gray's ſentiments were concerning the public reſolutions, ſeeing he entered the miniſtry about the third year after theſe reſolutions took place. Whatever his contentions in public were, it is creditably reported, that he debated in private againſt theſe defections with his learned colleague Mr Durham; who afterwards, on his deathbed, aſked, What he thought of theſe things?—He anſwered, That he was of the ſame mind with what he formerly heard;—and did much regret that he had been ſo ſparing in public againſt theſe woeful reſolutions, ſpeaking ſo pathetically of their ſinfulneſs, and the calamities they would procure, that Mr Durham, contrary to his former practice, durſt never after ſpeak in defence of them.

But the time now approaching that the Lord was about to accompliſh the deſire of his ſervant, he fell ſick, and was caſt into a high fever for ſeveral days. He was much toſſed with ſore trouble, without any intermiſſion, and all the time continued in a moſt ſedate frame of mind.

It is a loſs that his laſt dying words were neither wrote nor remembered; only we may gueſs what his ſpiritual exerciſes were, from that ſhort but excellent letter ſent from him, a little before his death, to Lord Warriſton, bearing date February 7. 1656; wherein he ſhows, that he not only had a moſt clear diſcovery of the toleration then granted by Cromwell, and the evils that would come upon theſe lands for all theſe things, but alſo was moſt ſenſible of his own caſe and condition, as appears from the concluſion of that letter, where he accoſts his Lordſhip thus: "Now, not to trouble your Lordſhip, whom I highly reverence, and my ſoul was knit to you in the Lord, but that you will beſpeak my caſe to the great Maſter of requeſts, and lay my broken ſtate before him who hath pled the deſperate caſe of many, according to the ſweet word in Lam. iii. 5. 6. *Thou haſt heard my voice, hide not thine ear*, &c. This is all at this time from one in a very weak condition, in a great fever, who, for much of ſeven nights, hath ſleeped little at all, with many other ſad particulars and circumſtances."

Thus, in a ſhort time, according to his deſire, it was granted to him, by death, to paſs unto the Author of life, his ſoul taking its flight into the arms of his bleſſed Saviour, whom he had ſerved faithfully in his day and generation, being about twenty-two years old. He ſhone too conſpicuous to continue long, and burned ſo intenſely, that he behoved ſoon to be extinguiſhed; but now ſhines in the kingdom of his Father, in a more conſpicuous refulgent manner, even as the brightneſs of the firmament, and the ſtars for ever and ever.

He was in his day a moſt ſingular and pious youth; and though he died young, yet was old in grace, having lived long, and done much for God in a little time, being one, both in public and private life, who poſſeſſed in a high degree every domeſtic and ſocial virtue that could adorn the character of a moſt powerful and pathetic preacher, a loving huſband *, an affable friend, ever cheerful and agreeable in converſation, always ready to exert himſelf for the relief of all who aſked or ſtood in the need of aſſiſtance; which uncommon talents not only endeared him to his brethren the clergy,

* It appears that Mr Gray was ſome ſhort time married to that worthy young gentlewoman, who afterwards was married to Mr George Hutcheſon, ſometime miniſter of the goſpel at Irvine.

gy, but alſo to many others from the one extremity of the land to the other, that heard or knew any thing of him, who conſidered and highly eſteemed him as one of the moſt able advocates for the propagation and advancement of Chriſt's kingdom.

His well-known ſermons are printed in ſeveral ſmall pieces. Thoſe called his Works are bound in one volume octavo. To the eleven ſermons printed ſome time ago, are lately publiſhed a large collection, to the number of fifty-one, intitled his Select Sermons; whereof only three, for connection ſake, and his letter to Lord Warriſton, are inſerted, which were before publiſhed in his Works. So that by this time, moſt, if not all, of the ſermons are now in print that ever were preached by him.

MR JAMES DURHAM

MR JAMES DURHAM was born about the year 1622, and lineally deſcended from the ancient and honourable family of Grange-Durham, in the pariſh of Monufeith, in the ſhire of Angus. He was the eldeſt ſon of John Durham of Eaſter Powrie, Eſq. now called Wedderburn, after the gentleman's name who is the preſent poſſeſſor thereof.

Having gone through all the parts of uſeful learning with ſucceſs and applauſe, he left the univerſity before he was graduate, and for ſome time lived as a private gentleman at his own dwelling-houſe in the country, without any thought, then, of farther proſecuting his ſtudies, eſpecially for the miniſtry; and though he was always blameleſs and moral in his life, both in the univerſity and when he left it, yet he was much a ſtranger to religion in the ſerious exerciſe and power of it; and, through prejudice of education, did not ſtand well affected to the Preſbyterian government. He firſt married a daughter of the Laird of Duntervie; his wife and her mother were both very pious women.

His converſion to the Lord was very remarkable. For, going with his lady to viſit her mother in the pariſh of Abercorn, ſome miles weſt from Edinburgh,—it happened, that at this time the ſacrament was to be adminiſtered in that pariſh; upon Saturday his mother-in-law earneſtly preſſed them to go with them to church and hear ſermon: at firſt he ſhewed much unwillingneſs; but, partly by their perſuaſion, and partly by his complaiſant diſpoſition, he went along with them. The miniſter that preached that day was extremely affectionate and ſerious in his delivery; and though the ſer-

mon was a plain familiar diſcourſe, yet his ſerioufneſs fixed Mr Durham's attention very cloſely, and he was much affected therewith. But the change was reſerved till the morrow. When he came home, he ſaid to his mother-in-law, the miniſter hath preached very ſeriouſly this day, I ſhall not need to be preſſed to go to church to-morrow. Accordingly on Sabbath morning, riſing early, he went to church, where Mr Melvill preached, from 2 Pet. ii. 7. *To you that believe he is precious*, &c. where he ſo ſweetly and ſeriouſly opened up the preciouſneſs of Chriſt, and the Spirit of God wrought ſo effectually upon his ſpirit, that in hearing of this ſermon, he firſt cloſed with Chriſt, and then went to the Lord's table, and took the ſeal of God's covenant. After this he ordinarily called Mr Melvill father, when he ſpoke of him.

Afterwards he made ſerious religion his buſineſs, both in ſecret and in his family, and in all places and companies where he came, and did cordially embrace the intereſt of Chriſt and his church, as then eſtabliſhed, and gave himſelf much up to reading: for which reaſon, that he might be free of all diſturbance, &c. he cauſed build a ſtudy for himſelf; in which little chamber, he gave himſelf to prayer, reading, and meditation; and was ſo cloſe a ſtudent there, that he often forgot to eat his bread, being ſometimes ſo intent upon his ſtudies, that ſervants who were ſent to call him down, often returned without anſwer; yea, his lady frequently called on him with tears, before he would come. Such ſweet communion he had with the Lord ſometimes in that place.

He made great proficiency in his ſtudies, and not only became an experimental Chriſtian, but alſo a very learned man. One evidence of which he gave in a ſhort diſpute with one of the then miniſters of Dundee, while he was in that town: He met, in a houſe where he was occaſionally, with the parſon of the pariſh, (for ſo the miniſters were then called), who knew not Mr Durham. After ſome diſcourſe, he fell upon the Popiſh controverſy with him, and ſo put him to ſilence, that he could not anſwer a word, but went ſneakingly out of the room from Mr Durham to the provoſt, craving his aſſiſtance to apprehend Mr Durham as a Jeſuit, aſſuring the provoſt, that if ever there was a Jeſuit in Rome, he was one; and that if he were ſuffered to remain in the town or country, he might pervert many from the faith. Upon which the provoſt, going along with him to the houſe where the pretended Jeſuit was, and entering the room, he immediately knew Mr Durham, and ſaluted him as Laird of Eaſter Powrie, craving his pardon for their miſtake; and, turning to the parſon, aſked where the perſon was he called the Jeſuit?—Mr Durham ſmiled, and

the

the parſon, aſhamed, aſked pardon of them both; and w rebuked by the provoſt, who ſaid, Fy, fy! that any country gentleman ſhould be able to put our parſon thus to ſilence.

His call and coming forth to the miniſtry was ſomewhat re markable; for in the time when the civil wars broke forth ſeveral gentlemen being in arms for the cauſe of religion, a mong whom he was choſen and called to be a captain; i which ſtation he behaved himſelf like another Cornelius, be ing a devout man, and one that feared God with all his houſe and prayed to God always with his company, &c. Whe the Scots army were about to engage with the Engliſh, h judged meet to call his company to prayer before the engage ment; and as he began to pray, Mr David Dickſon, the profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow, coming paſt the army, ſee ing the ſoldiers addreſſing themſelves in prayer, and hearin the voice of one praying, drew near, alighted from his horſe and joined with them; and was ſo much taken with Mr Dur ham's prayer, that he called for the captain, and having con verſed with him a little, he ſolemnly charged him, that a ſoon as this piece of ſervice was over, he ſhould devote himſe to ſerve God in the holy miniſtry; for to that he judged th Lord called him. But though, as yet, Mr Durham had n clearneſs to hearken to Mr Dickſon's advice, yet two remar able providences falling out juſt upon the back of this ſolem charge, ſerved very much to clear his way to comply wi Mr Dickſon's deſire:—The firſt was, in the engagement h horſe was ſhot under him, and he was mercifully preſerved the ſecond was, in the heat of the battle, an Engliſh ſoldi was on the point of ſtriking him down with his ſword; bu apprehending him to be a miniſter by his grave carriage, blac cloth and band, as was then in faſhion with gentlemen, h aſked him, if he was a prieſt? To which Mr Durham replie I am one of God's prieſts;—and he ſpared his life. M Durham, upon reflecting how wonderfully the Lord ha ſpared him, and preſerved his life, and that his ſaying he w a prieſt had been the mean thereof, reſolved therefore, as teſtimony of his grateful and thankful ſenſe of the Lord goodneſs to him, henceforth to devote himſelf to the ſervi of God in the holy miniſtry, if the Lord ſhould ſee meet qualify him for the ſame.

Accordingly, in purſuance of this reſolution, he quick went to Glaſgow, and ſtudied divinity under Mr David Dick ſon, then profeſſor there; and made ſuch proficiency there that in a ſhort time, being called thereto, he humbly offer himſelf to trials in 1646, and ſo was licenſed by the preſbyte of Irvine to preach the goſpel; and next year, upon Mr Dic

ſo

on's recommendation, the ſeſſion of Glaſgow appointed Mr Ramſay one of their miniſters, to intreat Mr Durham to come and preach in Glaſgow. Accordingly he came, and preached two Sabbath-days and one week-day. The ſeſſion being fully ſatisfied with his doctrine, and the gifts beſtowed on him by the Lord for ſerving him in the holy miniſtry, did unanimouſly call him to the miniſtry of the Blackfriars church, then vacant; in conſequence of which, he was ordained miniſter there in November 1647.

He applied himſelf to the work of the miniſtry with great diligence; ſo that his profiting did quickly appear to all; but conſidering that no man that warreth entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life, he obtained leave of his people to return to his own country for a little time, to ſettle his worldly affairs there; yet he was not idle here, but preached every Sabbath. He firſt preached at Dundee, before a great multitude, from Rom. i. 16. *I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt*, and ſhewed that it was no diſparagement for the greateſt to be a goſpel-miniſter; and a ſecond time he preached at Perling, in his own country, upon 2 Cor. v. 18. *He hath given us the miniſtry of reconciliation*, &c.; and a third time at Monyfeith, at the deſire of the miniſter there, from 2 Cor. v. 20. *We then are ambaſſadors for Chriſt*, &c. In both places, he indeed acted like an ambaſſador for Chriſt, and managed the goſpel-treaty of peace to good purpoſe. The next Sabbath he deſigned to have preached at Montroſe; but receiving an expreſs to return to Glaſgow in haſte, his wife being dangerouſly ſick, he came away, leaving his affairs to the care of his friends, and returned to Glaſgow, where, in a few days, his wife, who had been the deſire of his eyes, died. His Chriſtian ſubmiſſion under this afflicting diſpenſation was moſt remarkable. After a ſhort ſilence, he ſaid to ſome about him, "Now, who could perſuade me that this diſpenſation of God's providence was good for me, if the Lord had not ſaid it was ſo?" He was afterwards married to Margaret Muir, relict of Mr Zechariah Boyd, miniſter of the Barony church of Glaſgow.

In 1650, Mr Dickſon, profeſſor of divinity in the College of Glaſgow, being called to be profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Edinburgh, the commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly authoriſed for viſiting the univerſity of Glaſgow, unanimouſly deſigned and called Mr Durham to ſucceed Mr Dickſon profeſſor there. But before he was admitted to that charge, the General Aſſembly of this church, being perſuaded of his eminent piety and ſtedfaſtneſs, prudence and moderation, &c. did, after mature deliberation, that ſame year, pitch upon

 him,

him, though then but about twenty-eight years of age, as among the ableſt and beſt accompliſhed miniſters then in the church, to attend the King's family as chaplain. In which ſtation, though the times were moſt difficult, as abounding with ſnares and temptations, he did ſo wiſely and faithfully acquit himſelf, that there was a conviction left upon the conſciences of all who obſerved him. Yea, during his ſtay at Court, and whenever he went about the duty of his place, they did all carry gravely, and did forbear all lightneſs and profanity, none allowing themſelves to do any thing offenſive before him. So that while he ſerved the Lord in the holy miniſtry, and particularly in that poſt and character of the King's chaplain, his ambition was to have God's favour, rather than the favour of great men, and ſtudied more to profit and edify their ſouls, than to tickle their fancies, as ſome court-paraſites in their ſermons do: One inſtance whereof was, that being called to preach before the parliament, where many rulers were preſent, he preached from John iii. 10. *Art thou a maſter in Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things?* when he moſtly inſiſted, that it was a moſt unaccountable thing for rulers and nobles in Iſrael, &c. to be ignorant of the great and neceſſary things of regeneration, and being born again of the Spirit; and did moſt ſeriouſly preſs all from the King to the beggar, to ſeek and know experimentally theſe things. A good pattern for all miniſters who are called to preach on the like occaſion. He continued with the King till he went to England, and then returned.

Towards the end of January 1651, the common ſeſſion of Glaſgow appointed Mr Patrick Gilleſpie to write a letter to Mr Durham, concerning Mr Robert Ramſay's being profeſſor of divinity, in place of the ſaid Mr James Durham, in the univerſity of Glaſgow. In conſequence of which, Mr Durham came to Glaſgow; for he is mentioned preſent in the ſeſſion in the beginning of April after. At the ſame time, Cromwell and his army were in Glaſgow, and on the Lord's day, Cromwell heard Mr Durham preach, where he teſtified againſt his invaſion to his face. Next day he ſent for Mr Durham, and told him, he always thought he had been a wiſer man than to meddle with matters of public concern in his ſermons.—To which he anſwered, it was not his practice, but that he judged it both wiſdom and prudence to ſpeak his mind on that head, ſeeing he had the opportunity to do it in his preſence.—Cromwell diſmiſſed him very civilly, but deſired him to forbear inſiſting on that ſubject in public; and at the ſame time ſundry miniſters, both in town and country, met with Cromwell and his officers, and repreſented, in ſtrong terms, the injuſtice of his invaſion.

It would appear, that Mr Durham, ſome time after this, had withdrawn from Glaſgow, and therefore a letter was, in Auguſt after, ordered to be ſent to him, to come and viſit them, and preach; and in September after, there being a vacancy in the inner kirk by the death of Mr Ramſay, the common ſeſſion gave an unanimous call, with which the town-council agreed, to Mr Durham to be miniſter there. And ſome time after this, he was received miniſter in the inner kirk, Mr John Carſtairs, his brother-in-law, being his colleague in that church.

In the whole of his miniſtry he was a burning and ſhining light, and particularly he ſhined in humility and ſelf-denial. An inſtance of which was, upon a day when Mr Andrew Gray and he were to preach, being walking together, Mr Durham obſerving multitudes thronging to Mr Gray's church, and only a few into his, ſaid to Mr Gray, "Brother, you are like to have a throng church to-day." To which Mr Gray anſwered, "Truly, brother, they are fools to leave you and come to me."—"Not ſo, dear brother," replied Mr Durham, "for a miniſter can receive no ſuch honour and ſucceſs in his miniſtry, except it be given him from Heaven. I rejoice that Chriſt is preached, though my eſteem in people's hearts ſhould decreaſe and be diminiſhed; for I am content to be any thing, ſo that Chriſt be all and all."

He was alſo a perſon of the utmoſt gravity, and ſcarce ſmiled at any thing. Once, when Mr William Guthrie, being exceeding merry, made Mr Durham ſmile with his pleaſant, facetious, and harmleſs converſation; at which Mr Durham was at firſt a little diſguſted, but it being the laudable cuſtom of that family to pray after dinner, which Mr Guthrie did, upon being deſired, with the greateſt meaſure of ſeriouſneſs and fervency, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent; when they roſe from prayer, Mr Durham embraced him, and ſaid, "O William, you are a happy man, if I had been ſo merry as you have been, I could not have been in ſuch a ſerious frame for prayer for the ſpace of forty-eight hours."

As Mr Durham was devout in all parts of his miniſterial work, ſo more eminently at communion-occaſions. Then he endeavoured, through grace, to rouſe and work up himſelf to ſuch a divineneſs of frame, as very much ſuited the ſpiritual ſtate and majeſty of that ordinance. Yea, at ſome of theſe ſolemn and ſweet occaſions, he ſpoke ſome way as a man that had been in heaven, commending Jeſus Chriſt, making a glorious diſplay of free grace, &c. and brought the offers thereof ſo low, that they were made to think the rope or cord of their ſalvation offered, was let down to ſinners, that thoſe of the

loweſt ſtature might catch hold of it. He gave himſelf much up to meditation, and uſually ſaid little to perſons that came to propoſe their caſes to him, but heard them patiently, and was ſure to handle their caſe in his ſermons.

His healing diſpoſition, and great moderation of ſpirit, remarkably appeared when this church was grievouſly divided betwixt the reſolutioners and proteſters; and as he would never give his judgement on either ſide, ſo he uſed to ſay, That diviſion was far worſe than either of the ſides. He was equally reſpected by both parties; for at a meeting of the ſynod in Glaſgow, when thoſe of the different ſides met ſeparately, each of them made choice of Mr Durham for their moderator; but he refuſed to join either of them, till they would both unite together; which they accordingly did. At this meeting he gave in ſome overtures for peace *, the ſubſtance of which was, that they ſhould eſchew all public awakening, or lengthening out the debate, by preaching or ſpreading of papers on either ſide, and that they ſhould forbear practiſing, executing, or preſſing of acts made in the laſt Aſſembly at St Andrew's and Dundee, and alſo preſſing or ſpreading appeals, declinatures, &c. againſt the ſame, and that no church-officer ſhould be excepted on account of theſe things, they being found otherwiſe qualified, &c.

So weighty was the miniſterial charge upon his ſpirit, that if he were to live ten years longer, he would chooſe to live nine years in ſtudy, for preaching the tenth; and it was thought his cloſe ſtudy and thoughtfulneſs caſt him into that decay whereof he died. In the time of his ſickneſs, the better part being afraid that the magiſtrates, and ſome of the miniſtry who were for the public reſolutions, would put in one of that ſtamp after his death, moved Mr Carſtairs, his colleague, in a viſit, to deſire him to name his ſucceſſor; which, after ſome demur, enjoining ſecrecy till it was nearer his death, he at laſt named Mr David Veitch, then miniſter of Govan; but afterwards, when dying, to the magiſtrates, miniſters, and ſome of the people, he named other three, to take any of them that pleaſed.—This alteration made Mr Carſtairs inquire the reaſon, after the reſt were gone; to whom Mr Durham replied, "O brother, Mr Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be tranſported to any church on earth; he will be there almoſt as ſoon as I."—Which proved ſo, for Mr Durham died the Friday after; and next Sabbath Mr Veitch preached; and though knowing nothing of this, told the people in the afternoon, it would be his laſt ſermon to them; and the ſame night taking bed, he died next Friday morning about three o'clock

* See theſe overtures at large in the account of his life, prefixed to his Commentary on the Revelation.

the time that Mr Durham died, as Dr Ratray, who was witneſs to both, did declare.—When on his deathbed, he was under conſiderable darkneſs about his ſtate, and ſaid to Mr John Carſtairs's brother, "For all that I have preached or written, there is but one ſcripture I can remember or dare grip unto; tell me if I dare lay the weight of my ſalvation upon it: *Whoſoever cometh unto me, I will in no wiſe caſt out.*" Mr Carſtairs anſwered, "You may depend upon it, though you had a thouſand ſalvations at hazard." When he was drawing towards his departure, in a great conflict and agony, finding ſome difficulty in his paſſage, yet he ſenſibly, through the ſtrength of God's grace, triumphantly overcame; he cried, in a rapture of holy joy, ſome little time before he committed his ſoul to God, "Is not the Lord good? Is he not infinitely good? See how he ſmiles! I do ſay it, and I do proclaim it." He died on Friday the 25th of June 1658, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age.

Thus died the eminently pious, learned, and judicious Mr James Durham, whoſe labours did always aim at the advancement of practical religion, and whoſe praiſe in the goſpel is throughout all the churches both at home and abroad. He was a burning and a ſhining light, a ſtar of the firſt magnitude, and of whom it may be ſaid, without derogating from the merit of any, that he attained unto the firſt three, and had a name among the mighty. He was alſo one of great integrity and authority in the country where he lived; inſomuch, that when any difference fell out, he was always choſen by both parties as their great referee or judge, unto whoſe ſentence all parties ſubmitted. Such was the quality of his calm and healing ſpirit.

His colleague Mr John Carſtairs, in his funeral ſermon, from Iſ. lvii. 1. 2. *The righteous man periſheth, and no one layeth it to heart*, &c. gives him this character:—"Know ye not that there is a prince among paſtors fallen to-day! a faithful and wiſe ſteward, that knew well how to give God's children their food in due ſeaſon, a gentle and kind nurſe, a faithful admoniſher, reprover, &c. a ſkilful counſellor in all ſtraits and difficulties; in dark matters, he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, a burning and ſhining light in the dark world, an interpreter of the word out among a thouſand; to him men gave ear, and after his words no man ſpake again."

His learned and pious works, wherein all the excellencies of the primitive and ancient fathers ſeem to concenter, are a Commentary on the Revelations; ſeventy-two Sermons on the fifty-third chapter of the Prophecy of Iſaiah; an Expoſition of the Ten Commandments; an Expoſition of the Song of Solomon; his Sermons on Death; on the Unſearchable Riches

Riches of Chriſt; his Communion Sermons; Sermons on Godlineſs and Self-denial; a Sermon on a Good Conſcience. There are alſo a great many of his Sermons in manuſcript, never yet publiſhed, viz. three Sermons upon Reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt from Acts vii. 51.; eight on Quenching the Spirit; five upon giving the Spirit; thirteen upon Truſting and Delighting in God; two againſt Immoderate Anxiety; eight upon the One Thing Needful; with a Diſcourſe upon Prayer; and ſeveral other Sermons and Diſcourſes, from Eph. v. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 24. Luke i. 6. Gal. v. 16. Pſalm cxix. 67. 1 Theſſ. v. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 14. Matth. viii. 7. There is alſo a Treatiſe on Scandal, and an Expoſition, by way of Lecture upon Job, ſaid to be his; but whether theſe, either as to ſtyle or ſtrain, cohere with the other Works of the laborious Mr Durham, muſt be left to the impartial and unbiaſſed reader.

MR SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

MR SAMUEL RUTHERFORD, a gentleman by extraction, having ſpent ſome time at the grammar-ſchool, went to the univerſity of Edinburgh, where he was ſo much admired for his pregnancy of parts, and deſervedly looked upon as one from whom ſome great things might be expected, that in a ſhort time, though then but very young, he was made profeſſor of philoſophy in that univerſity.

Some time after this, he was called to be miniſter at Anwoth, in Galloway, unto which charge he entered by means of the then Viſcount of Kenmuir, without any acknowledgement or engagement to the biſhops. There he laboured with great diligence and ſucceſs, both night and day, riſing uſually by three o'clock in the morning, ſpending the whole time in reading, praying, writing, catechiſing, viſiting, and other duties belonging to the miniſterial profeſſion and employment.

Here he wrote his *Exercitationes de Gratia*, &c. for which he was ſummoned, as early as June 1630, before the High Commiſſion Court; but the weather was ſo tempeſtuous as to obſtruct the paſſage of the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's hither, and Mr Colvill, one of the judges, having befriended him, the diet was deſerted. About the ſame time his firſt wife died, after a ſore ſickneſs of thirteen months; and he himſelf being ſo ill of a tertian fever for thirteen weeks, that then he could not preach on the Sabbath-day, without great difficulty.

Again

Again, in April 1634, he was threatened with another profecution at the inſtance of the Biſhop of Galloway, before the High Commiſſion Court; and neither were theſe threatnings all the reaſons Mr Rutherford had to lay his account with ſuffering; and as the Lord would not hide from his faithful ſervant Abraham the things he was about to do, neither would he conceal from this ſon of Abraham what his purpoſes were concerning him; for, in a letter to the provoſt's wife of Kirkcudbright, dated April 20. 1633, he ſays, "That upon the 17th and 18th of Auguſt, he got a full anſwer of his Lord to be a graced miniſter, and a choſen arrow hid in his quiver." [See his Letters, part iii.]—Accordingly the thing he looked for came upon him; for he was again ſummoned before the High Commiſſion Court for his non-conformity, his preaching againſt the five articles of Perth, and the forementioned book of *Exercitationes Apologeticæ pro Divina Gratia*, which book they alledged did reflect upon the church of Scotland; but the truth was, ſays a late hiſtorian *, The argument of that book did cut the ſinews of Arminianiſm, and galled the Epiſcopal clergy to the very quick; and ſo Biſhop Sydreſert could endure him no longer. When he came before the Commiſſion Court, he altogether declined them as a lawful judicatory, and would not give the chancellor (being a clergyman) and the biſhops their titles, by lording of them; yet ſome had the courage to befriend him, particularly the Lord Lorn, afterwards the famous Marquis of Argyle, who did as much for him as was within his power to do; but the Biſhop of Galloway, threatening that if he got not his will of him, he would write to the King, it was carried againſt him; and upon the 27th of July 1636, he was diſcharged to exerciſe any part of his miniſtry within the kingdom of Scotland, under pain of rebellion; and ordered within ſix months to confine himſelf within the city of Aberdeen, &c. during the King's pleaſure; which ſentence he obeyed, and forthwith went toward the place of his confinement.

From Aberdeen he wrote many of his famous letters, from which it is evident that the conſolation of the Holy Spirit did greatly abound with him in his ſufferings; yea, in one of theſe letters, he expreſſes it in the ſtrongeſt terms, when he ſays, "I never knew before, that his love was in ſuch a meaſure. If he leave me, he leaves me in pain, and ſick of love, and yet my ſickneſs is my life and health. I have a fire within me, I defy all the devils in hell, and all the prelates in Scotland, to caſt water on it." Here he remained upwards of a

* See Stevenſon's Hiſtory, vol. I. p. 149. Rowe's Hiſtory, p. 295.

a year and a half, by which time he made the doctors of Aberdeen know, that the Puritans, as they called them, were clergymen as well as they. But upon notice that the Privy Council had received in a declinature againſt the High Commiſſion Court in the year 1638, he adventured to return back again to his flock at Anwoth, where he again took great pains, both in public and private, amongſt that people, who from all quarters reſorted to his miniſtry; ſo that the whole countryſide might account themſelves as his particular flock; and it being then in the dawning of the reformation, found no ſmall benefit by the goſpel, that part of the ancient prophecy being farther accompliſhed, *For in the wilderneſs ſhall waters break out, and ſtreams in the deſert*, Iſa. xxxv. 6.

He was before that Venerable Aſſembly held at Glaſgow in 1638, and gave an account of all theſe his former proceedings, with reſpect to his confinement, and the cauſes thereof. By them he was appointed to be profeſſor of divinity at St Andrew's, and colleague in the miniſtry with the worthy Mr Blair, who was tranſlated hither about the ſame time. And here God did again ſo ſecond this his eminent and faithful ſervant, that by his indefatigable pains, both in teaching in the ſchools, and preaching in the congregation (St Andrew's), the ſeat of the Archbiſhop, and by that means the nurſery of all ſuperſtition, error, and profaneneſs, ſoon became forthwith a Lebanon, out of which were taken cedars, for building the houſe of the Lord, almoſt through the whole land, many of whom he guided to heaven before himſelf, who received the ſpiritual life by his miniſtry, and many others did walk in that light after him.

And as he was mighty in the public parts of religion, ſo he was a great practiſer and encourager of the private duties thereof. Thus, in the year 1640, when a charge was foiſted in before the General Aſſembly, at the inſtance of Mr Henry Guthrie miniſter at Stirling, afterwards Biſhop of Dunkeld, againſt private ſociety meetings, which were then abounding in the land, on which enſued much reaſoning, the one ſide yielding that a paper before drawn up by Mr Henderſon ſhould be agreed unto, concerning the order to be kept in theſe meetings, &c.; but Guthrie and his adherents oppoſing this, Mr Rutherford, who was never much diſpoſed to ſpeak in judicatories, threw in this ſyllogiſm, "What the ſcriptures do warrant, no aſſembly may diſcharge; but private meetings for religious exerciſes, the ſcriptures do warrant, Mal. v. 16. *Then they that feared the Lord ſpake often one to another*, &c. James v. 16. *Confeſs your faults one to another, and pray one for another*, &c. Theſe things could not be done in public meetings, &c.

&c. And although, the Earl of Seaforth there preſent, and thoſe of Guthrie's faction, upbraided this good man for this, yet it had influence upon the majority of the members; ſo that all the oppoſite party got done, was an act anent the ordering of family-worſhip.

He was alſo one of the Scots commiſſioners appointed in 1643, to the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, and was very much beloved there for his unparalleled faithfulneſs and zeal in going about his Maſter's buſineſs. It was during this time that he publiſhed *Lex Rex*, and ſeveral other learned pieces, againſt the Eraſtians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other ſectaries, that began to prevail and increaſe at that time; and none ever had the courage to take up the gauntlet of defiance thrown down by this champion *.

When the principal buſineſs of this Aſſembly was pretty well ſettled, Mr Rutherford, on October 24. 1647, moved, that it might be recorded in the ſcribe's book, that the Aſſembly had enjoyed the aſſiſtance of the commiſſioners of the church of Scotland, all the time they had been debating and perfecting theſe four things mentioned in the ſolemn league, viz. their compoſing a Directory for Worſhip, an uniform Confeſſion of Faith, a Form of Church Government and Diſcipline, and the Public Catechiſm, which was done in about a week after he and the reſt returned home.

Upon the death of the learned Dematius, in 1651, the magiſtrates of Utrecht in Holland, being abundantly ſatisfied as to the learning, piety, and true zeal of the great Mr Rutherford, invited him to the divinity-chair there; but he could not be perſuaded. His reaſons elſewhere, when diſſuading another gentleman from going abroad, ſeemed to be expreſſed in theſe words: "Let me intreat you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land. I ſee it, and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger; but though I have been tempted to the like, I had rather be in Scotland beſide angry Jeſus Chriſt, knowing he mindeth no evil to us, than in any Eden or garden on the earth †." From which it is evident, that he choſe rather to ſuffer affliction in his own native country, than to leave his charge and flock in time of danger. He continued with them till the day of his death, in the free and faithful diſcharge of his duty.

When the unhappy difference fell out between thoſe called

* It is reported, that when King Charles ſaw *Lex Rex*, he ſaid, It would ſcarcely ever get an anſwer; nor did it ever get any, except that the parliament in 1661 gave it, when they cauſed it to be burnt at the croſs of Edinburgh, by the hands of the hangman.

† See his letter to Col. Gib Ker, part II. letter 59.

the proteſtors and the public reſolutioners, in 1650 and 1651, he eſpouſed the proteſtors quarrel, and gave faithful warning againſt theſe public reſolutions; and likewiſe, during the time of Cromwell's uſurpation, he contended againſt all the prevailing ſectaries that then uſhered in with the ſectaries by virtue of his toleration *. And ſuch was his unwearied aſſiduity and diligence, that he ſeemed to pray conſtantly, to preach conſtantly, to catechiſe conſtantly, and to viſit the ſick, exhorting them from houſe to houſe, to teach as much in the ſchools, and ſpend as much time with the ſtudents and young men in fitting them for the miniſtry, as if he had been ſequeſtrate from all the world beſides; and yet withal to write as much as if he had been conſtantly ſhut up in his ſtudy.

But no ſooner did the reſtoration of Charles II. take place, than the face of affairs began to change; and after his forementioned book *Lex Rex* was burnt at the croſs of Edinburgh, and at the gates of the New College of St Andrew's, where he was profeſſor of divinity, the parliament, in 1661, were to have an indictment laid before them againſt him; and ſuch was their humanity, when every body knew he was a-dying, that they cauſed ſummon him to appear before them at Edinburgh, to anſwer to a charge of high treaſon †: But he had a higher tribunal to appear before, where his Judge was his friend: he was dead before that time came, being taken away from the evil to come.

When on his death-bed, he lamented much that he was with-held from bearing witneſs to the work of reformation ſince the year 1638; and upon the 28th of February, he gave a large and faithful teſtimony ‡ againſt the ſinful courſe

* Betwixt this toleration and that of the Duke of York, there was this difference: in this, all ſects and religions were tolerated, except Popery and Prelacy; but in that of York theſe two were only tolerated; and all others, except thoſe who profeſſed true Preſbyterian covenanted principles. And as for Queen Anne's toleration, it was nothing elſe than a reduplication upon this, to reſtore their beloved idol Prelacy again.

† It is commonly ſaid, that when the ſummons came, he ſpoke out of his bed, and ſaid, Tell them I have got a ſummons already before a ſuperior judge and judicatory, and I behove to anſwer my firſt ſummons; and ere your day come I will be where few kings and great folks come. When they returned, and told he was a-dying, the parliament put to a vote, Whether or not to let him die in the college. It carried, Put him out, only a few diſſenting. My Lord Burleigh ſaid, Ye have voted that honeſt man out of the college, but ye cannot vote him out of heaven. Some ſaid, he would never win there; hell was too good for him. Burleigh ſaid, I wiſh I were as ſure of heaven as he is, I would think myſelf happy to get a grip of his ſleeve to hawl me in. *See Walker's Rem.* p. 171.

‡ See this teſtimony and ſome of his laſt words publiſhed in 1718.

of that time; which teſtimony he ſubſcribed twelve days before his death, being full of joy and peace in believing.

During the time of his laſt ſickneſs, he uttered many ſavoury ſpeeches, and often broke out in a kind of ſacred rapture, exalting and commending the Lord Jeſus, eſpecially when his end drew near. He often called his bleſſed Maſter his kingly King. Some days before his death, he ſaid, "I ſhall ſhine, I ſhall ſee him as he is, I ſhall ſee him reign, and all his fair company with him; and I ſhall have my large ſhare. Mine eyes ſhall ſee my Redeemer, theſe very eyes of mine, and none other for me. This may ſeem a wide word; but it is no fancy or deluſion: it is true. Let my Lord's name be exalted; and, if he will, let my name be grinded to pieces, that he may be all in all. If he ſhould ſlay me ten thouſand times, I will truſt." He often repeated Jer. xv. 16. *Thy words were found, and I did eat them*, &c.

When exhorting one to diligence, he ſaid, "It is no eaſy thing to be a Chriſtian. For me I have got the victory, and Chriſt is holding out both his arms to embrace me." At another time, to ſome friends preſent, he ſaid, "At the beginning of my ſufferings I had mine own fears, like other ſinful men, leſt I ſhould faint, and not be carried creditably through, and I laid this before the Lord; and as ſure as ever he ſpoke to me in his word, as ſure as his Spirit witneſſeth to, my heart, he hath accepted my ſufferings. He ſaid to me Fear not, the outgate ſhall not be ſimply matter of prayer, but matter of praiſe. I ſaid to the Lord, if he ſhould ſlay me five thouſand times five thouſand, I would truſt in him; and I ſpeak it with much trembling, fearing I ſhould not make my part good; but as really as ever he ſpoke to me by his Spirit, he witneſſed to my heart, that his grace ſhould he ſufficient." The Thurſday night before his death, being much grieved with the ſtate of the public, he had this expreſſion, "Horror hath taken hold on me." And afterwards, falling on his own condition, he ſaid, "I renounce all that ever he made me will and do, as defiled and imperfect, as coming from me; I betake myſelf to Chriſt for ſanctification, as well as juſtification: Repeating theſe words, *He is made of God to me wiſdom, righteouſneſs*, &c.; adding, I cloſe with it, let him be ſo; he is my all in all.

March 17. three gentlewomen came to ſee him; and after exhorting them to read the word, and be much in prayer, and much in communion with God, he ſaid, "My honourable Maſter and lovely Lord, my great royal King, hath not a match in heaven nor in earth. I have my own guilt, even like other ſinful men; but he hath pardoned, loved, waſhed,

and given me joy unſpeakable and full of glory. I repent not that ever I owned his cauſe. Theſe whom ye call proteſtors are the witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt. I hope never to depart from that cauſe, nor ſide with thoſe that have burnt the Cauſes of God's Wrath. They have broken their covenant oftener than once or twice; but I believe *the Lord will build Zion, and repair the waſte places of Jacob.* Oh! to obtain mercy, to wreſtle with God for their ſalvation. As for this preſbytery, it hath ſtood in oppoſition to me theſe years paſt. I have my record in heaven, I had no particular end in view; but was ſeeking the honour of God, the thriving of the goſpel in this place, and the good of the New College, that ſociety which I have left upon the Lord. What perſonal wrongs they have done me, and what grief they have occaſioned to me, I heartily forgive them; and deſire mercy to wreſtle with God for mercy to them, and for the ſalvation of them all.

The ſame day Meſſ. James M'Gill, John Wardlaw, William Vilant, and Alexander Wedderburne, all members of the ſame preſbytery with him, coming to viſit him, he made them welcome, and ſaid, "My Lord and Maſter is the chief of ten thouſand, none is comparable to him in heaven or earth. Dear brethren, do all for him; pray for Chriſt, preach for Chriſt, feed the flock committed to your charge for Chriſt, do all for Chriſt; beware of men-pleaſing, there is too much oft amongſt us. The New College hath broken my heart; I can ſay nothing of it; I have left it upon the Lord of the houſe; and it hath been, and ſtill is, my deſire, that he may dwell in this ſociety; and that the youth may be fed with ſound knowledge." After this he ſaid, "Dear brethren, it may ſeem preſumptuous in me, a particular man, to ſend a commiſſion to a preſbytery;"—and Mr M'Gill replying, "It was no preſumption," he continued,—"Dear brethren, take a commiſſion from me, a dying man, to them to appear for God and his cauſe, and adhere to the doctrine of the covenant, and have a care of the flock committed to their charge. Let them feed the flock out of love; preach for God, viſit and catechiſe for God; and do all for God; beware of men-pleaſing; the chief ſhepherd will appear ſhortly, &c. I have been a ſinful man, and have had mine own failings; but my Lord hath pardoned me, and accepted my labours. I adhere to the cauſe and covenant, and reſolve never to depart from the proteſtation * againſt the controverted Aſſemblies. I am the man

* This appears to be theſe papers bearing the name of repreſentations, propoſitions, proteſtations, &c. given in by him, and Meſſ. Cant and Livingſtone, to the miniſters and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24. 1652.

man I was. I am ſtill for keeping the government of the kirk of Scotland entire; and would not, for a thouſand worlds, have had the leaſt hand in the burning of the Cauſes of God's Wrath. Oh! for grace to wreſtle with God for their ſalvation."

Mr Vilant having prayed at his deſire, as they took their leave, he renewed his charge to them to feed the flock out of love. The next morning, as he recovered out of a faint, in which they who looked on expected his diſſolution, he ſaid, "I feel, I feel, I believe, I joy and rejoice, I feed on manna." Mr Blair, whoſe praiſe is in the churches, being preſent, he took a little wine in a ſpoon to refreſh himſelf, being then very weak, he ſaid to him, "Ye feed on dainties in heaven, and think nothing of our cordials on earth."—— He anſwered, "They are all but dung; but they are Chriſt's creatures, and, out of obedience to his command, I take them. Mine eyes ſhall ſee my Redeemer; I know he ſhall ſtand the laſt day upon the earth, and I ſhall be caught up in the clouds to meet him in the air, and I ſhall ever be with him; and what would you have more? there is an end." And ſtretching out his hands, he ſaid again, "There is an end." And a little after, he ſaid, "I have been a ſingle man, but I ſtand at the beſt paſs that ever a man did; Chriſt is mine, and I am his." And he ſpoke much of the white ſtone and new name. Mr Blair, who loved with all his heart to hear Chriſt commended, ſaid to him again,—"What think ye now of Chriſt?"—To which he anſwered, "I ſhall live and adore him. Glory! glory to my Creator and my Redeemer for ever! Glory ſhines in Immanuel's land." In the afternoon of that day, he ſaid, "Oh! that all my brethren in the public may know what a Maſter I have ſerved, and what peace I have this day. I ſhall ſleep in Chriſt, and when I awake I ſhall be ſatisfied with his likeneſs. This night ſhall cloſe the door, and put my anchor within the vale; and I ſhall go away in a ſleep by five of the clock in the morning;" which exactly fell out. Though he was very weak, he had often this expreſſion, "Oh! for arms to embrace him! Oh! for a well-tuned harp!" He exhorted Dr Colvill, a man who complied with prelacy afterwards, to adhere to the government of the church of Scotland, and to the doctrine of the covenant; and to have a care to feed the youth with ſound knowledge. And the Doctor, being the profeſſor of the New College, he told him, that he heartily forgave him all the wrongs he had done him. He ſpake likewiſe to Mr Honeyman, afterwards Biſhop Honeyman, who came to ſee him, ſaying, "Tell the preſbytery to anſwer for God, and his cauſe

and

and covenant, ſaying, The caſe is deſperate, let them be in their duty." Then directing his ſpeech to Mr Colvill and Mr Honeyman, he ſaid, "Stick to it. You may think it an eaſy thing in me, a dying man, that I am now going out of the reach of all that men can do; but he before whom I ſtand knows I dare adviſe no colleague or brother to do what I would not cordially do myſelf upon all hazard; and as for the Cauſes of God's Wrath that men have now condemned, tell Mr James Wood from me, that I had rather lay down my head on a ſcaffold, and have it chopped off many times, were it poſſible, before I had paſſed from them." And then, to Mr Honeyman he ſaid, "Tell Mr Wood, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he has done me; and deſire him, from me, to declare himſelf the man, that he is ſtill for the government of the church of Scotland.

Afterwards, when ſome ſpoke to him of his former painfulneſs and faithfulneſs in the miniſtry, he ſaid, "I diſclaim all that; the port that I would be at, is redemption and forgiveneſs through his blood; *thou ſhalt ſhew me the path of life in thy ſight is fulneſs of joy;* there is nothing now betwixt me and the reſurrection, but *to-day thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe.*" Mr Blair ſaying, "Shall I praiſe the Lord for all the mercies he has done, and is to do for you?" he anſwered, "Oh for a well-tuned harp." To his child * he ſaid, "I have aga left you upon the Lord; it may be you will tell this to others that *the lines are fallen to me in pleaſant places, I have got a good heritage.* I bleſs the Lord that he gave me counſel."

Thus, by five o'clock in the morning, as he himſelf foretold it was ſaid unto him, "Come up hither;" and he gave up the ghoſt, and the renowned eagle took its flight unto the mountains of ſpices.

In the foreſaid manner died the famous Mr Rutherford who may juſtly be accounted among the ſufferers of that time for ſurely he was a martyr, both in his own deſign and reſolution, and by the deſign and determination of men. Few men ever ran ſo long a race without ceſſation, ſo conſtantly ſo unwearedly, and ſo unblameably. Two things, rarely to be found in one man, were eminent in him, viz. a quick invention and ſound judgement; and theſe accompanied with homely but clear expreſſion, and graceful elocution; ſo that ſuch as knew him beſt, were in a ſtrait whether to admire him moſt for his penetrating wit, and ſublime genius in the ſchools, and peculiar exactneſs in diſputes and matters of controverſy, or his familiar condeſcenſion in the pulpit, whe

* It appears that he married a ſecond wife, by whom he had only o child alive. See his Letters, part III. letter 55.

he was one of the moſt moving and affecticnate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church.—To ſum up all in a word, he ſeems to be one of the moſt reſplendent lights that ever aroſe in this horizon.

In all his writings he breathes the true ſpirit of religion; but in his every way admirable letters, he ſeems to have outdone himſelf, as well as every body elſe; which, although jeſted on by the profane wits of this age, becauſe of ſome homely and familiar expreſſions in them, it muſt be owned, by all who have any reliſh for true piety, that they contain ſuch ſublime flights of devotion, that they muſt at once raviſh and edify every ſober, ſerious, and underſtanding reader.

Among the poſthumous Works of the laborious Mr Rutherford, are, his Letters; the Trial and Triumph of Faith; Chriſt's Dying and Drawing of Sinners, &c. and a Diſcourſe on Prayer; all in octavo. A Diſcourſe on the Covenant; on Liberty of Conſcience; a Survey of Spiritual Antichriſt; a Survey of Antinomianiſm; Antichriſt Stormed; and ſeveral other controverted pieces, ſuch as *Lex Rex;* the Due Right of Church-Government; the Divine Right of Church-Government; and a Peaceable Plea for Preſbytery; are for the moſt part in quarto; as alſo his Summary of Church-Diſcipline, and a Treatiſe on the Divine Influence of the Spirit. There are alſo a variety of his ſermons in print, ſome of which were preached before both houſes of parliament, in 1644 and 1645. He wrote alſo upon Providence; but this being in Latin, is only in the hands of a few; as are alſo the greater part of his other works, being ſo ſeldom republiſhed. There is alſo a volume of Sermons, Sacramental Diſcourſes, &c.

An Epitaph *on his Grave-ſtone.*

What tongue, what pen, or ſkill of men,
Can famous Rutherford commend!
His learning juſtly rais'd his fame,
True goodneſs did adorn his name.
He did converſe with things above,
Acquainted with Immanuel's love.
Moſt orthodox he was and ſound,
And many errors did confound.
For Zion's King, and Zion's cauſe,
And Scotland's covenanted laws,
Moſt conſtantly he did contend,
Until his time was at an end.
At laſt he wan to full fruition
Of that which he had ſeen in viſion.

Oct. 9. 1635. W. W.

The

THE MOST NOBLE ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, MARQUIS OF ARGYLE.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL having, after a good claſſical education, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, became well acquainted with the moſt intereſting points of religion; which he retained and cultivated amidſt his moſt laborious and higheſt employments, both in church and ſtate, ever after.

From his early years, he ſtood well affected to the Preſbyterian intereſt; and being ſtill a favourer of the Puritans (the Preſbyterians then ſo called), when Mr Rutherford was, for his non-conformity, brought before the High Commiſſion Court in 1638, he interpoſed, to the utmoſt, in his behalf; concerning which Mr Rutherford, in his letters (Part I. letter 4. and Part III. letter 37.), ſays, "My Lord hath brought me a friend from the highlands of Argyle, my Lord Lorn, who hath done as much as was within the compaſs of his power. God give me favour in his eyes." And elſewhere to the Lady Kenmuir, "And write thanks to your brother, my Lord of Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor unknown ſtranger to him. I ſhall pray for him and his houſe while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the ſtreet for his wronged and oppreſſed Maſter, Chriſt Jeſus." Nor was this all; for about the ſame time, he ſo laboured and prevailed with the Biſhop of Galloway, that worthy Earlſton was releaſed from the ſentence of baniſhment, unto which he was aſſigned for the ſame noble cauſe.

And no ſooner did our reformation, commonly called the ſecond reformation, begin to dawn in 1637, than he eſpouſed the ſame cauſe himſelf; for we find next year, that the Earl of Argyle, his father dying about that time, though a private counſellor, diligently attending all the ſeſſions of that famous General Aſſembly held then at Glaſgow, in order to hear their debates and determinations concerning dioceſan Epiſcopacy, and the five articles of Perth, wherein he declared his full ſatisfaction with their deciſions. And here it was that this noble Peer began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a concern for the Redeemer's glory; in which he continued, and was kept faithful therein, until he got the crown of martyrdom at laſt.

At this meeting, amongſt many other things, his Lordſhip propoſed an explication of the confeſſion and covenant; in which he wiſhed them to proceed with great deliberation, leſt (ſaid he) they ſhould bring any under ſuſpicion of perjury who had ſworn it in the ſenſe he had done; which motion was

was taken in good part by the members, and entered upon in the 8th ſeſſion of that Aſſembly. Mr Henderſon, the moderator, at the concluſion of this Aſſembly, judging that, after all, the countenance given to their meetings by this Noble Peer deſerved a particular acknowledgement, wiſhed his Lordſhip had joined with them ſooner; but he hoped God had reſerved him for the beſt times, and would honour him here and hereafter. Whereupon his Lordſhip roſe, and delivered an excellent ſpeech, *ex tempore*, before the Aſſembly; in which, amongſt other things, he ſaid, "And whereas you wiſhed I had joined you ſooner, truly it was not for want of affection for the good of religion, and my country, which detained me, but a deſire and hope, that, by ſtaying with the Court, I might have been able to bring a redreſs of grievances; and when I ſaw that I could no longer ſtay without proving unfaithful to my God and my country, I thought good to do as I have done, &c. I remember I told ſome of you, that pride and avarice are two evils that have wrought much woe to the church of Chriſt; and as they are grievous faults in any man, they are eſpecially ſo in church-men, &c.—I hope every man here ſhall walk by the ſquare and rule which is now ſet before him, obſerving duty, 1. To ſuperiors; 2. To equals; and, 3. To inferiors. Touching our duty to ſuperiors, there needs nothing be added to what has been wiſely ſaid by the moderator. Next, concerning equals, there is a caſe much ſpoken of in the church, i. e. the power of ruling elders, ſome miniſters apprehending it to be a curbing of their power; truly it may be ſome elders are not ſo wiſe as there is need for. But as unity ought to be the endeavour of us all, let neighbouring pariſhes and preſhyteries meet together for ſettling the ſame, &c. And, thirdly, for inferiors, I hope miniſters will diſcharge their duty to their flocks, and that people will have a due regard to thoſe that are ſet over them to watch for their ſouls, and not to think, that becauſe they want biſhops, they may live as they will *," &c.

After this, when the Scots covenanters were obliged to take arms in their own defence, in 1639, and having marched towards the borders of England, under the command of General Leſlie, this Noble Lord being ſet to guard the weſtern coaſt, contributed very much, by his diligence and prudence, to preſerve peace in theſe parts; and that not only in convening the gentlemen in theſe quarters, and taking ſecurity of them for that purpoſe, but alſo raiſed four hundred men in the ſhire of Argyle, which he took in hand to maintain at his own charges. Which number he afterwards increaſed to nine

* See this diſcourſe at large, in Stevenſon's Hiſtory, p. 674.

hundred able men, one half whereof he ſet on Kintyre, to wait on the Marquis of Antrim's deſign, and the reſt on the head of Lorn, to attend the motions of thoſe of Lochabar, and the Weſtern Iſles. From thence he himſelf went over to Arran with ſome cannon, and took the caſtle of Brodick, belonging to Hamilton; which ſurrendered without reſiſtance.

He was again, in the abſence of the covenanters army, in 1640, appointed to the ſame buſineſs; which he managed with no leſs ſucceſs; for he apprehended no leſs than eight or nine of the ringleaders of the malignant faction, and made them give bonds for their better behaviour in time coming. Which induſtrious and faithful conduct ſtirred up in this great man, the malice of his and truth's adverſaries, that they ſought on all occaſions to vent their miſchief againſt him afterwards.

For, at the very next ſitting down of the Scots parliament, the Earl of Montroſe diſcovered a moſt miſchievous attempt to wound his reputation, and to ſet the King at perpetual variance with his Lordſhip; and, among other offenſive ſpeeches uttered by Montroſe, one was, that when the Earl of Athol and the other eight gentlemen taken up by him laſt year, for carrying arms againſt their country, were in his Lordſhip's tent at the ford of Lyons, he (Argyle) ſhould have ſaid publicly, "That they (meaning the parliament) had conſulted both lawyers and divers others, anent the depoſing of the King, and had got reſolution that it might be done in three caſes, viz. 1. Deſertion; 2. Invaſion; and 3. Vendition. And that they once thought to have done it at the laſt ſitting of parliament, but would do it at the next ſitting thereof."—Montroſe condeſcended on Mr James Stuart, commiſſary of Dunkeld, one of the foreſaid eight taken by Argyle, as his informer; and ſome of his Lordſhip's friends, having brought the ſaid commiſſary to Edinburgh, he was ſo fool-hardy as to ſubſcribe the acknowledgement of the above report to Montroſe. The Earl of Argyle denied the truth of this in the ſtrongeſt terms, and reſolved to proſecute Mr Stuart before the Court of Juſticiary, where his Lordſhip inſiſted for an impartial trial; which was granted; and, according to his deſire four Lords of the Seſſion were added *hac vice* to the Court of Juſticiary. Stuart was accuſed upon the laws of leaſing, particularly of a principal ſtateſman; to evite the imminent danger of which he wrote to Argyle, wherein he cleared him of the charge as laid againſt him, and acknowledged that he himſelf forged them, out of malice againſt his Lordſhip, &c. But though Argyle's innocency was thus cleared, it was thought neceſſary to let the trial go on; and the fact being

proven, he was condemned to die. Argyle would willingly have ſeen the royal clemency extended to the unfortunate wretch; but others thought the crime tended to mar the deſign of the late treaty, and judged it needful, as a terror to others, to make an example. At his execution, he diſcovered a great deal of remorſe for what he had done; and although this worthy nobleman was vindicated in this, yet we find that after the Reſtoration it was made one of the principal handles againſt this noble martyr.

During theſe tranſactions, the King, diſagreeing with his Engliſh parliament, made another tour to Scotland, and attended the Scots parliament there; in which parliament, that he might more effectually gain the Scots over to his intereſt, he not only granted a ratification of all their former proceedings, both in their own defence, and with reſpect to religion, but alſo dignified ſeveral of the Scots nobility: and being ſenſible of the many great and good ſervices done by this Noble Earl, he was placed at the head of the Treaſury; and the day before the riſing of the parliament, all the commiſſions granted to, and ſervices and employments performed by, Archibald Earl of Argyle, in the ſervice of his country, were approved of; and an act of parliament made thereon was read and voted, the King giving him this teſtimony in public, that he dealt over honeſtly with him, though he was ſtill ſtiff as to the point in controverſy. And on the ſame day, Nov. 15. 1641, the King delivered a patent to the Lion King at Arms, and he to the Clerk-regiſter, who read it publicly, whereby his Majeſty created Archibald Earl of Argyle, &c. Marquis of Argyle, Earl of Kintyre, Lord Lorn, &c.; which being read, and given back to the King, his Majeſty delivered the ſame with his own hand to the Marquis; who roſe and made a very handſome ſpeech in gratitude to his Majeſty, ſhewing that he neither expected nor deſerved ſuch honour or preferment.

During the ſitting of the foreſaid parliament, another incident occurred, wherein a plot was laid to deſtroy this nobleman, in the following manner: Some of the nobility, envying the power, preferment, and influence, that he and the Marquis of Hamilton had with the King, laid a cloſe deſign for their lives. The Earl of Crawford, Colonel Cochran, and Lieut. Alexander Stuart, were to have been the actors, (in which it was inſinuated, that his Majeſty, Lord Almond, &c. were privy to the deſign), which was, that Hamilton and Argyle ſhould be called for in the dead of the night to ſpeak with the King; in the way they were to have been arreſted as traitors, and delivered to Earl Crawford, who was to wait for

them with a conſiderable body of armed men. If any reſiſtance was made, he was to ſtab them immediately, if not, carry them priſoners to a ſhip of war, in the roads of Leith, where they were to be confined until they ſhould be tried for treaſon. But this breaking out before it was fully ripe, the two noblemen the night before went off to a place of more ſtrength, twelve miles diſtant, and ſo eſcaped this danger, as a bird out of the hands of the fowler. Yet ſuch was their lenity and clemency, that upon a petition from them, the foreſaid perſons were ſet at liberty.

After this, the Earl (now Marquis) of Argyle had a moſt active hand in carrying on the work of reformation, and uniformity in religion in 1643. And while he was buſied among the covenanters in 1644, Montroſe and ſome others aſſociated themſelves to raiſe forces for the King, intending to draw the Scots army forth of England. To effect which, the Earl of Antrim undertook to ſend over ten thouſand Iriſh, under the command of one Alaſter M'Donald, a Scotſman, to the north of Scotland. A conſiderable body was accordingly ſent, who committed many outrages in Argyle's country. To ſuppreſs this inſurrection, the Committee of Eſtates, April 10. gave orders to the Marquis to raiſe three regiments; which he accordingly did, and with them marched northward, took ſeveral of their principal chieftains, and diſperſed the reſt for ſome time. But Montroſe being ſtill on the field, wherein he gained ſeveral victories during this and the following year, and in the mean time plundered and murdered the greater part of Argyleſhire, and other places belonging to the covenanters, without mercy: and although he was at laſt defeated and totally routed by General Leſlie at Philiphaugh, yet ſuch was the cruelty of thoſe cut-throats, that the foreſaid Macdonald and his Iriſh band returned to Argyleſhire, in the beginning of 1646, and burnt and plundered the dwellings of the well-affected, in ſuch a terrible manner, that about 1200 men aſſembled in a body, under Acknalaſe, who brought them down to Monteith, to live upon the diſaffected in that country; but the Athol-men falling upon them at Callender, and being but poorly armed, ſeveral of them were killed, and the reſt fled towards Stirling, where their maſter, the Noble Marquis, met them, and commiſerating their deplorable condition carried them through to Lennox, to live upon the lands of the Lord Napier, and others of the diſaffected, until they were better provided for. And in the mean time went over himſelf to Ireland, and brought over the remains of the Scots forces, and with thoſe landed in Argyleſhire, upon which Ma-

donald betook himſelf to the Iſles, and from thence returned back to Ireland; whereby peace was reſtored in thoſe parts*.

Again, in 1648, when the ſtate fell into two factions, that of the malignants was headed by the Duke of Hamilton; and the other (the covenanters) by the Marquis of Argyle, from which it is eaſy to conclude, that from 1643 (when he had ſuch an active hand in calling the Convention of Eſtates, and entering into the ſolemn league and covenant) to 1648, he was the principal agent amongſt the covenanters, and never failed, on all occaſions, to appear in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his native country.

And for what was enacted in 1649, it is well known what appearances he made, and what intereſt he had in the parliament, and to the utmoſt of his power did employ the ſame for bringing home Charles II. and poſſeſſing him of his crown, and the exerciſe of his royal authority; and in this he ſucceeded to good purpoſe, as long as the King followed his counſel and advice. But afterwards, taking in the malignant faction into places of power and truſt, all went to ſhipwreck together; which was no ſmall matter of grief to this worthy and religious nobleman.

And as the King was well received then by the Marquis of Argyle, ſo he pretended a great deal of regard and kindneſs for him about that time; as appears from a letter or declaration, given under his own hand, at St Johnſton, September 24. 1650, in which he ſays, "Having taken to my conſideration the faithful endeavours of the Marquis of Argyle, for reſtoring me to my juſt rights, &c. I am deſirous to let the world ſee how ſenſible I am of his real reſpect to me, by ſome particular favour to him. And particularly I do promiſe, that I ſhall make him Duke of Argyle, a knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he ſhall think fit. I do further promiſe to hearken to his counſel, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me to my juſt rights in England. I ſhall ſee him paid the 40,000 pounds Sterling which are due to him. All which I do promiſe to make good, upon the word of a King.

C. R.

But how all theſe fair promiſes were performed, will come afterwards to be obſerved. For this godly nobleman taking upon him to reprove the King for ſome of his immoralities †, which faithful admonition, however well it appeared to be taken

* See a more full account of theſe tranſactions in Stevenſon's Hiſtory, vol. III. p. 176.

† Some accounts bear, that this was a rape committed by him.

ken off the Marquis's hand for the preſent, yet it appeared afterwards, that this godly freedom was never forgot, until it was again repaid him with the higheſt reſentment; ſuch was the way to hearken to his counſel; for if debauchery and diſſimulation had ever been accounted among the liberal ſciences, then this Prince was altogether a maſter in that faculty *.

In the mean time, January 1. 1651, the King was crowned at Scoone, where, after an excellent ſermon by Mr Robert Douglas, from 2 Kings ii. 17. the King took the coronation-oath; then ſitting down in the chair of ſtate, after ſome other ceremonies were performed, the Marquis of Argyle taking the crown in his hands, (Mr Douglas prayed), he ſet it on the King's head; and ſo aſcending the ſtage, attended by the officers of the crown, he was inſtalled unto the royal throne by Archibald Marquis of Argyle, ſaying, "Stand faſt, &c. from henceforth the place whereof you are the lawful and righteous heir, by a long and lineal ſucceſſion of your fathers, which is now delivered to you by the authority of God Almighty †." Then the ſolemnity was concluded by a pertinent exhortation, both to King and people, wherein they were certified, that if they ſhould conſpire together againſt the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, both ſupporters and ſupported ſhould fall together.

But the King's forces having been before that defeated by Cromwell, at Dunbar, and being no longer able to make head againſt the Engliſh, he went for England; and here, by his particular allowance, the Marquis of Argyle, after kiſſing his hand, was left at Stirling. But the King's army being totally routed on the 3d of September, at Worceſter, and from thence driven from all his dominions; in the mean time the Engliſh over-run the whole country, ſo that the repreſentatives of the nation were either obliged to take the tender, or elſe ſuffer great hardſhips; which tender the Marquis had refuſed at Dumbarton; whereupon they reſolved to invade the Highlands and the ſhire of Argyle, being incloſed on all hands with regiments of foot and horſe. Major Dean coming to the Marquis's houſe at Inverary, where he was lying ſick, preſented a paper, which he behoved to ſubſcribe againſt to-morrow, or elſe be carried off priſoner; which, though ſore againſt his will, for his own and his vaſſals and tenants ſafety, he was obliged to ſubſcribe, with ſome alterations; which capitulation was made a mighty handle againſt him afterwards. And although he had ſome influence upon the uſurper, and was preſent at ſeveral meetings, wherein he procured an equal hearing to the proteſtors at London, while he was there in 1657, yet he was rather

* See the national covenant.
† See the coronation of Charles II. p. 38. &c.

rather a priſoner on demand than a free agent, and ſo continued until the Reſtoration.

Soon after the King's return, this Noble Marquis being very much ſolicited to repair to Court, and no doubt he himſelf inclined to wait on a Prince on whoſe head he had ſet the crown, and though ſome of his beſt friends uſed ſeveral arguments to divert him from his purpoſe till matters were better ſettled, yet, from the teſtimony of a good conſcience, knowing that he was able to vindicate himſelf from all aſperſions, if he was but once admitted to the King's preſence, he ſet out for London, where he arrived on the 8th of July, and went directly to Whitehall to ſalute his Majeſty; but whenever the King heard he was come thither, notwithſtanding his former fair promiſes, he ordered Sir William Fleming to apprehend him, and carry him to the Tower, where he continued till toward the beginning of December, that he was ſent down in a man of war, to abide his trial before the parliament in Scotland. On the 20th they landed at Leith, and next day he was taken up the ſtreets of Edinburgh covered, betwixt two of the town-bailies, to the caſtle, where he continued until his trial came on.

On Feb. 13. 1661, his Lordſhip was brought down from the caſtle in a coach, with three of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, attended by the town-guard, and preſented before the bar of the Houſe, where the King's Advocate, Sir John Fletcher, accuſed him in common form of high treaſon, and producing an indictment, craved that it might be read. The Marquis himſelf begged liberty to ſpeak before that was done, but the Houſe refuſed his reaſonable deſire, and ordered it to be read; and though he intreated them to hear a petition he had to preſent, yet that was too great a favour to be granted. The indictment, which was more months in forming than he had days allowed at firſt to bring his defence, conſiſted of fourteen articles; the principal of which were, his entering into the ſolemn league and covenant with England, and his complying with Oliver Cromwell, &c.; all the reſt being a heap of ſlanders, and perverſion of matters of fact, gathered up againſt this good and great man; all which he abundantly takes off in his information and anſwers *.

After his indictment was read, he had leave to ſpeak, and diſcourſed for ſome time to good purpoſe. Among other things, he ſaid, with Paul in another caſe, "The things laid againſt me cannot be proven."—But this he confeſſed, that in the way allowed by ſolemn oath and covenant, he ſerved his

* See theſe articles at large, and his anſwers, in Wodrow's Church Hiſtory, vol. I. p. 43.—52.

his God, his King, and his country; and though he owned he wanted not failings common to all perſons in public buſineſs in ſuch a time, yet he bleſſed God that he was able to make the falſehood of every article of his charge appear; that he had done nothing with a wicked mind, but with many others had the misfortune to do many things, the unforeſeen events of which had proved bad.

The parliament fixed on the 27th of February for bringing in his defence, which was too ſhort a time for replying to ſo many articles. However, at his requeſt, it was put off till the 5th of March, when he appeared before the Lords of the Articles, who ordered him immediately to produce his defence; whereupon he delivered a very moving ſpeech, and gave in a moſt affecting petition, remitting himſelf to the King's mercy, and beſeeching the parliament to interſede for him, which are too long here to be inſerted. March the 6th, he was brought before the parliament. It was reported from the Articles, that he had offered a ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, &c. but his ſubmiſſion was voted not ſatisfactory, and he commanded, on the morrow, to give in his defence to the Lords of the Articles. When he came before them, and told his defence was not ready, he was appointed to give them in on Monday April 9. otherwiſe they would take the whole buſineſs before them, without any regard to what he ſhould afterwards ſay; but it ſeems, on the day appointed, his defence was given in, which contained fifteen ſheets of ſmall print, wherein the Marquis's management was fully vindicated from all the falſehoods and calumnies in the indictment.

Upon the 16th of April, he was again before the parliament; where, after the proceſs was read, he had a very handſome and moving ſpeech, wherein, at a conſiderable length *, he removed ſeveral reproaches caſt upon him, and touched at ſome things not in his papers; but whatever he or his lawyers could ſay had little weight with the members of parliament. Some of them were already reſolved what to do; the Houſe had many meſſages to haſten his proceſs to an end, but the miſgiving of many of their deſigned probations againſt this good man, embarraſſed them mightly for ſome time; for it appears, that there were upwards of thirty different libels all formed againſt him, and all came to nothing when they began to prove them, as other lies uſually do; ſo that they were forced to betake themſelves to the innocent but neceſſary compliance with the Engliſh, after every ſhire and burgh in Scotland had made their ſubmiſſion to their conquerors.

In the beginning of May, witneſſes were examined and depoſitions

* See the Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſtory, No. 18.

positions taken against him; after which he was, upon the 25th, brought before the bar of the House, to receive his sentence from his judges, who were *socii criminis*, or accomplices, as he told the King's Advocate. The House was very thin, all withdrawing except those who were resolved to follow the courses of the time. He put them in mind of the practice of Theodosius the Emperor, who enacted, that the sentence of death should not be executed till thirty days after it was passed, and added, I crave but ten, that the King may be acquainted with it;—but this was refused. Then the sentence was pronounced, "That he was found guilty of high treason, and adjudged to be executed to the death as a traitor, his head to severed from his body, at the cross of Edinburgh, upon Monday the 27th instant, and affixed on the same place where the Marquis of Montrose's head formerly was, and his arms torn before the parliament at the cross." Upon this he offered to speak; but the trumpet sounding, he stopped till they ended, and then said, "I had the honour to set the crown on the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." And directing himself to the commissioner and parliament, he said, "You have the indemnity of an earthly King among your hands, and have denied me a share in that; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings; and shortly you must be before his tribunal. I pray he mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actings, and this amongst the rest."

After his sentence, he was ordered to the common prison, where his excellent Lady was waiting for him. Upon seeing her, he said, "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear, therefore let us make for it." She embracing him, wept bitterly, and said, "The Lord will require it: The Lord will require it." Which drew tears from all in the room. But being himself composed, he said, "Forbear, forbear, I pity them, they know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty; and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all," &c. He added, he remembered a scripture cited by an honest minister to him while in the castle, which he intended to put in practice: "When Ziklag was taken and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but he encouraged himself in the Lord."

He spent all his short time, till Monday, with the greatest serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercise of a dy-

ing Chriſtian. To ſome miniſters who were permitted to attend him, he ſaid, "That ſhortly they would envy him, who was got before them,"—and added, "Remember, that I tell you, my ſkill fails me, if you who are miniſters will not either ſuffer much or ſin much; for though you go along with theſe men in part, if you do not in all things, you are but where you were, and ſo muſt ſuffer; and if you go not at all with them, you muſt but ſuffer."

During his life, he was reckoned rather timorous than bold to any exceſs. In priſon, he ſaid, he was naturally inclined to fear in his temper, but deſired thoſe about him, as he could not but do, to obſerve that the Lord had heard his prayers and removed all fear from him, &c. At his own deſire, his Lady took her leave of him on the Sabbath-night. Mr Robert Douglas and Mr George Hutcheſon preached to him in the tolbooth on the Lord's day, and his dear and much valued friend Mr David Dickſon, (I am told, ſays Mr Wodrow), was his bed-fellow the laſt night he was in time.

The Marquis had a ſweet time in the tolbooth as to his ſoul's caſe, and it ſtill increaſed nearer his end; as he had ſleeped calmly and pleaſantly his laſt night, ſo in the intervals of his neceſſary buſineſs, he had much ſpiritual converſation. On Monday morning, though he was much engaged in ſettling his affairs in the midſt of company, yet he was overpowered with a ſenſible effuſion of the Holy Spirit, that he broke out in a rapture, and ſaid, "I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodneſs, but it will not do. I am now ordering my affairs, and God is ſealing my charter to a better inheritance, and juſt now ſaying to me, *Son, be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee.*"

Some time before he went to the place of execution, he received an excellent letter from a certain miniſter, and wrote a moſt moving one to the King, and dined preciſely at twelve o'clock along, with his friends, with great cheerfulneſs, and then retired a little. Upon his opening the door, Mr Hutcheſon ſaid, What cheer, my Lord? He anſwered, "Good cheer, Sir, the Lord hath again confirmed and ſaid to me from heaven, *Thy ſins be forgiven thee.*" Upon this tears of joy flowed in abundance; he retired to the window, and wept there; from that he came to the fire, and made as if he would ſtir it a little to conceal his concern; but all would not do, his tears ran down his face; and coming to Mr Hutcheſon, he ſaid, "I think his kindneſs overcomes me. But God is good to me, that he let not out too much of it here, for he knows I could not bear it *. Get me my cloak, and let

* The hiſtorian Burnet, in the introduction to his Hiſtory, p. 30.

go." But being told that the clock was kept back till one, till the bailies ſhould come, he anſwered, They are far in the wrong; and preſently kneeled and prayed before all preſent, in a moſt ſweet and heavenly manner. As he ended, the bailies ſent up word for him to come down; upon which he called for a glaſs of wine, and aſked a bleſſing to it, ſtanding, and continuing in the ſame frame, he ſaid, "Now let us go, and God be with us."

After having taken his leave of ſuch in the room who were not to go with him to the ſcaffold, when going towards the door, he ſaid, "I could die like a Roman, but chooſe rather to die like a Chriſtian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes firſt goes cleanlieſt." When going down ſtairs, he called the Reverend Mr James Guthrie to him, and embracing him in a moſt endearing way, took his farewell of him; Mr Guthrie, at parting, addreſſed the Marquis thus: "My Lord, God hath been with you, he is with you, and will be with you. And ſuch is my reſpect for your Lordſhip, that if I were not under ſentence of death myſelf, I would cheerfully die for your Lordſhip." So they parted, to meet again in a better place on the Friday following.

Then the Marquis, accompanied with ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, mounted in black, with his cloak and hat on, went down the ſtreet, and mounted on the ſcaffold with great ſerenity and gravity, like one going to his Father's houſe, and ſaluted all on it. Then Mr Hutcheſon prayed; after which his Lordſhip delivered his ſpeech; in which, among other things, he ſaid, "I come not here to juſtify myſelf, but the Lord, who is holy in all his ways, righteous in all his works, holy and bleſſed is his name. Neither come I to condemn others. I bleſs the Lord, I forgive all men, and deſire to be forgiven of the Lord myſelf. Let the will of the Lord be done, that is all I deſire. I was real and cordial in my deſires to bring the King home, and in my endeavours for him when he was home, and had no correſpondence with the adverſaries army, nor any of them, when his Majeſty was in Scotland; nor had I any hand in his late Majeſty's murder.—

pleaſed to ſay, "This Argyle was a pretender to high degrees of piety. Warriſton went to very high notions of lengthened devotions, and whatſoever ſtruck his fancy during theſe effuſions, he looked on it, as an anſwer of prayer." But perhaps the Biſhop was much a ſtranger both to high degrees of piety and lengthened devotions, and alſo to ſuch returns of prayer, for theſe two gallant noblemen faced the bloody ax and gibbet, rather than forego their profeſſion, with more courage, and (I may ſay) upon better principles or grounds of ſuffering, than what any dioceſan biſhop in Scotland at leaſt, or even the biſhop himſelf, was honoured to do.

I ſhall not ſpeak much to theſe things for which I am condemned, leſt I ſeem to condemn others. It is well known it is only for compliance, which was the epidemical fault of the nation; I wiſh the Lord to pardon them. I ſay no more—but God hath laid engagements on Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and reformation; thoſe who were then unborn, are yet engaged; and it paſſeth the power of all the magiſtrates under heaven to abſolve from the oath of God. Theſe times are like to be either very ſinning or ſuffering times; and let Chriſtians make their choice, there is a ſad dilemma in the buſineſs, ſin or ſuffer; and ſurely he that will chooſe the better part will chooſe to ſuffer, others that will chooſe to ſin will not eſcape ſuffering. They ſhall ſuffer, but perhaps not as I do, (pointing to the maiden), but worſe. Mine is but temporal, theirs ſhall be eternal. When I ſhall be ſinging, they ſhall be howling. Beware therefore of ſin, whatever you are aware of, eſpecially in ſuch times. And hence my condition is ſuch now, as, when I am gone, will be ſeen not to be as many imagined. I wiſh, as the Lord hath pardoned me, ſo may he pardon them, for this and other things, and what they have done to me may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to ſay, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would bleſs every one that ſtayeth behind."

When he had delivered this his ſeaſonable and pathetic ſpeech, which, with his laſt words, is recorded at length in Naphtali, or the Wreſtling of the Church of Scotland. Mr Hamilton prayed; after which he prayed moſt ſweetly himſelf; then he took his leave of all his friends on the ſcaffold. He firſt gave the executioner a napkin with ſome money in it; to his ſons in-law, Caithneſs and Ker, his watch and ſome other things out of his pocket: he gave to Loudon his ſilver penner, to Lothian a double ducat, and then threw off his coat. When going to the maiden, Mr Hutcheſon ſaid, My Lord, now hold your grip ſicker. He anſwered, "You know, Mr Hutcheſon, what I ſaid to you in the chamber. I am not afraid to be ſurpriſed with fear." The Laird of Skermorlie took him by the hand, when near the maiden, and found him moſt compoſed. He kneeled down moſt cheerfully, and after he had prayed a little, he gave the ſign (which was by lifting up his hand), and the inſtrument called the maiden ſtruck off his head from his body, which was fixed on the weſt end of the tolbooth, as a monument of the parliament's injuſtice and the land's miſery. His body was by his friends put in a coffin, and conveyed, with a good many attendants, through Linlithgow and Falkirk to Glaſgow, and

from thence to Kilpatrick, where it was put in a boat, carried to Denune, and buried in Kilmunn church.

Thus died the Noble Marquis of Argyle, the proto-martyr to religion ſince the reformation from Popery, the true portrait of whoſe character cannot be (ſays Wodrow, in his Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 56.) drawn. His enemies themſelves will allow him to have been a perſon of extraordinary piety, remarkable wiſdom and prudence, great gravity and authority, and ſingular uſefulneſs. He was the head of the covenanters in Scotland, and had been ſingularly active in the work of reformation there, and of any almoſt that had engaged in that work he ſtuck cloſeſt by it, when moſt of the nation quitted it very much; ſo that this attack upon him was a ſtroke at the root of all that had been done in Scotland from 1638, to the uſurpation. But the tree of Prelacy and arbitrary meaſures behoved to be ſoaked, when planting, with the blood of this excellent patriot, ſtaunch Preſbyterian, and vigorous aſſertor of Scotland's liberty; and as he was the great promoter thereof during his life, and ſtedfaſt in witneſſing to it at his death, ſo it was to a great degree buried with him in Scotland, for many years. In a word, he had piety for a Chriſtian, ſenſe for a counſellor, carriage for a martyr, and ſoul for a king. If ever any was, he might be ſaid to be a true Scotſman.

MR JAMES GUTHRIE.

MR JAMES GUTHRIE, ſon to the Laird of Guthrie, a very honourable and ancient family, having gone through his courſe of claſſical learning at the grammar-ſchool and college, taught philoſophy in the univerſity of St Andrew's, where for ſeveral years he gave abundant proof that he was an able ſcholar. His temper was very ſteady and compoſed; he could reaſon upon the moſt ſubtle points with great ſolidity, and when every one elſe was warm, his temper was never ruffled. At any time, when indecent heats or wranglings happened to fall in when reaſoning, it was his ordinary cuſtom to ſay, "Enough of this, let us go to ſome other ſubject; we are warm, and can diſpute no longer with advantage." Perhaps he had the greateſt mixture of fervent zeal and ſweet calmneſs in his temper, of any man in his time. But being educated in oppoſition to Preſbyterian principles, he was highly Prelatical in his judgement when he came firſt to St Andrew's; but by converſing with worthy Mr Rutherford and others,

and

and especially through his joining the weekly society's meetings there, for prayer and conference, he was effectually brought off from that way; and perhaps it was this that made the writer of the diurnal, who was no friend of his, say, "That if Mr Guthrie had continued fixed to his first principles, he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." Whenas he came to judge for himself, he happily departed from his first principles; and upon examination of that way wherein he was educated, he left it, and thereby became a star of the first magnitude indeed. It is said, that while he was regent in the college of St Andrew's, Mr Sharp being then a promising young man there, he several times wrote this verse upon him,

If thou, Sharp, die the common death of men,
I'll burn my bill, and throw away my pen.

Having passed his trials in 1638, he was settled minister at Lauder, where he remained for several years. In 1646, he was appointed one of those ministers who were to attend the King while at Newcastle; and likewise he was one of those nominated in the commission for the public affairs of the church, during the intervals betwixt the General Assemblies. And in about three years after this, he was translated to Stirling, where he continued until the Restoration, a most faithful watchman upon Zion's walls, who ceased not day and night to declare the whole counsel of God to his people, *shewing Israel their iniquities, and the house of Jacob their sins.*

After he came to Stirling, he again not only evidenced a singular care over that people he had the charge of, but also was a great assistant in the affairs of the church, being a most zealous enemy to all error and profanity. And when that unhappy difference fell out with the public resolutioners, he was a most staunch protestor, opposing these resolutions unto the utmost of his power; insomuch as after the presbytery of Stirling had wrote a letter to the Commission of the General Assembly, shewing their dislike and dissatisfaction with the resolutioners, after they had been concluded upon at Perth, Dec. 14. 1650, Mr Guthrie, and his colleague Mr Bennet, went somewhat farther, and openly preached against them, as a thing involving the land in conjunction with the malignant party; for which, by a letter from the Chancellor, they were ordered to repair to Perth on February 19. 1651, to answer before the King * and the Committee of Estates for that letter, and

* It surely was a piece of ill advised conduct, as many of themselves afterwards acknowledged, that ever they elected or admitted any of that family of Ahab, after the Almighty had so remarkably driven them forth

and their doctrine; but upon the indiſpoſition of one of them, they excuſed themſelves by a letter, for their non-appearance that day, but promiſed to attend upon the end of the week. Accordingly, on the 22d, they appeared at Perth, where they gave in a proteſtation, ſignifying, that although they owned his Majeſty's civil authority, yet was Mr Guthrie challenged by the King and his Council for a doctrinal theſis which he had maintained and ſpoken to in a ſermon,—whereof they were incompetent judges in matters purely eccleſiaſtical, ſuch as the examination and cenſuring of doctrines,—he did decline them on that account *.

The matter being deferred for ſome days, till the King returned from Aberdeen, in the mean time the two miniſters were confined to Perth and Dundee; whereupon they (Feb. 28.) preſented another paper or proteſtation †, which was much the ſame, though in ſtronger terms, and ſupported by many excellent arguments. After this the King and Committee thought proper to diſmiſs them, and to proceed no farther in the affair at preſent; and yet Mr Guthrie's declining the King's authority in matters eccleſiaſtical here, was made the principal article in his indictment ſome years after, to give way to a perſonal pique Middleton had againſt this good man, the occaſion of which is as follows.

By improving an affront the King met with in 1659, ſome malignants about him ſo prevailed to heighten his fears of the evil

forth of theſe kingdoms, unto the regal dignity, upon any terms whatſoever; particularly Charles II. after he had given ſuch recent proofs of his diſſimulation and diſaffection unto the cauſe and people of God in theſe nations. After which they never had a day to proſper; for, by contending againſt malignants, and yet at the ſame time vowing and praying for the head of malignants, they not only had malignants and ſectaries to fight with, but alſo made a deſuetude unto their former attainments, and ſo came to contend with one another, until Prelacy proved their utter ruin at laſt. It is objected, that King Charles was a good-natured man, and that the extermination of our excellent conſtitution was from evil counſellors. It is but too true, that evil counſellors have many times proved the ruin of kingdoms and commonwealths, elſe the wiſe man would not have ſaid, *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed*, Prov. xxv. 5. But take the matter as it is, he was ſtill the head of that conſtitution, and (not to ſpeak of his other immoralities) a moſt perfidious, treacherous and wicked man, and could engage to-day and break to-morrow, and all to obtain an earthly crown. For a further illuſtration of this, ſee a letter, ſhewing the defection of both addreſſers and proteſtors, &c. Dr Owen's ſermon before the protector in Scotland, the Hiſtory of the Stuarts; and Bennet's Memorial of Britain's deliverances, &c.

* Apologetical Relation, § 5. p. 83.

† See theſe proteſtations in Wodrow's Church-Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 58. and 59.

evil designs of thoſe about him, that, by a correſpondence with the Papiſts, malignants, and ſuch as were diſaffected to the covenants in the north, matters came in a little to ſuch a paſs, that a conſiderable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, were to riſe and form themſelves into an army, under Middleton's command, and the King was to caſt himſelf into their arms, &c. Accordingly, the King, with a few in his retinue, as if he were going a-hunting, left his beſt friends, croſſed the Tay, and came to Angus, where he was to have met with thoſe people; but ſoon finding himſelf diſappointed, he came back to the Committee of Eſtates, where indeed his greateſt ſtrength lay. In the meanwhile ſeveral who had been in the plot fearing puniſhment, got together under Middleton's command. General Leſlie marched towards them, and the King wrote to them to lay down their arms. The Committee ſent an indemnity to ſuch as ſhould ſubmit; and while the States were thus dealing with them, the Commiſſion of the Aſſembly were not wanting to ſhew their zeal againſt ſuch as ventured to diſturb the public peace; and it is ſaid, that Mr Guthrie here propoſed ſummary excommunication, as a cenſure Middleton deſerved, and as what he thought to be a ſuitable teſtimony from the church at this juncture. This higheſt ſentence was carried in the Commiſſion by a plurality of votes, and Mr Guthrie was appointed to pronounce the ſentence next Sabbath. In the mean time the Committee of Eſtates, not without ſome debates, had agreed upon an indemnity to Middleton. There was an expreſs ſent to Stirling, with an account how things ſtood, and a letter, deſiring Mr Guthrie to forbear the intimation of the Commiſſion's ſentence. But this letter coming to him juſt as he was going to the pulpit, he did not open it till the work was over; and though he had, it is a queſtion if he would have delayed the Commiſſion's ſentence upon a private miſſive to himſelf. However, the ſentence was inflicted, and although the Commiſſion of the church Jan. 3. 1651, being their next meeting, did relax Middleton from that cenſure, and laid it on a better man, Col. Strachan *, yet it is believed Middleton never forgave or forgot what Mr Guthrie did upon that day, as will afterwards be made more fully to appear.

Mr Guthrie, about this time, wrote ſeveral of the papers upon the proteſtors ſide; for which, and his faithfulneſs, he was one of thoſe three who were depoſed by the pretended Aſſembly at St Andrew's, 1657. Yea, ſuch was the malice of

* This unjuſt ſentence was pronounced in the high church of Glaſgow, by Mr John Carſtairs, who prefaceth Mr Durham's poſthumous works, ſome of which are ſuppoſed to be vitiated by him, eſpecially his Treatiſe on Scandal.

of theſe woful reſolutioners, that upon his refuſal of one of that party, and acceſſion to the call of Mr Rule, to be his colleague at Stirling, upon the death of Mr Bennet in 1656, they proceeded to ſtone this ſeer in Iſrael with ſtones, his teſtimony while alive ſo tormented the men who dwell upon the earth.

And as Mr Guthrie did faithfully teſtify againſt the reſolutioners and the malignant party, ſo he did equally oppoſe himſelf to the ſectaries and to Cromwell's uſurpation; and although he went up to London in 1657, when the Marquis of Argyle procured an equal hearing betwixt the proteſtors and the reſolutioners, yet he ſo boldly defended the King's right in public debate with Hugh Peters, Oliver's chaplain, and from the pulpit aſſerted the King's title in the face of the Engliſh officers, as was ſurpriſing to all gainſayers.—Yet for this and other hardſhips that he endured on this account, at this time, he was but poorly rewarded, as by and by will come to be obſerved.

Very ſoon after the Reſtoration, while Mr Guthrie and ſome other of his faithful brethren, who aſſembled at Edinburgh, were drawing up a paper (Auguſt 23.), in way of ſupplication to his Majeſty, they were all apprehended, except one who happily eſcaped, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and from thence Mr Guthrie was taken to Stirling caſtle, (the author of the Apologetical Relation ſays to Dundee), where he continued till a little before his trial, which was upon the 20th of February 1661. When he came to his trial, the Chancellor told him, he was called before them to anſwer to the charge of high treaſon, (a copy of which charge he had received ſome weeks before); and the Lord Advocate propoſed his indictment ſhould be read;—which the Houſe went into: The heads of which were,

(1.) His contriving, conſenting to, and exhibiting before the Committee of Eſtates, the paper called The Weſtern Remonſtrance.

(2.) His contriving, writing, and publiſhing, that abominable pamphlet, called, The Cauſes of the Lord's Wrath.

(3.) His contriving, writing, and ſubſcribing, the paper called The Humble Petition * of the twenty-third of Auguſt laſt.

(4.) His convocating of the King's lieges, &c.

(5.) His declaring his Majeſty, by his appeals and proteſta-

* See this paper, called The Humble Petition, in Crookſhank's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 64.

tions presented by him at Perth, incapable to be judge over him. And,

(6.) Some treasonable expressions he was alledged to have uttered, in a meeting in 1650 or 1651.

His indictment being read, he made an excellent speech before the parliament, wherein he both defended himself, and that noble cause for which he suffered; which being too nervous to abridge, and too prolix to insert in this place, the reader will find it in Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 61.

After he had delivered this speech, he was ordered to remove. He humbly craved, that some time might be given him to consult with his lawyers. This was granted; and he was allowed till the 29th to give in his defence. It is affirmed, upon very good authority, that when he met with his lawyers to form his defence, he very much surprised them by his exactness in our Scots laws, and suggested several things to be added, that had escaped his advocate; which made Sir John Nisbet express himself to this purpose, "If it had been in the reasoning part, or in consequences from scripture and divinity, I would have wondered the less if he had given us some help, but even in the matter of our own profession, our statutes and acts of parliament, he pointed out several things that had escaped us." And likewise the day before his first appearance in parliament, it is said, he sent a copy of the forementioned speech to Sir John and the rest of his lawyers of the reasoning and law part, and they could mend nothing therein.

The advocates considering his defence, and the giving of it in, took up some weeks, until April the 11th, when the process against him was read in the House, upon which he made a speech affecting and close to the purpose; in which he concludes thus:

"My Lord, in the last place, I humbly beg, that having brought so pregnant and clear evidence from the word of God, so much divine reason and human laws, and so much of the common practice of kirk and kingdom, in my defence, and being already cast out of my ministry, out of my dwelling and maintenance, myself and my family put to live on the charity of others, having now suffered eight months imprisonment, your Lordships would put no other burden upon me. I shall conclude with the words of the prophet Jeremiah, *Behold, I am in your hands*, saith he, *do to me what seemeth good to you: I know, for certain, that the Lord hath commanded me to speak all these things; and that if you put me*

death

death, you ſhall bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and upon the inhabitants of this city.

"My Lords, my conſcience I cannot ſubmit; but this old crazy body and mortal fleſh, I do ſubmit, to do with it whatever ye will, whether by death, or baniſhment, or impriſonment, or any thing elſe; only I beſeech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood: it is not the extinguiſhing of me, or many others, that will extinguiſh the covenant and work of reformation ſince the year 1638. My blood, bondage, or baniſhment, will contribute more for the propagation of theſe things, than my life or liberty could do, though I ſhould live many years," &c.

And though this ſpeech had not that influence that might have been expected, yet it made ſuch impreſſion upon ſome of the members, that they withdrew, declaring unto one another, that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man. But his judges were determined to proceed; and accordingly his indictment was found relevant. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "The Earl of Tweeddale was the only man that moved againſt putting him to death; he ſaid, Baniſhment had hitherto been the ſevereſt cenſure laid upon preachers for their opinions,—yet he was condemned to die." The day of his execution was not named, till the 28th of May, when the parliament ordered him and William Govan to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, on the 1ſt of June, and Mr Guthrie's head to be fixed on the Nether Bow, his eſtate to be confiſcated, and his arms torn; and the head of the other upon the Weſt Port of Edinburgh.

And thus a ſentence of death was paſſed upon Mr Guthrie, for his acceſſion to the Cauſes of God's Wrath, his writing the petition laſt year, and the proteſtation above mentioned; matters done a good many years ago, and every way agreeable and conform to the word of God, the principles and practice of this and other churches, and the laws of the kingdom. After he had received his ſentence, he accoſted the parliament thus: "My Lords, let never this ſentence affect you more than it does me, and let never my blood be required of the King's family."

Thus it was reſolved that this excellent man ſhould fall a ſacrifice to private and perſonal pique, as the Marquis's was ſaid to be a more exalted revenge; and it is ſaid, that the managers had no ſmall debate what his ſentence ſhould be; for he was dealt with by ſome of them, to retract what he had done and written, and join with the preſent meaſures, and he was even offered a biſhoprick. The other ſide were in no hazard in making the experiment, for they might be aſſured of

his firmneſs in his principles. A biſhoprick was a very ſmall temptation to him; and the Commiſſioner improved his inflexibility, to have his life taken away, to be a terror to others, that they might have the leſs oppoſition in eſtabliſhing Prelacy.

Betwixt Mr Guthrie's ſentence and his execution, he was in perfect compoſure and ſerenity of ſpirit, and wrote a great many excellent letters to his friends and acquaintances. In this interval, he uttered ſeveral prophetical expreſſions, which, together with the foreſaid religious letters, could they now be recovered, might be of no ſmall uſe, in this apoſtate and backſlidden age. The day (June 1.) on which he was executed, upon ſome reports that he was to buy his life, at the expence of retracting ſome of the things he had formerly ſaid and done, he wrote and ſubſcribed the following declaration.

"Theſe are to declare, That I do own the Cauſes of God's Wrath, the Supplication at Edinburgh, Auguſt laſt, and the acceſſion I had to the remonſtrances. And if any do think, or have reported, that I was willing to recede from theſe, they have wronged me, as never having any ground from me to think or to report ſo. This I atteſt, under my hand, at Edinburgh, about eleven o'clock forenoon, before theſe witneſſes,"

Mr Arthur Forbes, Mr John Guthrie,
Mr Hugh Walker, Mr James Cowie.

That ſame day, he dined with his friends with great cheerfulneſs. After dinner, he called for a little cheeſe, which he had been diſſuaded from taking, for ſome time, as not good for the gravel, which he was troubled with, and ſaid, I am now beyond the hazard of the gravel. When he had been ſecret for ſome time, he came forth with the utmoſt fortitude and compoſure, and was carried down under a guard from the tolbooth to the ſcaffold, which was erected at the croſs. Here he was ſo far from ſhewing any fear, that he rather expreſſed a contempt at death, and ſpake an hour upon the ladder, with the compoſure of one delivering a ſermon. His laſt ſpeech is in Naphtali, where, among other things becoming a martyr, he ſaith, "One thing I warn you all of, that God is very wroth with Scotland, and threatens to depart and remove his candleſtick. The cauſes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cauſe, that the cauſes of wrath are deſpiſed. Conſider the caſe that is recorded, Jer. xxxvi. and the conſequences of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but alſo ſay, that there is a great addition of wrath, By that deluge of profanity that overfloweth all the land, ſo far that many have not only loſt all uſe and exerciſe of re-

gio

gion, but even of morality. 2. By that horrible treachery and perjury that is in the matters of the covenant and cauſe of God. Be ye aſtoniſhed, O ye heavens, at this! &c. 3. By horrible ingratitude. The Lord, after ten years oppreſſion, hath broken the yoke of ſtrangers from off our necks; but the fruits of our delivery, is to work wickedneſs, and to ſtrengthen our hands to do evil, by a moſt dreadful ſacrificing to the creature. We have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of a corruptible man, in whom many have placed almoſt their ſalvation. God is alſo wroth with a generation of carnal, corrupt, time-ſerving miniſters. I know, and do bear teſtimony, that in the church of Scotland, there is a true and faithful miniſtry, and I pray you to honour theſe, for their work's ſake. I do bear my witneſs to the national covenant of Scotland, and ſolemn league and covenant betwixt the three kingdoms. Theſe ſacred ſolemn public oaths of God, I believe can be looſed or diſpenſed with by no perſon, or party, or power upon earth, but are ſtill binding upon theſe kingdoms, and will be ſo for ever hereafter, and are ratified and ſealed by the converſion of many thouſand ſouls, ſince our entering thereinto. I bear my teſtimony to the proteſtation againſt the controverted Aſſemblies, and the public reſolutions. I take God to record upon my ſoul, I would not exchange this ſcaffold with the palace or mitre of the greateſt prelate in Britain. Bleſſed be God who hath ſhewed mercy to me ſuch a wretch, and has revealed his Son in me, and made me a minſter of the everlaſting goſpel, and that he hath deigned, in the midſt of much contradictions from Satan and the world, to ſeal my miniſtry upon the hearts of not a few of his people, and eſpecially in the ſtation wherein I was laſt, I mean the congregation and preſbytery of Stirling. Jeſus Chriſt is my light and my life, my righteouſneſs, my ſtrength, and my ſalvation, and all my deſire. Him! O him! I do with all the ſtrength of my ſoul commend to you. Bleſs him, O my ſoul, from henceforth, even for ever!" He concluded with the words of old Simeon, *Now, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.* He gave a copy of this his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony, ſubſcribed and ſealed, to a friend to keep, which he was to deliver to his ſon, then a child, when he came to age. When on the ſcaffold, he lifted the napkin off his face, juſt before he was turned over, and cried, "The covenants, the covenants, ſhall yet be Scotland's reviving."

A few weeks after he was executed, and his head placed on the Nether Bow Port, Middleton's coach coming down that way, ſeveral drops of blood fell from the head upon the coach, which all their art and diligence could not wipe off;

and when phyſicians were called, and deſired to inquire, if any natural cauſe could be given for this, they could give none. This odd incident being noiſed abroad, and all means tried, at length the leather was removed, and a new cover put on: But this was much ſooner done, than the wiping off the guilt of this great and good man's blood upon the ſhedders of it, and the diſgrace from this poor nation *.

Thus fell the faithful Mr James Guthrie, who was properly the firſt who ſuffered unto death in that period, for aſſerting the kingly prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, in oppoſition to Eraſtian ſupremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be zealous and ſingularly faithful in carrying on the work of reformation, and had carried himſelf ſtraight under all changes and revolutions; and becauſe he had been ſuch, he muſt live no longer. He did much for the intereſt of the King in Scotland, which the King no doubt was ſenſible of. When he got notice of his death, he ſaid with ſome warmth, "And what have you done with Mr Patrick Gilleſpie." He was anſwered, that having ſo many friends in the Houſe, his life could not be taken. "Well," ſaid the King, "if I had known you would have ſpared Mr Gilleſpie, I would have ſpared Mr Guthrie." And indeed he was not far out with it; for Mr Guthrie was capable to have done him as much ſervice. For he was one accompliſhed with almoſt every qualification, natural or acquired, neceſſary to complete both a man and a Chriſtian.

But it is a loſs we are favoured with ſo few of the writings of this Worthy. For, beſide thoſe papers already mentioned, he wrote ſeveral others upon the proteſtors ſide, among which was alſo a paper wrote againſt the uſurper Oliver Cromwell, for which he ſuffered ſome hardſhips during the time of that uſurpation. His laſt ſermon at Stirling, preached from Matth. xiv. 22. was publiſhed in 1738, intitled, A Cry from the Dead, &c.; with his Ten Conſiderations anent the decay of Religion, firſt publiſhed by himſelf in 1660; and an authentic paper wrote and ſubſcribed by himſelf upon the occaſion of his being ſtoned by the reſolution-party about 1656, for his acceſſion to the call of Mr Robert Rule to be his colleague, after the death of Mr Bennet. He alſo wrote a treatiſe on ruling elders and deacons, about the time he entered into the miniſtry, which is now affixed to the laſt edition of his couſin Mr William Guthrie's treatiſe of the Trial of a Saving Intereſt in Chriſt.

JOHN

* Mr Alexander Hamilton, when a ſtudent at the college of Edinburgh, at the hazard of his life, took down Mr Guthrie's head and buried it, after it had ſtood a ſpectacle for twenty-ſeven years: and, it is obſervable, that the very ſame perſon afterwards ſucceeded him at Stirling, where he was miniſter for twelve years.

JOHN CAMPBELL, EARL OF LOUDON.

HE was heir to Sir James Campbell of Lawer, and husband of Margaret Baroneſs of Loudon.

The firſt of his ſtate-preferments was in 1633, when King Charles I. came to Scotland, in order to have his coronation performed there *. At which time he dignified ſeveral of the Scots nobility with higher titles of honour; and, among the reſt, this nobleman was created Earl of Loudon, 12th May 1633.

It appears that from his youth he had been well affected to the Preſbyterian intereſt; for no ſooner did that reformation, commonly called the ſecond reformation, begin to take air, which was about the year 1637, than he appeared a principal promoter thereof, and that not only in joining theſe petitioners, afterwards called the covenanters, but alſo when the General Aſſembly ſat down at Glaſgow in November 1638, he thought it his honour to attend the ſame in almoſt every ſeſſion thereof, and was of great ſervice, both by his advice in difficult caſes, and alſo by ſeveral excellent ſpeeches that he delivered therein. As witneſs, upon the very entry, when the difference aroſe between the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commiſſioner, and ſome of the reſt, anent chooſing a clerk to the Aſſembly, the Marquis, refuſing to be aſſiſted by Traquair and Sir Lewis Stuart, urged ſeveral reaſons for compliance with his Majeſty's pleaſure, &c. and at laſt renewed his proteſt; whereupon Lord Loudon, in name of commiſſioners to the Aſſembly, gave in reaſons of a pretty high ſtrain, why the Lord Commiſſioner and his aſſeſſors ought to have but one vote in the Aſſembly, &c. Of theſe reaſons Traquair craved a double, and promiſed to anſwer them; but it appears never found leiſure for this employment.

About this time, he told the King's Commiſſioner roundly, "They knew no other bonds betwixt a King and his ſubjects, but religion and laws; and if theſe were broken, men's lives were not dear to them. They would not be ſo; ſuch fears were paſt with them. †"

The

* He was crowned on the 8th of June, by Spottiſwood, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of Roſs and Murray; Laud, then Biſhop of London, had the direction of the ceremony. He preached in the Chapel-royal, and inſiſted upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverence due to the ceremonies of the church, &c. But this diſcourſe was far from being to the mind of the people.—See Stevenſon's Hiſtory, vol. i. Bennet's Memorial, p. 178.

† Vide Bailey's Letters, vol. i. p. 69.

The King and the Biſhop being galled to the heart to ſee, that by the Aſſembly Preſbytery was almoſt reſtored, and Prelacy well nigh aboliſhed, he immediately put himſelf at the head of an army, in order to reduce them, &c. The Scots, hearing of the preparation, provided as well as they could. Both armies marched towards the border; but upon the approach of the Scots, the Engliſh were moved with great timidity; whereupon enſued a pacification.—Commiſſioners being appointed to treat on both ſides, the Scots were permitted to make known their deſires; the Lord Loudon being one of the Scots commiſſioners, upon his knees ſaid, "That their demand was only to enjoy their religion and liberties according to the eccleſiaſtical and civil laws of the kingdom." The King replied, "That if that was all that was deſired the peace would ſoon be made." And after ſeveral particulars were agreed upon, the King promiſed, "That all eccleſiaſtical matters ſhould be decided by an Aſſembly, and civil matters by the Parliament; which Aſſembly ſhould be kept once a-year. That on the 6th of Auguſt ſhould be held a free General Aſſembly, when the King would be preſent, and paſs an act of oblivion," &c. The articles of the pacification were ſubſcribed June 18. by the commiſſioners of both ſides in view of both armies, at Kirks, near Berwick, in 1639.

But this treaty was ſhort lived and ill obſerved; for the King, irritated by the biſhops, ſoon after burnt the pacification by the hands of the hangman, charging the Scots with breach of the articles of the treaty, although the Earl of Loudon gave him ſufficient proofs to the contrary. Which freedom uſed by his Lordſhip no way pleaſed the King; but he was ſuffered to return home, and the King kept his reſentment unto another opportunity.

In the mean time, the General Aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, Auguſt 12. Mr Dickſon was choſen moderator; and at this Aſſembly, after ſeveral matters were diſcuſſed, Mr Henderſon and Ramſay entered upon a demonſtration, that Epiſcopacy hath its beginning from men, and is of human inſtitution, &c. But they had not proceeded far, till they were interrupted by Traquair, the King's Commiſſioner, who declared he did not deſire them to fall upon any ſcholaſtic diſpute but how far thoſe in the reformation had found Epiſcopacy contrary to the conſtitution of this church; whereupon the truly Noble Lord Loudon, being preſent, did moſt ſolidly explain the act of the General Aſſembly 1580, which condemned the office of biſhops in the moſt expreſs terms, prior to the ſubſcription of the national covenant, and becauſe of difficulty raiſed from theſe words in that act, viz. as it

then uſed, his Lordſhip obſerved, that in the Aſſemblies 1560, 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578, Epiſcopacy came ſtill under conſideration, though not directly as to the office, yet as to the corruption, &c.; and having enlarged upon the office of biſhops as without a warrant from the word of God, he concludes,—" As we have ſaid, ſo that the connection between the Aſſemblies of 1574, and of 1581, is quite clear; Epiſcopacy is put out as wanting warrant from the word of God, and Preſbytery put in, as having that divine warrant; and was accordingly ſworn unto."

The ſame day on which the Aſſembly aroſe, the Parliament ſat down; but falling upon matters that did not correſpond with the King's deſign, Traquair did all he could to ſtop them, that they might have nothing done; whereupon they agreed to ſend up the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to implore his Majeſty to allow the parliament to proceed, and to determine what was before them, &c. But ere theſe two Lords had reached the Court, orders were ſent them diſcharging them in the King's name, from coming within a mile of him, on ſuppoſition they had no expreſs warrant from the Lord Commiſſioner; and they were returned home.

In the mean time the parliament, by the King's orders, is prorogued to the 2d of June 1640, and matters continued ſo till January 1641, that the committee of parliament having obtained leave to ſend up commiſſioners to repreſent their grievances, did again commiſſion the two foreſaid Earls, to whom they added Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr Barclay provoſt of Irvine. On their arrival they were allowed to kiſs the King's hand, and ſome time after were appointed to attend at the Council-chamber; but underſtanding they were not to have a hearing of the King himſelf, they craved a copy of Traquair's information to the Council of England; which was denied. At laſt the King gave them audience himſelf upon the 3d of March, when the Lord Loudon, after having addreſſed his Majeſty, ſhewed that his ancient and native kingdom is independent upon any other judicatory whatever; and craved his Majeſty's protection in defence of religion, liberty, and the cauſe of the church and kingdom; and then ſpeaking concerning thoſe who have or may miſrepreſent or traduce theſe his moſt loyal Scots ſubjects, he ſays, " If it pleaſe God, for our ſins to make our condition ſo deplorable as they may get the ſhadow of your Majeſty's authority, as we hope in God they will not, to palliate their ends, then, as thoſe who were ſworn to defend our religion, our recourſe muſt be only to the God of Jacob for our refuge, who is the Lord of lords and King of kings, and by whom kings do

reign and princes degree juſtice. And if, in ſpeaking thus out of zeal to religion, and the duty we owe to our country, and that charge which is laid upon us, any thing hath eſcaped us, ſith it is ſpoken from the ſincerity of our hearts, we fall down at your Majeſty's feet, craving pardon for our freedom." Again having eloquently expatiated upon the deſires of his ſubjects, and the laws of the kingdom, he ſpeaks of the laws of God, and the power of the church, and ſays, "Next, we muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the church and the ſtate, betwixt the eccleſiaſtical and civil power; both which are materially one, yet formally they are contradiſtinct in power, in juriſdiction, in laws, in bodies, in ends, in offices, and officers; and although the church, and eccleſiaſtic aſſemblies thereof, be formally different and diſtinct from the parliament and civil judicatories, yet there is ſo ſtrict and neceſſary a conjunction betwixt the eccleſiaſtic and civil juriſdiction, betwixt religion and juſtice, as the one cannot firmly ſubſiſt and be preſerved without the other, and therefore they muſt ſtand and fall, live and die together," &c. He enlarged further upon the privileges of both church and ſtate, and then concluded with mentioning the ſum of their deſires, which——" is, that your Majeſty (ſaith he) may be graciouſly pleaſed to command, that the parliament may proceed freely to determine all theſe articles given in to them, and whatſoever exceptions, objections, or informations, are made againſt any of the particular overtures, &c. we are moſt willing to receive the ſame in write, and are content, in the ſame way, to return our anſwers and humble deſires *."

March 11. the commiſſioners appeared, and brought their inſtructions, whereupon enſued ſome reaſonings betwixt them and the King, in which time Archbiſhop Laud, who ſat on the King's right hand, was obſerved to mock the Scots Commiſſioners, cauſing the King put ſuch queſtions to them as he pleaſed. At laſt Traquair gave in ſeveral queries and objections to them, unto which they gave moſt ſolid and ſufficient anſwers in every particular.

But this farce being over, for it ſeems nothing elſe was here intended by the Court than to entrap the commiſſioners, and particularly this Noble Earl who had ſo ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the laws and liberties of his native country. In the end, all the deputies, by the King's order, were taken into cuſtody, and the Earl of Loudon ſent to the Tower for a letter alledged to be wrote by him, and ſent by the Scots to the French King, as to their ſovereign, imploring his aid againſt their natural King, of the following tenor:

"SIRE,

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. I.

"SIRE,

"YOUR Majeſty being the refuge and ſanctuary of afflicted princes and ſtates, we have found it neceſſary to ſend this gentleman, Mr Colvill, to repreſent unto your Majeſty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings as of our inventions, which we deſire to be engraven and written in the whole world, with a beam of the ſun, as well as to your Majeſty. We therefore beſeech you, Sire, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he ſhall ſay on our part, touching us and our affairs. Being much aſſured, Sire, of an aſſiſtance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and ſo often ſhewed to the nation, which will not yield the glory of any other whatſoever, to be eternally, Sire, your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt affectionate ſervants."

This letter, ſays a hiſtorian *, was adviſed to and compoſed by Montroſe, when the King was coming againſt Scotland with a potent army, tranſcribed by Lord Loudon, and ſubſcribed by them two and the Lords Rothes, Marr, Montgomery, and Forreſter, and General Leſlie; but the tranſlation being found faulty by Lord Maitland, &c. it was dropped altogether; which copy wanted both the date, which the worſt of its enemies never pretended it had, and a direction, which the Scots confidently affirmed it never had; but falling into the King's hand (by means of Traquair), he intended to make a handle of it, to make Lord Loudon the firſt ſacrifice. This Noble Lord being examined before the Council, did very honeſtly acknowledge the hand-writing and ſubſcription to be his; but ſaid, it was before the late pacification, when his Majeſty was marching in hoſtility againſt his native country; that in theſe circumſtances it ſeemed neceſſary to have an interceſſor to mitigate his wrath, and they could think of none ſo well qualified as the French King, being the neareſt relation by affinity to their ſovereign of any other crowned head in the world; but that being but ſhortly thought on before the arrival of the Engliſh on the border, was judged too late, and therefore was never either addreſſed by them, or ſent to the French King.

Notwithſtanding this evil was intended againſt this Noble Peer, and being remanded back to priſon, was very near being diſpatched, and that not only without the benefit of his peers, but without any legal trial or conviction. Burnet fairly acknowledges †, that the King was adviſed to proceed capitally

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, vol. I.
† Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton.

againſt him; but the Engliſh hiſtorians * go ſtill farther, and plainly ſay, that the King, about three o'clock in the afternoon, ſent his own letter to William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him to ſee the Lord Loudon's head ſtruck off, within the Tower, before nine the next morning, (a ſtriking demonſtration of the juſt and forgiving ſpirit for which by ſome King Charles is ſo much extolled). Upon this command, the lieutenant of the Tower, that his Lordſhip might prepare for death, gave him notice of it; which awful intimation he, knowing the juſtice of his cauſe, received with aſtoniſhing compoſure and ſerenity of mind. The lieutenant went himſelf to the Marquis of Hamilton, who he thought was bound in honour to interpoſe in this matter. The Marquis and the lieutenant made their way to the King, who was then in bed. The warrant was ſcarce named, when the King, underſtanding their errand, ſtopped them, ſaying, By G--d, it ſhall be executed. But the Marquis laying before him the odiouſneſs of the fact, by the violation of the ſafe conduct he had granted to that nobleman, and the putting him to death without conviction, or ſo much as a legal trial, with the diſmal conſequences that were like to attend an action of that nature, not only in reſpect of Scotland, which would certainly be loſt, but likewiſe of his own perſonal ſafety from the nobility. Whereupon the King called for the warrant, tore it, and diſmiſſed the Marquis and the lieutenant ſomewhat abruptly. After this, about the 28th of June, this Noble Lord, upon promiſe of concealing from his brethren in Scotland the hard treatment he had met with from the King, and of contributing his endeavours to diſpoſe them to peace, was liberated from his confinement, and allowed to return home.

But things being now ripened for a new war, the King put himſelf at the head of another army, in order to ſuppreſs the Scots. On the other hand, the Scots reſolved not to be behind in their preparations, and entered England with a numerous army, moſtly of veteran troops, many of whom had ſerved in Germany under Guſtavus Adolphus †.—— A party of the King's forces diſputed the paſſage of the Tyne, but were defeated at Newburn; whereupon the Scots took Newcaſtle and Berwick, puſhing their way as far as Durham. Here the Noble Earl of Loudon acted no mean part; for he not only gained upon the citizens of Edinburgh and other places, to contribute money and other neceſſaries, for the uſe and ſupply of the Scots army, but alſo commanded a brigade of horſe, with whom, in the foreſaid ſkirmiſh at Newburn, he had no ſmall ſhare of the victory.

The

* Ruſhworth's Hiſtory, vol. I. Oldmixon, vol. I.
† See Dr Welwood's Memoirs,

The King retired to York; and finding himſelf environed on all hands, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Scots a ſecond time. On the other ſide, the Scots nominated the Earls of Dunfermline, Rothes, and Loudon, with ſome gentlemen, and Meſſ. Henderſon and Johnſon, advocates for the church, as their commiſſioners for the treaty. Both commiſſioners, upon October 1. 1640, met at Rippon; where, after agreeing upon ſome articles for a ceſſation of arms for three months, the treaty was transferred to London. Unto which the Scots commiſſioners (upon a patent granted from the King for their ſafe conduct) conſented, and went thither. And becauſe great hopes were entertained by friends in England, from their preſence and influence at London, the committee at Newcaſtle appointed Mr Robert Blair, for his dexterity in dealing with the Independents; Mr Robert Bailey, for his eminence in managing the Arminian controverſy; and Mr George Gilleſpie, for his nervous and pithy confutation of the Engliſh ceremonies, to accompany the three noblemen, as their chaplains: And Meſſ. Smith and Borthwick followed ſoon after.

After this treaty, things went pretty ſmooth for ſome time in Scotland; but the King not reliſhing the proceedings of the Engliſh parliament, made a tour next year to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. When this parliament ſat down, (before the King's arrival), Traquair, Montroſe, and ſeveral other incendiaries, having been cited before them for ſtirring up ſtrife between the King and his ſubjects, for undoing the covenanters, of whom ſome appeared, and ſome appeared not. In the mean while, the Noble Earl of Loudon ſaid ſo much in favour of ſome of them, diſcharging himſelf ſo effectually of all the orders laid on him laſt year by the King, that ſome, forgetting the obligation he came under to ſteer with an even hand, began to ſuſpect him of changing ſides, ſo that he was well nigh left out of the commiſſion to England, with the parliament's agreement to the treaty; which ſo much offended his Lordſhip, that he ſupplicated the parliament to be examined by them of his paſt conduct and negotiations, if they found him faithful; ſo far was he emboldened, having the teſtimony of a good conſcience; which grieved the members of the Houſe very much. The Houſe declared, indeed, that he had behaved himſelf faithfully and wiſely in all his public employments, and that he not only deſerved to have an act of approbation, but likewiſe to be rewarded by the Eſtates, that their favours and his merit might be known to poſterity, &c. They further conſidered, that the loſs of ſuch an eminent inſtrument could not be eaſily ſupplied.

ſupplied. The Engliſh dealt not ſo freely with any of our commiſſioners, as with Lord Loudon; nor did ever any of our commiſſioners uſe ſo much ingenious freedom with his Majeſty as he did; and he behoved once more to return to London, with the treaty, new reviſed by the parliament, ſubſcribed by the Lord Preſident and others.

After the return of the commiſſioners, the King being arrived in parliament, they began to dignify ſeveral of the Scots nobility with offices of ſtate; and becauſe a Lord Treaſurer was a-wanting, it was moved, that none did deſerve that office ſo well as the Earl of Loudon, who had done ſo much for his country. But the King, judging more wiſely in this, thought it was more difficult to find a fit perſon for the Chancery than for the Treaſury, was obliged to make the Earl of Loudon Chancellor, contrary both to his own inclination, for he was never ambitious of preferment, and to the ſolicitation of his friends. But to make amends for the ſmallneſs of his fees, an annual penſion of L.1000 was added to this office.

Accordingly, upon the 2d of October 1642, this Noble Lord did ſolemnly, in the face of the parliament, on his bended knees, before the throne, firſt ſwear the oath of allegiance, then that of private counſellor, and laſtly, when the great ſeal, which for two years had been kept by the Marquis of Hamilton, was with the mace delivered to him out of his Majeſty's hand, he did ſwear the oath *de fideli adminiſtratione officii*, and was, by the Lion King at Arms, placed in the ſeat under his Majeſty's feet, on the right-hand of the Lord Preſident of parliament; from thence he immediately aroſe, and proſtrating himſelf before the King, ſaid, "Preferment comes neither from the eaſt nor from the weſt, but from God alone. I acknowledge, I have this from your Majeſty as from God's vicegerent upon earth, and the fountain of all earthly honour here, and I will endeavour to anſwer that expectation your Majeſty has of me, and to deſerve the good-will of this Honourable Houſe, in faithfully diſcharging what you both (without deſert of mine) have put upon me." And, kiſſing his Majeſty's hand, he retired to his ſeat.

This was a notable turn of affairs from the womb of providence; for behold him, who laſt year, for the cauſe of Chriſt and love of his country, in all ſubmiſſion, receiving the meſſage or ſentence of death, is now, for his great wiſdom and prudence, advanced by the ſame perſon and authority unto the helm of the higheſt affairs of the kingdom; which verifies what the wiſe man ſaith, *The fear of the Lord*

is

is the beginning of wiſdom, and before honour is humility, Prov. xv. 33.

As ſoon as this excellent nobleman was advanced to this dignity and office, he not only began to exert his power for the utility and welfare of his own native country, but alſo, the next year, went up to London, to importune his Majeſty to call his Engliſh parliament, as the moſt expedient way to bring about a firm, permanent, or laſting peace betwixt the two kingdoms. And although he was not one of thoſe commiſſioners nominated and ſent up from the Parliament and Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, in 1643, yet it is evident from a letter ſent from them while at London, bearing the date of January 6. 1645, that he was amongſt them there, uſing his utmoſt endeavours for bringing about that happy uniformity of religion, in doctrine, diſcipline, and church-government, which took place and was eſtabliſhed in theſe nations at that time.

And next year, before the King ſurrendered himſelf to the Scots army at Newcaſtle, Lord Loudon being ſent up as commiſſioner to the King, after the Lord Leven, at the head of one hundred officers in the army, had preſented a petition upon their knees, beſeeching his Majeſty to give them ſatisfaction in point of religion, and to take the covenant, &c. did, in plain terms, accoſt the King in this manner: "The difference between your Majeſty and your parliament is grown to ſuch an height, that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majeſty, with all your garriſons and ſtrong holds, in their hands, &c. They are in a capacity now to do what they will in church and ſtate; and ſome are ſo afraid, and others ſo unwilling to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majeſty's laſt reſolution. Now, Sire, if your Majeſty ſhall refuſe your aſſent to the propoſitions, you will loſe all your friends in the Houſe and in the city, and all England will join againſt you as one man; they will depoſe you, and ſet up another government; they will charge us to deliver your Majeſty to them, and remove our arms out of England; and upon your refuſal, we will be obliged to ſettle religion and peace without you; which will ruin your Majeſty and your poſterity. We own, the propoſitions are higher in ſome things than we approve of, but the only way to eſtabliſh your Majeſty is to conſent to them at preſent. Your Majeſty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have loſt in a time of tempeſt and trouble." Whether or not the King found him a true prophet in all this, muſt be left to the hiſtory of theſe times.

He was again employed in the like errand to the King, in 1648; but with no better ſucceſs, as appears from two excellent

lent ſpeeches to the Scots parliament at his return, concerning theſe proceedings. And in the ſame year, in the month of June, he was with a handful of covenanters at a communion at Mauchlin muir, where they were ſet upon by Callender's and Middleton's forces, after they had given their promiſe to his Lordſhip of the contrary.

Although this Noble Earl, through the influence of the Earl of Lanark, had given his conſent at firſt to the King, who was ſetting on foot an army for his own reſcue, yet he came to be among thoſe who proteſted againſt the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement. To account ſome way for this,—He had before received a promiſe of a gift of the teinds, and a gift ſometimes blindeth the eyes, and much more of a nobleman whoſe eſtate was at that time ſomewhat burdened; but by converſing with ſome of the proteſting ſide, and ſome miniſters, who diſcovered to him his miſtake, when his foot was well nigh ſlipt, he was ſo convinced that this was contrary to his truſt, that he ſubſcribed an admonition to more ſtedfaſtneſs, for the Commiſſion of the church, in the high church of Edinburgh.

But at laſt Charles I. being executed, and his ſon Charles II. called home by the Scots, a new ſcene begins to appear in 1650; for malignants being then again brought into places of power and truſt, it behoved the Lord Chancellor (who never was a friend to malignants) to demit. He had now for near the ſpace of ten years preſided in parliament, and had been highly inſtrumental in the hand of the Lord, to eſtabliſh in this nation, both in church and ſtate, the pureſt reformation that ever was eſtabliſhed in any particular nation, under the New Teſtament diſpenſation; but now he was turned out, and Lord Burleigh ſubſtituted in his place.

In what manner he was moſtly employed during the time of Cromwell's uſurpation, there is no certain account; only it is probable, that notwithſtanding the many ſtruggles he had in aſſerting the King's intereſt, he moſtly lived a private life, as moſt of the noblemen and gentlemen of the nation did at that time.

But no ſooner was the King reſtored again unto his dominions, than theſe lands did again return back unto the old vomit of Popery, Prelacy, and ſlavery; and it is inconceivable to expreſs the grief of heart this godly nobleman ſuſtained, when he beheld, not only the carved work of the ſanctuary cut down by defacing that glorious ſtructure of reformation, which he had ſuch an eminent hand in erecting and building up, but alſo to find himſelf at the King's mercy for his acceſſion to the ſame. He knew, that, next to the Marquis of Argyle, he was the butt of the enemies malice, and he had frequently

applied for his Majeſty's grace, but was as often refuſed; ſo that the violent courſes now carrying on, and the plain invaſions upon the liberties and religion of the nation, made him weary of his life; and being then at Edinburgh, he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray faſt, that he might never ſee the next ſeſſion of parliament, elſe he might follow his dear friend the Marquis of Argyle; and the Lord was pleaſed to grant his requeſt: For he died, in a moſt Chriſtian manner, at Edinburgh, March 15. 1662, and his corpſe was carried home, and interred beſide his anceſtors.

The moſt exaggerated praiſes that can be at preſent beſtowed on this renowned patriot, the worthy Earl of Loudon, muſt be far below his merit, who was poſſeſſed of ſuch ſingular prudence, eloquence, and learning, joined with remarkable courage. Which excellent endowments he invariably applied for the ſupport of our ancient and admirable conſtitution, which he maintained upon all hazards and occaſions; whereby he might be truly accounted the chief advocate, both for the civil and religious liberties of the people. To ſum up all in a few words: he was a moſt exquiſite orator in the ſenate, a refined politician without what ſome would ſay it is impoſſible to be ſo, and an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation; and in every virtue, in politic, ſocial, and domeſtic life, a pattern worthy of imitation. And although HIS OFFSPRING * have hitherto all along retained a ſenſe of their civil liberties, yet it is to be lamented, that few or none of our noblemen at this day will follow his example.

MR ROBERT BAILEY.

MR ROBERT BAILEY was born at Glaſgow in 1539. His father was a citizen there, being lineally deſcended from Bailey of Jerviſton, a brother of the houſe of Carphin, and a branch of the ancient houſe of Lemington, all in the county of Lanark; and by his mother's ſide, he was of the ſame ſtock with the Gibſons of Durie, who have made ſuch a figure in the law. He received his education at

* His ſon James Earl of Loudon ſuffered much after his father's death, during the perſecuting period; and at laſt was obliged to leave his native country, and died an exile at Leyden, after having endured a ſeries of hardſhips. And there are recent inſtances of the truly noble and independent ſpirit for liberty this worthy family have all along retained, which, we doubt not, will be tranſmitted to their poſterity.

Glaſgow, and at that univerſity plied his ſtudies ſo hard, that, by his induſtry and uncommon genius, he attained to the knowledge of twelve or thirteen of the languages, and could write a Latin ſtyle, that, in the opinion of the learned, might well become the Auguſtan age.

After his ſtudy of divinity, he took orders from Archbiſhop Law, about the year 1622, and was ſoon after preſented by the Earl of Eglinton to the church of Kilwinning. When the reformation began in 1637, he wanted not his own difficulties, from his education, and tenderneſs of the King's authority, to ſee through ſome of the meaſures then taken.—Yet, after reaſoning, reading, and prayer, as he himſelf expreſſed it, he came heartily into the covenanters intereſt about that time.

Being a man of diſtinct and ſolid judgement, he was often employed in the public buſineſs of the church. In 1638, he was choſen by his own preſbytery, to be a member of that memorable Aſſembly held at Glaſgow, where he behaved himſelf with great wiſdom and moderation.

He was alſo one of thoſe who attended as chaplains to the army in 1639 and 1640, and was preſent during the whole treaty begun at Rippon, and concluded at London. What comfort he had in theſe things, he deſcribes in theſe words: "As for myſelf, I never found my mind in a better temper than it was all that time, from my outſet until my head was again homeward. I was one who had taken leave of the world, and reſolved to die in that ſervice. I found the favour of God ſhining on me, and a ſweet, meek, and humble, yet ſtrong and vehement ſpirit, leading me along." The ſame year, 1640, he was by the covenanting Lords ſent to London, to draw up an accuſation againſt Archbiſhop Laud, for the innovations he had obtruded upon the church of Scotland.

He was tranſlated from Kilwinning to be profeſſor of divinity at Glaſgow, when Mr David Dickſon was tranſlated from thence to the divinity-chair at Edinburgh. And he was one of thoſe commiſſioners ſent from the church of Scotland to the Weſtminer Aſſembly in 1645, where he remained almoſt the whole time of that Aſſembly. And after they roſe, as an acknowledgement of his good ſervices, the parliament of England made him a handſome preſent of ſilver-plate, with an inſcription, ſignifying it to be a token of their great reſpect to him, which not long ſince was to be ſeen in the houſe of Carnbrue, being carefully preſerved; and perhaps it remains there to this day.

By his firſt wife, Lillias Fleming, he had one ſon and four daughters; by his ſecond wife, Principal Strang's daughter

he had one daughter, who was married to Walkinſhaw of Barrowfield.

About this time he was a great confident of the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Caſſillis, Eglinton, Lauderdale, and Loudon, Lord Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnſton, Lord Warriſton, with others of the chief managers among the covenanters, whereby he obtained the moſt exact knowledge of the tranſactions of that time, which he has carefully collected in his letters; as he expreſſes himſelf, there was not any one from whom his correſpondent could get a more full narrative under Cromwell's uſurpation. He joined with that party called reſolutioners, and compoſed ſeveral of the papers belonging to that ſide, in 1661. He was, by Lauderdale's intereſt, made principal of the college of Glaſgow, upon the removal of Mr Patrick Gilleſpie, about which time, it is commonly ſaid, he had a biſhoprick offered him; but that he refuſed it, becauſe, ſays the writer of the memorial of his life prefixed to his letters, he did not chooſe to enter into a diſpute with thoſe with whom he had formerly lived in friendſhip. But this was only a ſly way of wounding an amiable character; for Mr Bailey continued firmly attached to Preſbyterian government, and in oppoſition to Prelacy, to his very laſt. Several inſtances could be brought to this purpoſe, but a few excerpts from ſome of his own letters, particularly one to Lauderdale a little before his death *, may effectually wipe away that reproach. "Having the occaſion of this bearer, I tell you my heart is broken with grief, and I find the burden of the public weighty, and haſtening me to my grave. What need you do that diſſervice to the King, which all of you cannot recompenſe, to grieve the hearts of all your godly friends in Scotland, with pulling down all our laws at once, which concerned our church ſince 1633? Was this good advice, or will it thrive? Is it wiſdom to bring back upon us the Canterburian times, the ſame deſigns, the ſame practices? Will they not bring on the ſame effects, whatever fools dream?" And again, in the ſame letter downward, he ſays, "My Lord, you are the nobleman in all the world I love beſt, and eſteem moſt. I think I may ſay, I write to you what I pleaſe. If you have gone with your heart to forſake your covenant; to countenance the re-introduction of biſhops and books, and ſtrengthen the King by your advice in theſe things, I think you a prime tranſgreſſor, and liable among the firſt to anſwer for that great ſin," &c. And when the Archbiſhop came to viſit him, when on his death-bed, he would not ſo much as

* See this and another of his letters to Lauderdale, Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 129.

give him the appellation of Lord: yea, it appears, that the introduction of Prelacy was a mean of bringing on his death, as ſeems evident from his laſt public letter to his couſin Mr Spang, dated May 12. 1662, ſome weeks before his death.—After ſome account of the weſt country miniſters being called in to Edinburgh, he ſays, "The guiſe is now, the biſhops will trouble no man, but the ſtates will puniſh ſeditious miniſters. This poor church is in the moſt hard taking that ever we have ſeen. This is my daily grief; this hath brought all my bodily trouble on me, and is like to do me more harm.—And very quickly after that, in the month of July, he got to his reſt and glorious reward, being aged ſixty-three years.

Mr Robert Bailey may very juſtly, for his profound and univerſal learning, exact and ſolid judgement, be accounted amongſt the great men of his time. He was an honour to his country, and his works do praiſe him in the gates; among which are, his Scripture-chronology, wrote in Latin; his Canterburian Self-conviction; his Parallel, or Compariſon of the Liturgy with the Maſs-book; his Diſſuaſive againſt the Errors of the Times; and a large manuſcript collection of hiſtorical papers and letters, conſiſting of four volumes folio, beginning at the year 1637, and ending at the Reſtoration, never hitherto publiſhed. To him is by ſome aſcribed that book, intitled, *Hiſtoria motuum in regno Scotiæ, annis* 1634,—1640; and if he was the author of that, then alſo of another anonymous paper, called, a Short Relation of the State of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Reformation of Religion to the month of October 1638. For, from the preface of the laſt-mentioned book, it appears, that both were wrote by the ſame hand. He alſo wrote Laudenſium, an anecdote againſt Arminianiſm; a Reply to the Modeſt Inquirer, with other tracts, and ſome ſermons on public occaſions.

N. B. In the life and now publiſhed letters of Principal Bailey, we have a recent proof of human frailty. Nay more, that even great and good men will be biaſſed in judgement, and prejudiced in mind at others more faithful than themſelves: for inſtance, theſe very noblemen and miniſters to whom he gives the higheſt eulogiums of praiſe, for being the prime inſtruments in God's hand for carrying on the work of reformation betwixt 1638 and 1649, as ſoon as they took the remonſtrators ſide, he not only repreſents ſome of them to be of ſuch a character as I ſhall forbear to mention, but even gives us a very diminutive view of their moſt faithful contendings about that time; wherein the gallant Argyle,—courageous Loudon,—the able ſtateſman Warriſton,—faithful Guthrie,—godly Rutherford,—peaceable Livingſtone,—ho-

ne

neſt M'Ward, &c. cannot evite their ſhare of reflections; which no doubt add nothing to the credit of the laſt ten years of his hiſtory; and all from a miſtaken view of the controverſy betwixt thoſe proteſtors and his own party the reſolutioners; taking all the diviſions and calamities that befel the church, ſtate, and army, at that time, to proceed from the proteſtors not concurring with them; whereas it is juſt the reverſe; the taking in Charles II. that atheiſtical wretch, and his malignant faction, into the boſom of the church, proved the Achan in the camp, that brought all theſe evils upon the church, ſtate, and army, at and ſince that time. Theſe proteſtors could not ſubmit their conſciences to the arbitrary dictates of the public reſolutioners: they could not agree to violate their almoſt newly ſworn covenant, by approving of the admiſſion of theſe wicked malignants into public places of power and truſt; in defence of which many of them faced the awful gibbet, baniſhment, impriſonment, and other excruciating hardſhips; whereas ſeveral hundreds of the reſolutioners, on the very firſt blaſt of temptation, involved themſelves in fearful apoſtacy and perjury; ſome of them became violent perſecutors of theſe their faithful brethren; and not a few of them abſolute monſters of iniquity. The dreadful effects of which have almoſt ruined both church and ſtate in theſe lands; and perhaps this ſame malignant faction will utterly do it at laſt, if the Lord in mercy prevent not. For the above, ſee Bailey's Letters, vol. ii. p. 350.—448.

MR DAVID DICKSON.

MR DICKSON was born about the year 1583. He was the only ſon of Mr John Dick, or Dickſon, merchant in Glaſgow, whoſe father was an old feuer and poſſeſſor of ſome lands in the barony of Fintry, and pariſh of St Ninian's, called the Kirk of the Muir. His parents were religious, of a conſiderable ſubſtance, and were many years married before they had Mr David, who was their only child; and as he was a Samuel, aſked of the Lord, ſo he was early devoted to him and the miniſtry; yet afterwards the vow was forgot, till Providence, by a rod, and ſore ſickneſs on their ſon, brought their ſins to remembrance, and then he was ſent to reſume his ſtudies at the univerſity of Glaſgow.

Soon after he had received the degree of Maſter of Arts, he was admitted profeſſor of philoſophy in that college, where he

he was very useful in training up the youth in solid learning; and with the learned Principal Boyd of Trochridge, the worthy Mr Blair, and other pious members of that society, his pains were singularly blessed in reviving decayed serious piety among the youth, in that declining and corrupted time, a little after the imposition of Prelacy upon the church. Here, by a recommendation of the General Assembly, not long after our reformation from Popery, the regents were only to continue eight years in their profession; after which, such as were found qualified were licensed, and upon a call, after trial, were admitted to the holy ministry; by which constitution the church came to be filled with ministers well seen in all the branches of useful learning. Accordingly, Mr Dickson was, in 1618, ordained minister to the town of Irvine, where he laboured for about twenty three years.

That same year, the corrupt Assembly at Perth agreed to the five articles imposed upon them by the King and the prelates. Mr Dickson at first had no great scruple against Episcopacy, as he had not studied these questions much, till the articles were imposed by this meeting, and then he closely examined them; and the more he looked into them, the more aversion he found to them; and when, some time after, by a sore sickness, he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave open testimony of the sinfulness of them.

But when this came to take air, Mr James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission Court, Jan. 29. 1622. Mr Dickson, at his entrance to the ministry at Irvine, preached upon 2 Cor. v. 11. the first part, *Knowing the terror of the Lord, we persuade men:* and when he perceived, at this juncture, a separation at least for a time, the Sabbath before his compearance, he chose the next words of that text, *But we are made manifest unto God.* Extraordinary power and singular movings of the affections accompanied that parting sermon.

Mr Dickson appeared before the Commission, where, after the summons being read, and some other reasoning among the bishops, he gave in his declinature; upon which, some of the bishops, whispering in his ear, as if they had favoured him upon the good report they had heard of him and his ministry, said to him, Take it up, take it up.—He answered calmly, I laid it not down for that end to take it up again. Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrew's, asked, if he would subscribe it. He professed himself ready. The clerk, at the Bishop's desire, began to read it; but had scarce read three lines, till the Bishop burst forth in railing speeches, full of gall and bitterness; and turning to Mr David, he said, "These men will speak of humility and meekness, and talk of the Spirit of God, &c.

&c. but ye are led by the ſpirit of the devil; there is more pride in you, I dare ſay, than in all the biſhops of Scotland. I hanged a Jeſuit in Glaſgow for the like fault." Mr David anſwered, "I am not a rebel; I ſtand here as the King's ſubject, &c.; grant me the benefit of the law, and of a ſubject, and I crave no more." But the Biſhop ſeemed to take no notice of theſe words. Aberdeen aſked him, whether he would obey the King, or not? He anſwered, "I will obey the King in all things in the Lord." I told you that, ſaid Glaſgow, I knew he would ſeek to his limitation. Aberdeen aſked again, May not the King give his authority, that we have, to as many ſutors and tailors in Edinburgh, to ſit, and ſee whether ye be doing your duty or not? Mr David ſaid, My declinature will anſwer to that. Then St Andrew's fell again to railing, The devil, ſaid he, will deviſe, he has ſcripture enough; and then called him knave, ſwinger, a young lad; and ſaid, he might have been teaching bairns in the ſchool: thou knoweſt what Ariſtotle ſaith, ſaid he, but thou haſt no theology; becauſe he perceived that Mr Dickſon gave him no titles, but once called him Sir, he gnaſhed his teeth, and ſaid, Sir, you might have called me Lord; when I was in Glaſgow long ſince, ye called me ſo, but I cannot tell how, ye are become a puritan now. All this time he ſtood ſilent, and once lifted up his eyes to heaven, which St Andrew's called a proud look. So after ſome more reaſoning, betwixt him and the biſhops, St Andrew's pronounced the ſentence, in theſe words: "We deprive you of your miniſtry at Irvine, and ordain you to enter in Turref, in the north, in twenty days." "The will of the Lord be done," ſaid Mr David; "though ye caſt me off, the Lord will take me up. Send me whither ye will, I hope my Maſter will go with me; and as he has been with me heretofore, he will be with me ſtill, as with his own weak ſervant."

Mr Dickſon continued preaching till the twenty days were expired, and then began his journey. But the Earl of Eglinton prevailed with the Biſhop of Glaſgow, that he might come to Eglinton, and preach there. But the people from all quarters, reſorting to his ſermons in Eglinton's hall and courtyard, he enjoyed that liberty but two months; for the Biſhop ſent him another charge, and he went to the place of his confinement.

While in Turref, he was daily employed to preach, by Mr Thomas Mitchell miniſter there. But he found far greater difficulty both in ſtudying and preaching there, than formerly. Some time after his friends prevailed with the Biſhop of Glaſgow to repone him, upon condition he would take back

his

his declinature, and for that purpose wrote to Mr Dickson to come to Glasgow. He came as desired; and though many wise and gracious persons urged him to yield, yet he could not be persuaded; yea, at last it was granted to him, that if he, or any friend he pleased, would go to the Bishop's castle, and either lift the paper, or suffer his friend to take it off the hall-table, without seeing the Bishop at all, he might return to Irvine. But he found that to be but a juggling in such a weighty matter, in point of public testimony, and resolved to meddle no farther in this matter, but to return to his confinement. Accordingly he began his journey, and was scarce a mile out of town, till his soul was filled with such joy and approbation from God, that he seldom had the like.

But some time after, by the continual intercession of the Earl of Eglinton and the town of Irvine with the Bishop, the Earl got a licence to send for him, and a promise, that he should stay till the King challenged him. Thus he returned, without any condition on his part, to his flock, about the end of July 1623.

While at Irvine, Mr Dickson's ministry was singularly countenanced of God, and multitudes were convinced and converted, and few who lived in his day, were more instrumental in this work than he; so that people, under exercise and soul-concern, came from every quarter about Irvine, and attended his sermons; and the most eminent Christians, from all corners of the church, came and joined him at the communion; which were then times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord.

Yea, not a few came from distant places, and settled at Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry; yet he himself observed, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings of Ayr in Mr Welch's time; where indeed the gospel had wonderful success in conviction, conversion, and confirmation. Here he commonly had his week-day sermon upon Monday, which was the market-day then at Irvine.—Upon the Sabbath-evenings, many persons under soul-distress used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down. In all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall, which was in his own house, there would sometimes have been scores of serious Christians waiting for him after he came from church. These, with the people round the town, who came into the market, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays, as on the Lord's day. By these week-day sermons, the famous Stuarton

ſickneſs (as it was called) was begun about the year 1630, and ſpread from houſe to houſe for many miles in the valley, where Stuarton water runs. Satan indeed endeavoured to bring a reproach upon ſuch ſerious perſons, as were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running ſome, ſeemingly under ſerious concern, to exceſs, both in time of ſermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr Dickſon, and other miniſters who dealt with them, to act ſo prudent a part, that Satan's deſign was much diſappointed, and ſolid ſerious practical religion flouriſhed mightily in the weſt of Scotland about this time, under the hardſhips of Prelacy.

About the years 1630 and 1631, ſome of our Scots miniſters, Meſſ. Livingſtone, Blair, and others, were ſettled among the Scots in the north of Ireland, where they were remarkably owned of the Lord in their miniſtry and communions about the ſix-mile water, for reviving religion, and the power and practice of it. But the Iriſh biſhops, at the inſtigation of the Scots biſhops, got them removed for a ſeaſon. After they were ſilenced, and had come over to Scotland, about the year 1637, Mr Dickſon employed Meſſ. Blair, Livingſtone, and Cunningham, at his communion, for which he was called before the High Commiſſion; but, the prelates power being on the decline, he ſoon got rid of that trouble.

Several other inſtances might be given concerning Mr Dickſon, both as to his uſefulneſs in anſwering perplexing caſes of conſcience, and to ſtudents who had their eye to the miniſtry. While he was at Irvine, his prudent directions, cautions, and encouragements, given them, were extremely uſeful and beneficial; as alſo ſome examples might be given of his uſefulneſs to his very enemies; but there is little room here to inſiſt on theſe things.

It was Mr Dickſon who brought over the preſbytery of Irvine to ſupplicate the Council in 1637, for a ſuſpenſion of the Service-book. At this time, four ſupplications from different quarters, met at the Council-houſe door, to their mutual ſurpriſe and encouragement; which were the ſmall beginnings of that happy turn of affairs, that next year enſued: In which great revolution, Mr Dickſon had no ſmall ſhare. He was ſent to Aberdeen, with Meſſ. Henderſon and Cant, by the covenanters, to perſuade that town and country to join in renewing the covenant; this brought him to bear a great part in the debates with the learned Doctors Forbes, Barrow, Sibbald, &c. at Aberdeen; which, being in print, needs no farther notice at preſent.

And when the King was prevailed with to allow a free

General Aſſembly at Glaſgow, November 1638, Mr Dickſon and Mr Bailey, from the preſbytery, made no ſmall figure there in all the important matters before that grave Aſſembly. Here Mr Dickſon ſignaliſed himſelf, in a moſt ſeaſonable and prudent ſpeech he had, when his Majeſty's Commiſſioner threatened to leave the Aſſembly; as alſo, in the 11th ſeſſion, December 5. he had another moſt learned diſcourſe againſt Arminianiſm *.

By this time, the Lord's eminent countenancing of Mr Dickſon's miniſtry at Irvine, not only ſpread abroad, but his eminent prudence, learning, and holy zeal, came to be univerſally known, eſpecially to miniſters, from the part he bore in the Aſſembly of Glaſgow, ſo that he was almoſt unanimouſly choſen moderator to the next General Aſſembly at Edinburgh, in Auguſt 1639, in the 10th ſeſſion, whereof the city of Glaſgow preſented a call to him; but partly becauſe of his own averſion, and the vigorous appearance of the Earl of Eglinton, and his loving people, and moſtly for the remarkable uſefulneſs of his miniſtry in that corner, the General Aſſembly continued him ſtill at Irvine.

Not long after this, about 1641, he was tranſported to be profeſſor in the univerſity of Glaſgow, where he did great ſervice to the church, by training up young men for the holy miniſtry; and yet, notwithſtanding of his laborious work, he preached on the forenoon of every Sabbath, in the high church there; where for ſome time he had the learned Mr Patrick Gilleſpie for his colleague.

In 1643, the church laid a very great work upon him, together with Mr Calderwood and Mr Henderſon, to form a draught of a directory for public worſhip, as appears by an act of the General Aſſembly. When the peſtilence was rageing at Glaſgow in 1647, the maſters and ſtudents, upon Mr Dickſon's motion, removed to Irvine. There it was that the learned Mr Durham paſſed his trials, and was earneſtly recommended by the profeſſor to the preſbytery and magiſtrates of Glaſgow. A very ſtrict friendſhip ſubſiſted between thoſe two great lights of the church, and, among other effects of their religious converſation, we have the Sum of Saving Knowledge, which hath been ſo often printed with our Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms. This, after ſeveral converſations upon the ſubject, and manner of handling it, ſo that it might be uſeful to vulgar capacities, was by Meſſ. Dickſon and Durham, dictated to a reverend miniſter about the year 1650; and though never judicially approven by this church,

* See the firſt diſcourſe in Stevenſon's Hiſtory, p. 562.; and the laſt in the Aſſembly-journal.

church, yet it deſerves to be much more read and practiſed than what it at preſent is.

About this time he was tranſported from the profeſſion of divinity at Glaſgow, to the ſame work at Edinburgh. At which time he publiſhed his *Prelectiones in confeſſionem fidei*, now publiſhed in Engliſh, which he dictated in Latin to his ſcholars. There he continued his laborious care of ſtudents in divinity, the growing hopes of the church; and either at Glaſgow or at Edinburgh, the moſt part of the Preſbyterian miniſters, at leaſt in the weſt, ſouth, and eaſt parts of Scotland, from 1640, were under his inſpection; and from the fore-mentioned book, we may perceive his care to educate them in the form of ſound words, and to ground them in the excellent ſtandards of doctrine agreed to by the once famous church of Scotland; and happy had their ſucceſſors been, had they preſerved, and handed down to poſterity, the ſcriptural doctrines pure and entire, as they were delivered by our firſt reformers, to Mr Dickſon and his contemporaries, and from him and them handed down without corruption to their ſucceſſors.

All this time, viz. in 1650, and 1651, Mr Dickſon had a great ſhare in the printed pamphlets upon the unhappy debates betwixt the reſolutioners and the proteſtors: he was in his opinion for the public reſolutioners: and moſt of the papers on that ſide were wrote by him, Mr Bailey, and Mr Douglas; as thoſe on the other ſide were wrote by Mr James Guthrie, Mr Patrick Gilleſpie, and a few others.

Mr Dickſon continued at Edinburgh, diſcharging his truſt with great diligence and faithfulneſs, until the melancholy turn by the reſtoration of Prelacy, upon the return of Charles II.; when, for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, he was with many other Worthies, turned out; ſo that his heart was broken with this heavy change on the beautiful face of that once famed reformed church.

He had married Margaret Robertſon, daughter to Archibald Robertſon of Stone-hall, a younger brother of the houſe of Ernock, in the ſhire of Lanark. By her he had three ſons: John, clerk to the Exchequer in Scotland; Alexander, profeſſor of Hebrew in the college of Edinburgh; and Archibald, who lived with his family afterwards in the pariſh of Irvine.

On December 1662, he fell extremely ſick, at which time worthy Mr Livingſtone, now ſuffering for the ſame cauſe, though he had then but forty-eight hours liberty to ſtay in Edinburgh, came to ſee him on his death-bed. They had been intimately acquainted near forty years, and now rejoiced as fellow-confeſſors together. When Mr Livingſtone aſked the profeſſor, what were his thoughts of the preſent

affairs, and how it was with himſelf? His anſwer was, "That he was ſure Jeſus Chriſt would not put up with the indignities done againſt his work and people:" and as for himſelf, ſaid he, "I have taken all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and have caſt them together in a heap before the Lord, and have fled from both to Jeſus Chriſt, and in him I have ſweet peace. *"

Having been very low and weak for ſome days, he called all his family together, and ſpoke in particular to each of them, and having gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the apoſtolical bleſſing, 1 Cor. xiii. 13. 14. with much gravity and ſolemnity, and then put up his hand, and cloſed his own eyes; and, without any ſtruggle, or apparent pain, immediately expired in his ſon's arms, and, like Jacob of old, was gathered to his people in a good old age, being now upwards of ſeventy-two years.

He was a man ſingularly endowed with an edifying gift of preaching; and his painful labours had been, in an eminent manner, bleſſed with ſucceſs. His ſermons were always full of ſolid and ſubſtantial matter, very ſcriptural, and in a very familiar ſtyle; not low, but extremely ſtrong aud affecting, being ſomewhat a-kin to the ſtyle of godly Mr Rutherford; and it is ſaid, that ſcare any miniſter of that time came ſo near Mr Dickſon's ſtyle or method of preaching, as the Rev. Mr William Guthrie, miniſter at Finwick, who equalled, if not exceeded him.

His works are, a Commentary on the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, in 8vo; on Matthew's Goſpel, in 4to; on the Pſalms of David, in 8vo; on the Epiſtles, Latin and Engliſh, in 4to; and his *Prælectiones in confeſſionem fidei*; or, Truth's Victory over Error, &c. in folio; *Therapeutica ſacra*; or, Caſes of Conſcience reſolved, in Latin 4to, in Engliſh 8vo; a Treatiſe of the Promiſes, 12mo, printed at Dublin in 1630. And, beſide theſe, he wrote a great part of the Anſwers to the Demands; and Duplies to the Replies of the Doctors of Aberdeen, in 4to; and ſome of the pamphlets in defence of the public reſolutioners, as has been already obſerved; and ſome ſhort poems on pious and ſerious ſubjects, ſuch as, the Chriſtian Sacrifice, True Chriſtian Love, to be ſung with the common tunes of the Pſalms. There are alſo ſeveral other pieces of his, moſtly in manuſcript, ſuch as, his *Tyrones concionaturi*, ſuppoſed to be dictated to his ſcholars at Glaſgow; *Summarium libri Jeſaiæ*: his Letters on the Reſolutioners; his Firſt Paper on the Public Reſolutions; his Replies to Mr Gilleſpie and Mr James Guthrie; his Non-ſeparation from the

* See Mr Livingſtone's Memorable Characteriſtics, p. 81.

the Well-affected in the Army; as alſo ſome ſermons at Irvine, upon 1 Tim. i. 5. and his Precepts for a Daily Direction of a Chriſtian, &c. by way of catechiſm, for his congregation at Irvine; with a Compend of his Sermons upon Jeremiah and the Lamentations, and the firſt nine chapters to the Romans.

Sir ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

THE firſt of his public appearances in the favours of that glorious work of reformation, commonly called the ſecond reformation period, ſeems to have been about the beginning of 1638. When it came firſt to be known that Traquair was going up to the King, the deputies, afterwards called the covenanters, were deſirous that he would carry up an information, which the Lord Balmerino and Mr Johnſton (the only advocates as yet truſted by the petitioners) had drawn up, and that he would preſent the ſame, with their ſupplication, to his Majeſty. But both theſe were rejected, and orders given by him to Traquair, to publiſh a proclamation at Edinburgh and Stirling, againſt the requiſitions of the covenanters. Sixteen of the nobles, with many barons, gentlemen, burgeſſes, and miniſters, did, after hearing ſaid proclamation, cauſe Mr Johnſton read a proteſt againſt the ſame. And the ſame year, when the Marquis of Hamilton cauſed publiſh another declaration, in name of the King, the covenanters, upon hearing it, gave in another proteſtation in the ſame place, by Mr Johnſton; whereupon the Earl of Caſſillis, in name of the nobility; Gibſon of Durie, in name of the barons; Fletcher, provoſt of Dundee, in name of the burgeſſes; Mr Kerr miniſter at Preſton, in name of the church; and Mr Archibald Johnſton, in name of all others who adhered to the covenant, took inſtruments in the hands of three notaries, and, in all humility, offered a copy of the ſame to the herald at the croſs of Edinburgh *.

Upon the 9th of September, a declaration of the ſame nature being publiſhed, the noblemen, gentlemen, burgeſſes, &c. gave another proteſt, and Mr Johnſton, header and advocate for the church, in name of all who adhered to the Confeſſion of Faith, and the covenant lately renewed within the kingdom, took inſtruments in the hands of three notaries there

* See further of theſe declarations and proteſts in Stevenſon's Hiſtory of Church and State, p. 361.

there preſent, and offered a copy thereof to the herald at the croſs of Edinburgh.

In the ſame year, when the famous General Aſſembly ſat down at Glaſgow, in the month of November, Mr Henderſon being choſen moderator, it was moved, that Mr Johnſton, who had hitherto ſerved the tables at Edinburgh without reward, and yet, with great diligence, ſkill, and integrity, deſerved the office of clerk above all others. After much reaſoning, concerning him and ſome others put on a leet for election, the rolls being called, on a vote for clerk, it carried unanimouſly for Mr Johnſton, who then gave his oath for fidelity, diligence, and a conſcientious uſe of the regiſters; and was admitted to all the rights, profits, and privileges, which any in that office had formerly enjoyed; and inſtruments taken, both of his admittance and acceptance.

Mr Johnſton being thus inſtalled, the moderator deſired, that all who had any acts or books of former Aſſemblies, would put them into his hands; whereupon Mr Sandihills (formerly clerk) exhibited two books, containing ſome acts from 1592 to that of Aberdeen in 1618, &c.; and being interrogate concerning the reſt, he ſolemnly averred, that he had received no more from the Archbiſhop, and, to his knowledge, he had no other belonging to the church. Then a farther motion was made by the Aſſembly, for recovering the reſt wanting, that if any had them, they ſhould give them up; whereupon Mr Johnſton gave an evidence how deſerving he was of the truſt repoſed in him, by producing on the table five books, being now ſeven in all, which were ſufficient to make up a regiſter of the church from the beginning of the Reformation; which was very acceptable to the whole Aſſembly.

In the 24th ſeſſion of this Aſſembly, a commiſſion was given to Mr Johnſton to be their procurator, and Mr Dalglieſh to be their agent; and in their laſt ſeſſion, of December 20. an act paſſed, allowing him the inſtruction of all treaties and papers that concerned the church, prohibiting all printers from publiſhing any thing of that kind, not licenſed by him.

But the King and the Canterburian faction, being highly diſpleaſed with the proceedings of this Aſſembly, advanced with an army towards the borders, which made the covenanters, ſeeing the danger they were expoſed unto, raiſe another army, with which, under the command of General Leſlie, they marched towards the King's army, now encamped on the ſouth ſide of Tweed, about three miles above Berwick. Upon their approach, the Engliſh began to faint; whereupon the King and the Engliſh nobility deſired a treaty; which was eaſily granted by the Scots, who appointed the Earls of Rothes,

Dunfermline, and Loudon, the ſheriff of Tiviotdale, Mr Henderſon, and Mr Archibald Johnſton, advocate for the church, as their commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh commiſſioners; to whom his Majeſty granted a ſafe conduct, upon the 9th of June 1639. The Scots, having made known their demands, condeſcended upon ſeveral particulars, which were anſwered by the other ſide. On the 17th, and the day following, the articles of pacification were ſubſcribed by both parties, in ſight of both armies, at Kirks, near Berwick.

But this treaty was but ſhort-lived, and as ill kept; for the very next year, the King took arms again againſt the Scots, who immediately armed themſelves a ſecond time, and went for England, where they defeated a party of the Engliſh at Newburn, and puſhed their way as far as Durham. The King, finding himſelf in this ſtrait, the Engliſh ſupplicating him behind, and the Scots with a potent army before him, reſolved on a ſecond treaty, which was ſet on foot at Rippon, and concluded at London; and thither Mr Henderſon and Mr Johnſton were ſent again, as the commiſſioners for the church; in which affairs they behaved with great prudence and candour. When the Scots parliament ſat down this year, they, by an act, appointed a fee of 100 merks to Mr Johnſton as advocate for the church, and 500 merks as clerk to the General Aſſembly; ſo ſenſible were they of his many ſervices done to this church and nation.

Next year, 1641, the King, having fallen out with his Engliſh parliament, came to Scotland, where he attended the Scots parliament. In this parliament ſeveral offices of ſtate were filled up with perſons fit for ſuch employments. The Earl of Argyle being put at the head of the Treaſury, and the Earl of Loudon made Chancellor; among others, Mr Archibald Johnſton ſtood fair for the Regiſter-office; and the generality of the well-affected thought it the juſt reward of his labours; but the King, Lennox, Argyle, &c. being for Gibſon of Durie, he carried the prize. Yet Mr Johnſton's diſappointment was ſupplied by the King's conferring the order of knighthood upon him, and granting him a commiſſion to be one of the Lords of Seſſion, with an annual penſion of L.200; and Orbiſton was made Juſtice-Clerk *.

During this and the next year, Mr (now Sir) Archibald Johnſton had ſeveral great employments committed to his truſt. He was one of thoſe nominated to conſerve the articles of peace betwixt the two kingdoms until the meeting of parliament, &c. And then he was appointed one of theſe commiſſioners,

* See a more full account of theſe affairs in the Hiſtory of Church and State, vol. iii. p. 1009.

miſſioners, who were ſent up to London to negotiate with the Engliſh parliament, for ſending over ſome relief from Scotland to Ireland, it being then on the back of the Iriſh rebellion. While at London, they waited on his Majeſty at Windſor, and offered their mediation betwixt him and his two Houſes of Parliament; but for this he gave them little thanks; although he found his miſtake afterwards.

When the General Aſſembly ſat down at Edinburgh, in 1643, they, upon a motion from Sir Archibald Johnſton, their clerk, emitted a declaration for joining with the Engliſh parliament, for a variety of reaſons, of which theſe were the ſum and ſubſtance. "(1.) They apprehend the war is for religion. (2.) The Proteſtant faith is in danger. (3.) Gratitude for the aſſiſtance in the time of the former reformation, required a ſuitable return. (4.) Becauſe the churches of Scotland and England, being embarked in one bottom, if the one be ruined, the other cannot ſubſiſt. (5.) The proſpect of an uniformity between the two kingdoms in diſcipline and worſhip, will ſtrengthen the Proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad. (6.) The preſent parliament had been friendly to the Scots, and might be ſo again. (7.) Though the King had ſo lately eſtabliſhed religion amongſt them, according to their deſire, yet they could not confide in his royal declaration, having ſo often found his actions and promiſes contradictory the one to the other," &c. Theſe the Eſtates took in good part, and ſuggeſted other reaſons of their own, as they ſaw proper.

Toward the latter end of this Aſſembly, upon the arrival of the commiſſioners from the Parliament and Aſſembly at Weſtminſter, the Scots Aſſembly, by an act of ſeſſion 14. commiſſioned Meſſ. Henderſon, Douglas, Rutherford, Bailey, and Gilleſpie, miniſters, John Earl of Caſſillis, John Lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnſton of Warriſton, ruling elders, or any three of them, whereof two ſhould be miniſters, "to repair to the kingdom of England, and there to deliver the declaration ſent to the Parliament of England, and the letter ſent to the Aſſembly of Divines, now ſitting in that kingdom, and to propound, conſult, treat, and conclude with that Aſſembly, or any commiſſioner deputed, or any committee or commiſſioner deputed by the Houſe of Parliament, in all matters which may further the union of this iſland, in one form of church-government, one Confeſſion of Faith, one Catechiſm, one Directory for the Worſhip of God, according to the inſtructions they have received from the Aſſembly, or ſhall receive from time to time hereafter, from the commiſſioners of the Aſſembly deputed for that effect." This

commiſſio

commiſſion was again renewed by ſeveral acts of the ſubſequent Aſſemblies, till the year 1648. And it appears, that Lord Warriſton did not only uſe all diligence as a member of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, for bringing about the uniformity of religion in worſhip, diſcipline, and government, but alſo, for ſome time, he ſat as a member of the Engliſh parliament, for concerting ſuch methods as might bring about a firm and laſting peace betwixt the two kingdoms afterwards; which is, and was reckoned, a moſt noble piece of ſervice both to church and ſtate in thoſe days; yet, we ſhall find it accounted high treaſon in this worthy man afterwards.

Lord Warriſton had, for his upright and faithful dealing, in the many important matters committed to his charge, received many marks of favour and dignity, both from church and ſtate; and, to crown all the reſt, the Scots parliament, in 1646, made an act, appointing his commiſſion to be Lord Advocate, with the conduct of the committee of London and Newcaſtle, and the general officers of the army: all which evidence, what a noble hand he had in carrying on that bleſſed work of reformation.

He had now been clerk to the General Aſſembly ſince the year 1638; and when that unhappy difference fell out in 1650, when the act of claſſes was repeated, whereby malignants were again taken into places of power and truſt, which occaſioned the riſe of thoſe called proteſtors and reſolutioners in 1650, Lord Warriſton was one of thoſe who had a principal hand in managing affairs among thoſe faithful anti-reſolutioners; for he wrote a moſt ſolid letter to that meeting at St Andrew's, July 18. 1651, concerning which, the proteſtors, in their reaſons, proving the ſaid meeting to be no lawful, full, or free General Aſſembly, ſay, "Sir Archibald Johnſton, clerk to the Aſſembly, a man undeniably faithful, ſingularly acquainted with the acts and proceedings of this kirk, and with the matters preſently in controverſy, and who hath been uſeful above many in all the tracts of the work of reformation, from the beginning, in all the ſteps thereof, both at home and abroad; having written his mind to the meeting, (not being able to come himſelf), about the things that are to be agitated in the Aſſembly, and held out much clear light from the ſcriptures, and from the acts of former Aſſemblies, in theſe particulars; albeit the letter was delivered publicly to the moderator, in the face of the Aſſembly, and urged to be read by him who preſented it, that then the moderator did break it up, and cauſed it to be read; and that many members did thereafter, upon ſeveral occaſions,

and at ſeveral diets, preſs the reading of it, but it could never be obtained," &c.

And further, thoſe papers bearing the name of repreſentations, propoſitions, proteſtations, &c. were by the ſaid Lord Warriſton, Meſſ. Cant, Rutherford, Livingſtone, &c. preſented to the reverend miniſters and elders met at Edinburgh, July 24. 1652, when the Marquis of Argyle, at London, procured an equal hearing to the proteſtors; and Mr Simpſon, one of theſe three miniſters depoſed by the Aſſembly 1651, being ſent up by the proteſtors for that purpoſe, in the beginning of 1657, Meſſ. James Guthrie, and Patrick Gilleſpie, the other three who had been depoſed by that Aſſembly, together with Lord Warriſton, were ſent up to aſſiſt Mr Simpſon. [See Blair's Memoirs, p. 121.]

Lord Warriſton had now, for the ſpace of five years or more, wreſtled and acted, with all his power, for the King's intereſt; and, being a man of great reſolution, he both ſpoke and wrote openly againſt Scotchmen ſubmitting to take offices under the uſurper: But being ſent up to London in the foreſaid year 1657, with ſome of the Scots nobility, upon ſome important affairs, and Cromwell being fully ſenſible how much it would be for his intereſt to gain ſuch a man as Warriſton over to his ſide, he prevailed upon him to re-enter to the office of Clerk-regiſter; which was much lamented by this worthy man afterwards, as well as his ſitting and preſiding in ſome meeting at London after Oliver's death.

Mr Wodrow (vol. i. p. 164.) ſays, that at that meeting at Edinburgh, which ſent him up to London upon buſineſs, he reaſoned againſt it, and to the utmoſt of his power oppoſed his being ſent up, acquainting them with what was his weak ſide; that, through the eaſineſs of his temper, he might not be able to reſiſt importunity, craving, that he might not be ſent among ſnares; and yet, after all, he was peremptorily named.

To account ſome way for his conduct in this:—His family was numerous; and very conſiderable ſums were owing him, which he had advanced for the public ſervice, and a good many bygone years ſalaries; he was, through importunity, thus prevailed upon to ſide with the uſurper, there being no other door open then for his relief. And yet after this his compliance, it was obſerved, he was generally more ſad and melancholy than what he had formerly been; and it is ſaid, that his outward affairs did not proſper ſo well afterwards.

The King being reſtored again to his dominions in 1660, and the Noble Marquis of Argyle impriſoned July 14. orders came down to ſeize Sir James Stuart, provoſt of Edinburgh,

Sir Archibald Johnſton of Warriſton, and Sir John Chiefly of Carſwell. The firſt and laſt were tried, but Lord Warriſton eſcaped for a time, and therefore was ſummoned, by ſound of trumpet, to ſurrender himſelf, and a proclamation iſſued out for ſeizing him, promiſing an hundred pounds Scots to any who ſhould do it, and diſcharging all from concealing or harbouring him, under pain of treaſon. A moſt arbitrary ſtep indeed! for here is not only a reward offered for apprehending this worthy gentleman, but declaring it treaſon for any to harbour him, and that without any cauſe aſſigned.

Upon the 10th of October following, he was, by order of the Council, declared fugitive; and next year (February 1.) the indictment againſt Lord Warriſton, William Dundas, and John Hume, was read in the Houſe, none of them being preſent. Warriſton was forfeited, and his forfeiture publicly proclaimed at the croſs of Edinburgh. The principal articles of his indictment were, his pleading againſt Newton Gordon, when he had the King's expreſs orders to plead for him; his aſſiſting to the act of the weſt kirk, &c.; his drawing out, contriving, or conſenting to, the paper called the Weſtern Remonſtrance, and the book called the Cauſes of the Lord's Wrath; his ſitting in parliament as a Peer in England, contrary to his oath, &c.; his accepting the office of Clerk-regiſter from the uſurper; —and being preſident of the committee of ſafety, when Richard was laid aſide, &c. But neither of all theſe were the proper cauſes of this good man's ſufferings, but a perſonal prejudice and pique was at the bottom of all theſe bitter proceedings; for the godly freedom he took in reproving vice, was what could never be forgotten or forgiven. Mr Wodrow hints, that the Earl of Briſtol was interceding for him, and ſays, "I have an account of this holy freedom of Lord Warriſton, uſed from a reverend miniſter, who was his chaplain at that time, and took freedom to adviſe my Lord not to adventure on it: yet this excellent perſon, having the glory of God and the honour of religion more in his eyes than his own ſafety, went on in his deſigned reproof, and would not, for a compliment, quit the peace he expected in his own conſcience, be the event what it would, by diſburdening himſelf; he got a great many fair words, and all was pretended to be taken well from my Lord Regiſter; but, as he was told by his well-wiſhers, it was never forgot." For, in compliance with Cromwell, he was not alone in the matter; the greater part of the nation being involved therein as well as he; and ſeveral of thoſe who had been named truſtees to the uſurper were all diſcharged from Court, except

Warriſton, who was before come to Scotland, and ordered to appear before the parliament at the ſitting down thereof.

This good man, after the ſentence of forfeiture and death paſſed againſt him by the firſt parliament, being obliged to go abroad, to eſcape the fury of his enemies, even there did their crafty malice reach him; for while at Hamburgh, being viſited with ſore ſickneſs, it is certain that Dr Bates, one of King Charles's phyſicians, intending to kill him, contrary to his faith and office, preſcribed poiſon to him inſtead of phyſic, and then cauſed draw from him ſixty ounces of blood, whereby, though the Lord wonderfully preſerved his life, he was brought near the gates of death, and ſo far loſt his memory, that he could not remember what he had ſaid or done a quarter of an hour before, and continued ſo until the day of his martyrdom.

And yet all this did not ſatisfy his cruel and blood-thirſty enemies; while he was yet in life they ſought him carefully; and at laſt, he having gone unadviſedly to France, one Alexander Murray, being diſpatched in queſt of him, apprehended him at Roan, while he was engaged in ſecret prayer, a duty wherein he much delighted. In January 1663, he was brought over priſoner, and committed to the Tower of London, where he continued till the beginning of June, when he was ſent down to Edinburgh to be executed.

His carriage during his paſſage was truly Chriſtian. He landed at Leith on the 8th, and was committed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; from thence he was brought before the parliament on the 8th of July. His nephew, Biſhop Burnet, in his hiſtory, ſays, he was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to any government to proceed againſt him.

When at the bar of the Houſe, he diſcovered ſuch weakneſs of memory and judgement, that almoſt every perſon lamented him, except Sharp and the other biſhops, who ſcandalouſly and baſely triumphed over, and publicly derided him; although it is well known, ſays the author of the Apologetical Relation, "that Lord Warriſton was once in caſe, not only to have been a member, but a preſident, of any judicatory in Europe, and to have ſpoke for the cauſe and intereſt of Chriſt before kings, to the ſtopping of the mouths of gainſayers.

Here it ſeemed that many of the members of parliament inclined to ſpare his life; but when the queſtion was put whether the time of his execution ſhould be juſt now fixed or delayed, Lauderdale interpoſed, upon calling the roll, and delivered a moſt dreadful ſpeech for his preſent execution.

An

And ſentence was pronounced, that he be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, on the 22d of July, and his head placed on the Nether Bow, beſide that of Mr Guthrie. He received his ſentence with ſuch meekneſs as filled all with admiration; for then he deſired, that the beſt bleſſings might be on church and ſtate, and on his Majeſty, whatever might befal himſelf, and that God would give him true and faithful counſellors.

During the whole time of his impriſonment, he was in a moſt ſpiritual and tender frame, to the conviction of his very enemies; and the nearer that his death approached, the compoſure of his mind became the more conſpicuous. He reſted agreeably the night before his execution, and in the morning was full of conſolation, ſweetly expreſſing his aſſurance of being clothed with a long white robe, and of getting a new ſong of the Lamb's praiſe in his mouth. Before noon he dined with cheerfulneſs, "hoping to ſup in heaven, and to drink the next cup freſh and new in his Father's kingdom."

After he had ſpent ſome time in ſecret prayer, about two o'clock he was taken from priſon, attended by ſeveral of his friends in mourning, though he himſelf was full of holy cheerfulneſs and courage, and in a perfect ſerenity of mind. When come to the ſcaffold, he ſaid frequently to the people, "Your prayers, your prayers." When he was on the ſcaffold, he ſaid, "I intreat you, quiet yourſelves a little, till this dying man deliver his laſt ſpeech among you;" and deſired they would not be offended at his making uſe of the paper to help his memory, ſo much impaired by long ſickneſs and the malice of phyſicians. Then he read his ſpeech, firſt on the one ſide of the ſcaffold, and then on the other.—In which ſpeech, after a ſhort preamble, ſhewing that that which he intended to have ſpoken at his death, was not now in his power, being taken from him, yet hoped the Lord would preſerve it to be his teſtimony; being now for ſome time in a moſt melancholy circumſtance, through long and ſore ſickneſs, drawing of blood, &c. He, in the firſt place, confeſſeth his ſins, pleads for forgiveneſs, bewails his compliance with the uſurper, although, ſaid he, he was not alone in that offence, but had the body of the nation going before him, and the example of all ranks to enſnare him, &c. Then declares his adherence to the covenanted work of reformation, earneſtly deſiring the prayers of all the Lord's praying people, &c.; and vindicates himſelf from having any acceſſion to the late King's death, and to the making of the change of government; taking the great God of heaven to witneſs between him and his accuſers. And at laſt concluded with theſe words: "I do here now ſubmit, and commit

my

my ſoul and body, wife and children, and children's children, from generation to generation for ever, with all others his friends and followers, all his doing and ſuffering witneſſes, ſympathiſing ones in preſent and ſubſequent generations, unto the Lord's choice mercies, graces, favours, ſervices, employments, enjoyments, and inheritments on earth, and in heaven, in time and all eternity; all which ſuits, with all others which he hath, at any time, by his Spirit, moved and aſſiſted the Father's merciful bowels, the Son's mediating merits, and me to put up, according to his will, I leave before and upon the Holy Spirit's compaſſionate groans, both now and for ever more. Amen *."

After the reading of his ſpeech, he prayed with great fervency and liberty, and, being in a rapture, he began thus: "Abba, Father! Accept this thy poor ſinful ſervant, coming unto thee, through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt," &c. Then taking leave of his friends, he prayed again with great fervency, being now near the end of that ſweet work he had ſo much, through the courſe of his time, been employed in. No miniſters were allowed to be with him; but it was, by thoſe preſent, obſerved that God ſufficiently made up that want. He was helped up the ladder by ſome of his friends in deep mourning; and, as he aſcended, he ſaid, "Your prayers, your prayers. Your prayers I deſire in the name of the Lord." Such was the eſteem he had for that duty.

When got to the top of the ladder, he cried out with a loud voice, "I beſeech you all who are the people of God not to ſcare at ſuffering for the intereſt of Chriſt, or ſtumble at any thing of this kind, falling out in theſe days; but be encouraged to ſuffer for him, for I aſſure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges." While the rope was putting about his neck, he repeated theſe words again, adding, "The Lord hath graciouſly comforted me." When the executioner deſired his forgiveneſs, he ſaid, "The Lord forgive thee, poor man;" and withal gave him ſome money, bidding him do his office if he was ready; and crying out, "O pray! Praiſe, praiſe, praiſe,"—he was turned over, and died almoſt without any ſtruggle, with his hands lifted up unto heaven, whither his ſoul aſcended, to enjoy the beatific preſence of his Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

He was ſoon cut down, and his head ſtruck off, and ſet up beſide that of his dear friend Mr Guthrie; and his body carried to the Grayfriars church-yard. But his head ſoon after by the intereſt and interceſſion of Lieutenant-general Drum-

* See Naphtali, and the Appendix to Wodrow's Hiſtory.

mond, who was married to one of his daughters, was taken down and interred with his body.

Thus ſtood, and thus fell, the eminently pious and truly learned Lord Warriſton, whoſe talents as a ſpeaker in the ſenate, as well as on the bench, are too well known to be here inſiſted upon; and for prayer, he was one among a thouſand, and oft-times met with very remarkable returns; and though he was for ſome time borne down with weakneſs and diſtreſs, yet he never came in the leaſt to doubt of his eternal happineſs; and uſed to ſay, "I dare never queſtion my ſalvation, I have ſo often ſeen God's face in the houſe of prayer." And, as the laſt cited hiſtorian obſerves, "Although his memory and talents were for ſome impaired, yet like the ſun at his ſetting, after he had been a while under a cloud, ſhone moſt brightly and ſurpriſingly, and ſo in ſome meaſure the more ſweetly; for that morning he was under a wonderful effuſion of the Spirit, as great perhaps as many have had ſince the primitive times."

He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations, and in which is a valuable treaſure both of Chriſtian experience, and matters of fact little known at preſent, which might be of great uſe and light to the hiſtory of that period, and wherein he records his ſure hopes, (after much wreſtling in which he was mightily helped), that the church of Scotland would be manifeſtly viſited, and freed from the evils ſhe fell under after the Reſtoration. And his numerous family, whom he ſo often left upon the Lord's providence, were, for the moſt part, as well provided for as could have been expected, though he had continued with them in his own outward proſperity. *He that overcometh ſhall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life: but I will! confeſs his name before my Father and his angels.*

MR JAMES WOOD.

HE was, ſome time after the year 1651, made provoſt, or principal of the old college of St Andrew's, and one of the miniſters there; and being one who in judgement fell in with the reſolution party, it occaſioned ſome difference betwixt him and Mr Rutherford, at that time profeſſor of divinity in the new college there; and yet he had ever a great and high eſteem for Mr Wood, as appears from a meſſage he

he ſent him, when on his death-bed, wherein he ſaid, "Tell Mr James Wood from me, I heartily forgive him all the wrongs he hath done, and deſire him from me to declare himſelf the man he is, ſtill for the government of the church of Scotland." And truly he was not deceived in him; for Mr Wood was true and faithful to the Preſbyterian government; nothing could prevail upon him to comply in the leaſt degree with abjured Prelacy. So far was he from that, that the apoſtacy and treachery of others, viz. Mr Sharp, whom he had too much truſted, broke his upright ſpirit, particularly the aggravated defection and perfidy of him whom he termed Judas, Demas, and Gehazi, all in one, after he had found what part he had acted to the church of Scotland, under truſt *.

Mr Wood continued in the exerciſe of the foreſaid offices until 1663, when, by the inſtigation of Biſhop Sharp, he got a charge to appear before the Council on the 23d July, to anſwer to ſeveral things laid to his charge; and though Mr Sharp was indebted to Mr Wood for any reputation he had, and was under as great obligations to him as one man could be to another, for they had been more than ordinarily familiar, yet now the Primate could not bear his continuing any longer there, and he cauſed cite him before the Council.

When he compeared, he was interrogate,—How he came to be provoſt of the college of St Andrew's?—When he began to anſwer, he was interrupted, in a very huffing manner, and commanded to give in his anſwer in a word; for the Archbiſhop, and others preſent, could not endure his telling ſome truths he was entering upon. He told them, he was called by the faculty of that college, at the recommendation of the uſurper, as ſome here, added he, (meaning Biſhop Sharp), very well know. Whereupon he was removed, and a little after called in again, and his ſentence intimate unto him, which was, "That the Lords of Council, for the preſent, do declare the ſaid place to be vacant, and ordain and

* About the time of Middleton's parliament 1661, or 1662, Mr Wood, in company with Mr Vetch, went into one Glen's ſhop in Edinburgh, to ſee Sharp, whom he had not ſeen ſince he turned biſhop.—Sharp uncovering his head to receive the Commiſſioner, they had a full view of his face, to whom Mr Wood looked very ſeriouſly; and then, with much affection, uttered theſe words: "O thou Judas, apoſtate, traitor, that has betrayed the famous Preſbyterian church of Scotland, to its utter ruin, as far as thou canſt; if I knew any thing of the mind of God, thou ſhalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though this was ſpoken eighteen years before, it was exactly accompliſhed in 1679. See Vetch's large life Biography, firſt edition, p. 471.

and command him to confine himſelf within the city of Edinburgh, and not to depart from thence until farther orders.' When his ſentence was intimate to him, he told them, he was ſorry they had condemned a perſon without hearing him, whom they could not charge with the breach of any law. In September following, Biſhop Sharp got the charge and privileges of that office; which ſhews that he had ſome reaſon for puſhing Mr Wood from that place.

Upon the 30th of the ſame month, Mr Wood preſented a petition to the Council, ſhewing,—That his father was extremely ſick, that he had ſeveral neceſſary affairs at St Andrew's, and deſired liberty to go there for that effect. Which petition being read, with a teſtificate of his father's infirmity, the Council granted licence to the petitioner to go to St Andrew's, to viſit his father, and perform his other neceſſary affairs; always returning when he ſhould be called by the Council.

Thus he continued, till toward the beginning of the year 1664, when he took ſickneſs, whereof he died; and though he ſuffered not in his body, as ſeveral of his brethren did, yet the Archbiſhop, it appears, was reſolved to ruin his name and reputation after his death, if not ſooner'; in order to which the Primate ſaw good, once or twice, to give him a viſit, when on his deathbed in St Andrew's. He was now extremely low in his body, and ſpoke very little to Mr Sharp, and nothing at all about the changes made in the ſtate of public affairs. However the conſequence of theſe viſits was,—The Primate ſpread a rumour, that Mr Wood, being now under the views of death and eternity, profeſſed himſelf very indifferent as to church-government, and declared himſelf as much for Epiſcopacy as Preſbytery; and in all companies Sharp aſſerted, that Mr Wood had declared to himſelf, that Preſbyterian government was indifferent, and alterable at the pleaſure of the magiſtrate, and other falſehoods; yea, he had the impudence (ſays Wodrow, vol. i. p. 208.) to write up an account of this to Court, even before Mr Wood's death. Which reports coming to the ears of this good man, they added grief unto his former ſorrow; and he could have no reſt till he vindicated himſelf from ſuch a falſe calumny, by a ſolemn teſtimony, which he dictated himſelf, and ſubſcribed upon the 2d of March, before two witneſſes and a public notary; which teſtimony, being burnt by order of the High Commiſſion, in April following, deſerves a place here.

"I JAMES WOOD, being very ſhortly, by appearance, to render up my ſpirit to the Lord, find myſelf obliged to leave

a word behind me, for my vindication before the world. It hath been ſaid of me, that I have, in word at leaſt, departed from my wonted zeal for the Preſbyterian government, expreſſing myſelf, concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man ſhould trouble himſelf, therefore, in matter of practice. Surely any Chriſtian that knows me in this kirk, will judge that this is a wrong done to me. It is true, that I being under ſickneſs, have ſaid ſometimes, in conference about my ſoul's ſtate, that I was taken up about greater buſineſs than any thing of that kind; and what wonder I ſaid ſo, being under ſuch wreſtling anent my intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, which is a matter of far greater concernment than any external ordinance? But for my eſtimation of Preſbyterian government, the Lord knoweth, that ſince the day he convinced my heart, which was by a ſtrong hand, that it is the ordinance of God, appointed by Jeſus Chriſt, for governing and orderng his viſible church, I never had the leaſt change of thought concerning the neceſſity of it, nor of the neceſſity of the uſe of it. And I declare, before God and the world, that I ſtill account ſo of it; and that, however there may be ſome more precious ordinances, that is ſo precious, that a true Chrſtian is obliged to lay down his life for the profeſſion thereof, if the Lord ſhall ſee meet to put him to the trial; and for myſelf, if I were to live, I would account it my glory to ſeal this word of my teſtimony with my blood. Of this declaration I take God, angels, and men, to be my witneſs; and have ſubſcribed theſe preſents, at St Andrew's, on the 2d of March 1664, about ſeven hours in the afternoon, before theſe witneſſes," &c.

Mr William Tullidaff,
Mr John Carſtairs, JAMES WOOD.
John Pitcairn, *writer*.

After this he uttered many heavenly expreſſions, to ſeveral perſons who came to ſee him, all ſetting forth the ſweet experience of his ſoul, until, upon the 5th of March, he made a happy and glorious exit, exchanging this preſent life for a crown of righteouſneſs.

Mr Wood was among the brighteſt lights of that period. He had been colleague to Mr Sharp, and, after the Reſtoration, he lamented much that he had been deceived by that unhappy man. He refuted the independents, and aſſerted Preſbyterial government, as is evident from that work of his, wrote in oppoſition to Nicolas Lockier's Little Stone hewed out of the Mountain, and his other books that are in print. It

is alſo ſaid, that before his death he lamented his taking part with the public reſolutioners very much.

'I have been informed (ſays Wodrow) that he left ſome very valuable manuſcripts behind him, particularly a complete refutation of the Arminian ſcheme of doctrine, ready for the preſs, which doubtleſs, if publiſhed, would be of no ſmall uſe in this age, when Arminianiſm hath ſo far got the aſcendant.'

Mr WILLIAM GUTHRIE.

MR WILLIAM GUTHRIE was born at Pitfrothy, in 1620. He was eldeſt ſon of the Laird of Pitfrothy in the ſhire of Forfar; and by the mother's ſide deſcended from the ancient houſe of Eaſter Ogle, of which ſhe was a daughter. God bleſſed his parents with a numerous offspring; for he had three ſiſters-german and four brothers, who all, except one, dedicated themſelves to the ſervice of the goſpel of Chriſt; namely, Mr Robert, who was licenſed to preach, but never was ordained to the charge of any pariſh, his tender conſtitution and numerous infirmities rendered him unfit, and ſoon brought him to the end of his days; Mr Alexander was a miniſter in the preſbytery of Brichen, about 1645, where he continued a pious and uſeful labourer in the work of the goſpel, till the introduction of Prelacy; which unhappy change affected him in the tendereſt manner, and was thought to have ſhortened his days; for he died in 1661; and Mr John, the youngeſt, was miniſter at Tarbolton, in Ayrſhire, in which place he continued till the Reſtoration, in 1662, when the Council met at Glaſgow, commonly called the Drunken Meeting, on the 1ſt of October. By this infamous act of Glaſgow, above a third part of the miniſters in Scotland were thruſt from their charges, amounting to near 400. Mr John Guthrie had his ſhare of the hardſhips that many faithful miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt at that time were brought under. The next year, being 1663, the Council, at the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Glaſgow, ſummoned him and other nine to appear before them on the 23d of July, under pain of rebellion; but he and other ſix did not appear. In 1666, he joined with that party, who, on the 26th of November, renewed the covenants at Lanark; after a ſermon preached by him, he tendered the covenants, which were read; to every article of which, with their hands lifted up to Heaven, they engaged *, with great ſolemnity and devotion. After their defeat at Pentland, he, no doubt, had his ſhare of the violence and

* See Wodrow's and Cruickſhanks's Hiſtories.

cruelty that then reigned, till, in 1668, he was removed to a better world.

Mr William ſoon gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by very conſiderable progreſs made in the Latin and Greek languages. Then he was ſent to the univerſity of St Andrew's, where he ſtudied philoſophy under the memorable Mr James Guthrie, his couſin, who was afterwards miniſter at Stirling, "and who," ſays Mr Trail, "I ſaw die in and for the Lord, at Edinburgh, June 1. 1661."

As the maſter and ſcholar were near relations, Mr Guthrie was his peculiar care, and lodged, when at the college, in the ſame chamber with him; and therefore had the principles of learning infuſed into him with more accuracy than his claſsfellows.

Having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, he applied himſelf for ſome years to the ſtudy of divinity, under the direction of Mr Samuel Rutherford. Mr Trail ſays, "Then and there it pleaſed the Lord, who ſeparated him from his mother's womb, to call him, by his grace, by the miniſtry of the excellent Mr Samuel Rutherford, and this young man became one of the firſt fruits of his miniſtry at St Andrew's.—His converſion was begun with great terror of God in his ſoul, and completed with that joy and peace in believing that accompanied him through his life. After this bleſſed change wrought npon him, he reſolved to obey the call of God to ſerve him in the miniſtry of his goſpel, which was given him by the Lord's calling him effectually to grace and glory. He did for this end ſo diſpoſe of his outward eſtate, to which he was born heir, as not to be entangled with the affairs of this life." He gave his eſtate to the only brother of the five who was not engaged in the ſacred office, that thereby he might be perfectly diſentangled from the affairs of this life, and entirely employed in theſe of the eternal world.

Soon after he was licenſed to preach, he left St Andrew's with high eſteem and approbation from the profeſſors of that univerſity; which they gave proof of, by their ample recommendations. After this he became tutor to Lord Mauchlin, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Loudon; in which ſituation he continued for ſome time, till he entered upon a parochial charge.

The pariſh of Kilmarnock, in the ſhire of Ayr, being large, and many of the people, belonging to the ſaid pariſh, being no leſs than ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from their own kirk; for which and other reaſons, the heritors and others procured a disjunction, and called the new pariſh Fenwick, or New Kilmarnock.

M

Mr Guthrie was employed to preach at Galſton, on a preparation-day, before the celebration of the Lord's ſupper: and ſeveral members of the new-erected pariſh were preſent on that occaſion, who, being greatly edified by his ſermons, conceived ſuch a value for him, that they immediately reſolved to make choice of him for their miniſter; and, in conſequence thereof, gave him a very harmonious call; which he complied with. It is ſaid, that he, along with the people, made choice of the place of ground for building the church upon, and preached within the walls of the houſe before it was completed, which bears the date of being built in 1643; and he was ordained unto the ſacred office November 7. 1644.

He had many difficulties at firſt to ſtruggle with; and many circumſtances of his miniſtry were extremely diſcouraging: and yet, through the divine bleſſing, the goſpel preached by him had ſurpriſing ſucceſs; and became, in an eminent manner, the wiſdom and power of God to the ſalvation of many periſhing ſouls.

After Mr Guthrie came to Fenwick, many of the people were ſo rude and barbarous, that they never attended upon divine worſhip; and knew not ſo much as the face of their paſtor: To ſuch, every thing that reſpected religion, was diſagreeable. Many refuſed to be viſited or catechiſed by him; they would not even admit him into their houſes: To ſuch he ſometimes went in the evening, diſguiſed in the character of a traveller, and ſought lodging, which he could not even obtain without much intreaty; but having obtained it, he would engage in ſome general amuſing converſation at firſt; and then aſk them, how they liked their miniſter? When they told him, they did not go to church, he engaged them to go and take a trial; others he hired with money to go.—When the time of family-worſhip came, he deſired to know if they made any; and if not, what reaſon had they for ſo doing.

There was one perſon in particular whom he would have to perform family-worſhip, who told him, that he could not pray; and he aſked, what was the reaſon? He told him, that he never uſed to pray any, and ſo could not. He would not take this for anſwer, but would have the man to make a trial in that duty before him; to which the man replied, "O Lord! thou knoweſt that this man would have me to pray; but thou knoweſt that I cannot pray." After which Mr Guthrie bid him ſtop; and ſaid, he had done enough; and prayed himſelf, to their great ſurpriſe. When prayer was ended, the wife ſaid to her huſband, that ſurely this was a miniſter, (for they did not know him). After this, he engaged them to come to the kirk on Sabbath, and ſee what they thought of

their

their miniſter. When they came there, they diſcovered, to their conſternation, that it had been their miniſter himſelf who had allured them thither. And this condeſcending manner of gaining them procured a conſtant attendance on public ordinances; and was at length accompanied by the fruits of righteouſneſs, which are, through Jeſus Chriſt, unto the praiſe of God.

There was alſo another perſon in his pariſh, who had a cuſtom of going a-fowling on the Sabbath-day, and neglecting the church; in which practice he had continued for a conſiderable time. Mr Guthrie aſked him, what reaſon he had for ſo doing? He told him, that the Sabbath-day was the moſt fortunate day in all the week for that exerciſe. Mr Guthrie aſked, what he could make by that day's exerciſe? He replied, that he would make half a crown of money that day. Mr Guthrie told him, if he would go to church on Sabbath, he would give him as much; and by that means got his promiſe. After ſermon was over, Mr Guthrie aſked, if he would come back the next Sabbath-day, and he would give him the ſame? which he did; and from that time afterwards never failed to keep the church, and alſo freed Mr Guthrie of his promiſe.—He afterwards became a member of his ſeſſion.

He would frequently uſe innocent recreations, ſuch as fiſhing, fowling, and playing on the ice, which contributed much to preſerve a vigorous ſtate of health: and while in frequent converſation with the neighbouring gentry, as theſe occaſions gave him frequent opportunity, he would bear in upon them reproofs and inſtructions, with an inoffenſive familiarity; as Mr Dunlop has obſerved of him, "But as he was animated by a flaming zeal for the glory of his bleſſed Maſter, and a tender compaſſion to the ſouls of men; and as it was the principal thing that made him deſire life and health, that he might employ them in propagating the kingdom of God, and in turning tranſgreſſors from their ways; ſo the very hours of recreation were dedicated to this purpoſe; which was ſo endeared to him, that he knew how to make his diverſions ſubſervient to the nobler ends of his miniſtry. He made them the occaſion of familiariſing his people to him, and introducing himſelf to their affections; and, in the diſguiſe of a ſportſman, he gained ſome to a religious life, whom he could have little influence upon in a miniſter's dreſs; of which there happened ſeveral memorable examples."

His perſon was ſtately and well ſet; his features comely and handſome: he had a ſtrong clear voice, joined to a good ear, which gave him a great pleaſure in muſic; and he failed not to employ that talent for the nobleſt uſe, the praiſing of his Maker

Maker and Saviour; in which part of divine worſhip his ſoul and body acted with united and unwearied vigour.

He was happily married to one Agnes Campbell, daughter to David Campbell of Sheldon, in the ſhire of Ayr, a remote branch of the family of London. In Auguſt 1645, his family-affairs were both eaſy and comfortable. His wife was a gentlewoman endued with all the qualities that could render her a bleſſing to her huſband, joined to handſome and comely features, good ſenſe and good breeding, ſweetened by a modeſt cheerfulneſs of temper, and, what was moſt comfortable to Mr Guthrie, ſhe was ſincerely pious; ſo that they lived a little more than twenty years in the moſt complete friendſhip, and with a conſtant mutual ſatisfaction, founded on the nobleſt principles; one faith, one hope, one baptiſm, and a ſovereign love to Jeſus Chriſt, which zealouſly inſpired them both. By her he had ſix children; two of whom only outlived himſelf, both of them daughters, who endeavoured to follow the example of their excellent parents. One of them was married to Miller of Glenlee, a gentleman in the ſhire of Ayr; and the other to Mr Peter Warner, in 1681. After the Revolution, Mr Warner was ſettled at Irvine. He had two children, William of Airdrie, and Margaret Warner, married to Mr Wodrow miniſter at Eaſtwood, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, betwixt the years 1660 and 1668, incluſive.—But to return.

When Mr Guthrie was but young, and new married, he was appointed, by the General Aſſembly, to attend the army. When he was preparing for his departure, a violent fit of the gravel, unto which he was often ſubject, reduced him to the greateſt extremity of pain and danger; which made his religious ſpouſe underſtand and improve the divine chaſtiſement. She then ſaw how eaſily God could put an end to his life, which ſhe was too apprehenſive about; and brought herſelf to a reſolution, never to oppoſe her inclination to his entering upon any employment, whereby he might honour his Maſter, though never ſo much hazard ſhould attend it.

While he was with the army, upon the defeat of a party he was then with, he was preſerved in a very extraordinary manner; which made him ever after retain a greater ſenſe of the divine goodneſs; and after his return to his pariſh, was animated to a more vigorous diligence in the work of the miniſtry, and propagating the kingdom of the Son of God, both among his people and all round about him; his public preaching, eſpecially at the adminiſtration of the Lord's ſupper, and his private converſation, conſpiring together for theſe noble purpoſes.

After

After this, Mr Guthrie had occaſion again to be with the army, when the Engliſh ſectaries prevailed, under Oliver Cromwell. After the defeat at Dunbar, Sept. 3. 1650, when the army was at Stirling, that godly man Mr Rutherford writes a letter to him; wherein, by way of caution, near the end, he ſays, "But let me obteſt all the ſerious ſeekers of his face, his ſecret ſealed ones, by the ſtrongeſt conſolations of the Spirit, by the gentleneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, that Plant of Renown, by your laſt accounts, and by your appearing before God, when the white throne ſhall be up, be not deceived with theſe fair words: though my ſpirit be aſtoniſhed at the cunning diſtinctions, which are found out in the matters of the covenant, that help may be had againſt this man; yet my heart trembleth to entertain the leaſt thought of joining with theſe deceivers."—Accordingly he joined the remonſtrators, and was choſen moderator at that ſynod at Edinburgh, after the public reſolutioners went out and left them.

The author of his memoirs ſaith, "His pleaſant and facetious converſation procured him an univerſal reſpect from the Engliſh officers, and made them fond of his company; while, at the ſame time, his courage and conſtancy did not fail him in the cauſe of his great Maſter; and was often uſeful to curb the extravagancies of the ſectaries, and maintain order and regularity." One inſtance of which happened at the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, at Glaſgow, celebrated by Mr Andrew Gray. Several of the Engliſh officers had formed a deſign, to put in execution the diſorderly principle of a promiſcuous admiſſion to the Lord's table, by coming to it themſelves, without acquainting the miniſter, or being in a due manner found worthy of that privilege. It being Mr Guthrie's turn to ſerve at that table, he ſpoke to them, when they were leaving their pews in order to make the attempt, with ſuch gravity, reſolution, and zeal, that they were quite confounded, and ſat down without making any further diſturbance.

About this time that ſet of heretics, called Quakers, endeavoured to ſow their tares in Fenwick pariſh, when Mr Guthrie was ſome weeks abſent, about his own private affairs in Angus. But he returned home before this infection had ſunk deep; recovered ſome who were in hazard of being tainted by its fatal influence; and confounded the reſt, that they deſpaired of any further attack upon his flock. This wild ſet had made many proſelytes to their demented deluſions in Kilbryde, Glaſgow, and other neighbouring pariſhes; yea they proſpered ſo well in Glaſsford pariſh, that there is yet a churchyard in that place, where they buried their own dead, with

their

their heads to the eaſt, contrary to the practice of all other Chriſtians.

After this, he had ſeveral calls for tranſportation to other pariſhes, of more importance than ever Fenwick was; which places were, Renfrew, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glaſgow, and Edinburgh. But the air and recreation of a country-life were uſeful to him, in maintaining a healthful conſtitution; and, above all, the love his flock had to him cauſed him to put on an invincible obſtinacy againſt all deſigns of ſeparation from them: a relation, when it is animated with this principle of the ſpiritual life, and founded on ſo noble a bottom, enters deepeſt into the ſoul; and a miniſter can ſcarce miſs to have peculiar tenderneſs and warmth of divine affections to thoſe whoſe father he is after the Spirit; and hath been honoured of God, in bringing them to the kingdom of his Son, and begetting them through the goſpel; whoſe heavenly birth is now the higheſt pleaſure and brighteſt triumph of his life, and will be one day his crown of glory and rejoicing. And doubtleſs, when Mr Guthrie preferred Fenwick, a poor obſcure pariſh, to the moſt conſiderable charges in the nation, it was a proof of his mortification to the world, and that he was moved by views ſuperior to temporal intereſts.

About 1656, or 1657, ſome unknown perſon ſomehow got a copy of a few imperfect notes of ſome ſermons that Mr Guthrie had preached from the 55th chapter of Iſaiah, with relation to perſonal covenanting; and, without the leaſt intimation of the deſign made to him, printed them in a little pamphlet of 61 pages 12mo, under this title, A clear, attractive, warming Beam of Light, from Chriſt, the Sun of Light, leading unto himſelf, &c. Printed at Aberdeen, 1657.

This book was indeed anonymous; but Mr Guthrie was reputed the author by the whole country, and was therefore obliged to take notice of it. He was equally diſpleaſed at the vanity of the title, and the defect of the work itſelf, which conſiſted of ſome broken notes of his ſermons, confuſedly huddled together, by an injudicious hand. He ſaw that the only method to remedy this, was to review his own ſermons; from which he compoſed that admirable treatiſe, The Chriſtian's Great Intereſt; the only genuine work of Mr Guthrie, which hath been bleſſed by God with wonderful ſucceſs, in our own country; being publiſhed, very ſeaſonably, a little before the introduction of Prelacy at the Reſtoration.

The author of his Memoirs ſaith, "He had a ſtory from a reverend miniſter of the church, who had the ſentiments of Dr Owen, from his own mouth, who ſaid, You have truly men of great ſpirits in Scotland; there is, for a gentle-

man, Mr Bailey of Jervifwood, a perfon of the greateft abilities I almoft ever met with; and for a divine, faid he, (taking out of his pocket a little gilt copy of Mr Guthrie's treatife), that author I take to have been one of the greateft divines that ever wrote. It is my *vade mecum*, and I carry it and the Sedan New Teftament ftill about with me. I have wrote feveral folios, but there is more divinity in it than in them all. It was tranflated into Low Dutch by the Reverend and pious Mr Kealman, and was highly eſteemed in Holland; fo that Mrs Guthrie and one of her daughters met with uncommon civility and kindneſs, when their relation to its author was known. It was alfo tranflated into French, and High Dutch; and we are informed, that it was alfo tranflated into one of the Eaſtern languages, at the charge of that noble patron of religion, learning, and charity, the Honourable Robert Boyle."

At the fynod of Glafgow, held April 1661, after long reafoning about proper meafures for the fecurity of religion, the matter was referred to a committee; Mr Guthrie preſcribed the draught of an addreſs to the parliament, wherein a faithful teſtimony was given to the purity of our reformation, in worſhip, doctrine, diſcipline, and government, in terms equally remarkable for their prudence and courage. Every body approved of it; and it was tranſmitted to the ſynod.—But ſome, on the reſolution ſide, judged it not convenient, and gave an opportunity to thoſe who deſigned to comply with Prelacy to procure a delay; and, at that time, got it cruſhed: Yet it affords a proof of the zealous honeſty and firmneſs of Mr Guthrie.

About this time, being the laſt time that he was with his couſin Mr James Guthrie, he happened to be very melancholy, which made Mr James ſay, "A penny for your thought, couſin." Mr William anſwered, "There is a poor man at the door, give him the penny;" which being done, he proceeded, and ſaid, "I'll tell you, couſin, what I am not only thinking upon, but I am ſure of, if I be not under a deluſion. The malignants will be your death, and this grave will be mine; but you will have the advantage of me, for you will die honourably before many witneſſes, with a rope about your neck; and I will die whining upon a pickle ſtraw, and will endure more pain before I riſe from your table, than all the pain you will have in your death."

He took a reſolution to wait on his worthy friend Mr James at his death, (his execution being on Saturday June 1.), notwithſtanding the apparent hazard at that time in ſo doing; but his ſeſſion prevailed on him, although with much difficulty

difficulty, by their earneſt intreaties, to lay aſide his deſign at that time.

Through the interpoſition of the Earl of Eglinton, and the Chancellor Glencairn, whom he had obliged before the Reſtoration, when he was impriſoned for his loyalty, now contributed what he could for his preſervation; by which means (of the Chancellor) he, above many, had near four years further reſpite with his people at Fenwick. In which time, his church, although a large country one, was overlaid and crowded every Sabbath-day, and very many without doors, from diſtant pariſhes, ſuch as Glaſgow, Paiſley, Hamilton, Lanark, Kilbryde, Glaſsford, Strathaven, Newmills, Eaglesham, and many other places, who hungered for the pure goſpel preached, and got a meal by the word of his miniſtry.—It was their uſual practice to come to Fenwick on Saturday, and to ſpend the greateſt part of the night in prayer to God, and converſation about the great concerns of their ſouls, to attend the public worſhip on the Sabbath, to dedicate the remainder of that holy day in religious exerciſes, and then to go home on Monday the length of ten, twelve, or twenty miles, without grudging in the leaſt at the long way, want of ſleep, or other refreſhments; neither did they find themſelves the leſs prepared for any other buſineſs through the week *. Theſe years were the moſt particular, under the divine influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying the miniſtry and ordinances diſpenſed by Mr Guthrie in all his life, and will ſtill be had in remembrance; a remarkable bleſſing accompanied ordinances to people who came with ſuch a diſpoſition of ſoul, great numbers were converted unto the truth, and many built up in their moſt holy faith. In a word, he was honoured to be an inſtrument in the Lord's hand of turning many to a religious life; and who, after his being taken from them, could never, without exultation of ſoul, and emotion of revived affection, think upon their ſpiritual father, and the power of that victorious grace, which, in thoſe days, triumphed ſo glorioufly; and for many years afterwards, they were conſidered, above many other pariſhes in the kingdom, as a civiliſed and religious people; he having, with a becoming boldneſs, fortified them in a zealous adherence to the purity of our reformation; warned them of the defection that was then made by the introduction of Prelacy; and inſtructed them in the duty of ſuch a difficult time; ſo that they never made any compliance with the Prelatical ſchemes afterwards.

* After the reſt of his brethren were caſt out, people ſo flocked to his ſacramental occaſions, that the church was ſo thronged, that each communicant (it is ſaid) had to ſhew their tokens to the keepers of the door before they got entrance, to prevent diſorder and confuſion.

The extraordinary reputation and uſefulneſs of his miniſtry were admired and followed by all the country around him; which provoked the jealous and angry prelates againſt him, and was one of the cauſes of his being at laſt attacked by them. Then the Earl of Glencairn made a viſit to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow at his own houſe, and at parting aſked as a favour in particular from him, that Mr Guthrie might be overlooked, as knowing him to be an excellent man. The Biſhop not only refuſed him, but did, with a diſdainful haughty air, tell him, "That ſhall not be done; it cannot be, he is a ringleader and keeper up of ſchiſm in my dioceſe;"—and then left the Chancellor very abruptly. Row, Allan, and ſome other Preſbyterian gentlemen, who were waiting on him, obſerving the Chancellor diſcompoſed when the Biſhop left him, preſumed to aſk him what the matter was; to which the Earl anſwered, "We have ſet up theſe men, and they will tread us under their feet." In conſequence of this reſolution of Biſhop Burnet, Mr Guthrie was, by a commiſſion from him, ſuſpended; and the Biſhop dealt with ſeveral of his creatures, the curates, to intimate the ſentence againſt him, and many refuſed; for (ſays Wodrow) "There was an awe upon their ſpirits, which ſcared them from meddling with this great man." Be as it will, at laſt he prevailed with the curate of Calder, and promiſed him five pounds Sterling of reward. Mr Guthrie, being warned of this deſign of the Biſhop againſt him, adviſed with his friends to make no reſiſtance at his depoſition from the church and manſe, ſince his enemy wanted only this as a handle to perſecute him criminally for his former zeal and faithfulneſs.

Accordingly, on Wedneſday July 20. he, with his congregation, kept the day with faſting and prayer. He preached to them from Hoſ. xiii. 9. *O Iſrael! thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf*, &c. From that ſcripture, with great plainneſs and affection, he laid before them their own ſins, and the ſins of the land and age they lived in; and indeed the place was a *Bochim*. At the cloſe of this day's work, he gave them intimation of ſermon on the next Lord's day, very early; and accordingly, his people, and many others, met him at the church of Fenwick, betwixt four and five in the morning, when he preached to them from the cloſe of his laſt text, *But in me is thine help*. And as he uſed on ordinary Sabbaths, he alſo now had two ſermons, and a ſhort interval betwixt them, and diſmiſſed the people before nine in the morning. Upon this melancholy occaſion, he directed them unto the great Fountain of help, when the goſpel and miniſters were taken from them; and took his leave of them

commending

commending them to God, who was able to build them up, and help them in time of need.

Upon the day appointed, the curate came to Fenwick, with a party of twelve ſoldiers, on the Sabbath-day; and, by commiſſion from the Archbiſhop, diſcharged Mr Guthrie to preach any more in Fenwick, declared the church vacant, and ſuſpended him from the exerciſe of his miniſtry.

The curate left the party without, and came into the manſe; and declared, that the Biſhop and committee, after much lenity ſhewed to him for a long time, were conſtrained to paſs the ſentence of ſuſpenſion againſt him, for not keeping of preſbyteries and ſynods with the reſt of his brethren, and his unpeaceableneſs in the church; of which ſentence he was appointed to make public intimation unto him; for which purpoſe, he read his commiſſion under the hand of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow.

Mr Guthrie anſwered, "I judge it not convenient to ſay much in anſwer to what you have ſpoken; only, whereas you alledge there hath been much lenity uſed towards me,—be it known to you, that I take the Lord for party in that, and thank him firſt;—yea, I look upon it as a door which God opened to me for the preaching of this goſpel, which you nor any man elſe was able to ſhut, till it was given you of God; and as to that ſentence paſſed againſt me, I declare before theſe gentlemen, (meaning the officers of the party), that I lay no weight upon it, as it comes from you, or theſe that ſent you;—though that I do reſpect the civil authority, who, by their law, laid the ground for this ſentence paſſed againſt me. I declare I would not ſurceaſe from the exerciſe of my miniſtry for all that ſentence. And as to the crimes I am charged with,—I did keep preſbyteries and ſynods with the reſt of my brethren; but I do not judge thoſe who do now ſit in theſe to be my brethren, who have made defection from the truth and cauſe of God; nor do I judge thoſe to be free and lawful courts of Chriſt that are now ſitting; and as to my peaceableneſs,—I know I am bidden follow peace with all men, but I know alſo I am bidden follow it with holineſs; and ſince I could not obtain peace without prejudice to holineſs, I thought myſelf obliged to let it go. And as for your commiſſion, Sir, to intimate this ſentence,—I here declare, I think myſelf called by the Lord to the work of the miniſtry, and did forſake the neareſt relation in the world, and gave up myſelf to the ſervice of the goſpel in this place, having received an unanimous call from this pariſh, and was licenſed and ordained by the preſbytery; and I bleſs the Lord he hath given me ſome ſucceſs and ſeals of my miniſtry,

miniſtry, upon the ſouls and conſciences of not a few, who are gone to heaven, and of ſome who are yet in the way to it. And now, Sir, if you will take it upon you to interrupt my work among this people, I ſhall wiſh the Lord may forgive you the guilt of it; I cannot but leave all the bad conſequences that may fall out upon it betwixt God and your own conſciences. And here I do further declare, before theſe gentlemen, that I am ſuſpended from my miniſtry for adhering to the covenants and word of God, from which you and others have apoſtatiſed."

Here the curate interrupting him, ſaid, The Lord had a work before that covenant had a being; and that he judged them apoſtates that adhered to that covenant; and he wiſhed that the Lord would not only forgive him, meaning Mr Guthrie, but if it were lawful to pray for the dead, (at which expreſſion the ſoldiers laughed), that the Lord might forgive the ſin of this church theſe hundred years bypaſt. It is true, anſwered Mr Guthrie, the Lord had a work before that covenant had a being; but it is as true, that it hath been more glorious ſince that covenant; and it is a ſmall thing for us to be judged of you, in adhering to this covenant, who have ſo deeply corrupted your ways; and ſeem to reflect on the whole work of reformation from Popery theſe hundred years bygone, by intimating that the church had need of pardon for the ſame. As for you, gentlemen, (added he to the ſoldiers), I wiſh the Lord may pardon your countenancing this man in his buſineſs. One of them ſcoffingly replied, I wiſh we never do a greater fault. Well, ſaid Mr Guthrie, a little ſin may damn a man's ſoul.

After all this and more had paſſed, Mr Guthrie called for a glaſs of ale, and, craving a bleſſing himſelf, drank to the commander of the ſoldiers. After they were by him civilly entertained, they left the houſe. At parting with the curate, Mr Guthrie ſignified ſo much to him, that he apprehended ſome evident mark of the Lord's diſpleaſure was abiding him, for what he was adoing; and ſeriouſly warned him to prepare for ſome ſtroke coming upon him, and that very ſoon.

When the curate left the manſe, he went to the church with the ſoldiers, his guard, now his hearers, and preached to them not a quarter of an hour, and intimated to them from the pulpit the Biſhop's ſentence againſt Mr Guthrie. No body came to hear him (ſays Wodrow), but his party, and a few children, who created him ſome diſturbance, till they were chaſed away by the ſoldiers. Indeed his people were ready to have ſacrificed their all, and reſiſted even unto blood, in

in his defence and the goſpel, had they been permitted by him.

As for the curate (ſays Mr Wodrow), I am well aſſured he never preached any more after he left Fenwick; he reached Glaſgow, but it is not certain if he reached Calder, though but four miles from Glaſgow: However, in a few days he died, in great torment, of an iliac paſſion; and his wife and children died all in a year or thereby, and none belonging to him were left. His reward of five pounds was dear bought; it was the price of blood, the blood of ſouls: Neither he nor his had any ſatisfaction in it. Such a dangerous thing it is to meddle with Chriſt's ſervants.

After this Mr Guthrie continued in Fenwick, until the year 1665. The brother, to whom his paternal eſtate was made over, dying in ſummer, Mr Guthrie's preſence at home was the more neceſſary, for ordering of his private affairs; which made him and his wife make a journey to Angus about the ſame time. He had not been long in that country until he was ſeized with a complication of diſtempers, the gravel, with which he had been formerly troubled, the gout, a violent heart-burning, and an ulcer in his kidneys; all which attacked him with great fury. And being thus tormented with violent pain, his friends were ſometimes obliged to hold down his head, and up his feet; and yet he would ſay, The Lord hath been kind to him, for all the ills he had done; and at the ſame time ſaid, "Though I ſhould die mad, yet I know I ſhall die in the Lord. Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord at all times, but more eſpecially when a flood of errors, ſnares, and judgements, are beginning, or coming on a nation, church, or people."

In the midſt of all his heavy affliction, he ſtill adored the meaſures of Divine Providence, though at the ſame time he longed for his diſſolution, and expreſſed the ſatisfaction and joy with which he would make the grave his dwelling-place, when God ſhould think fit to give him reſt there. His compaſſionate Maſter did at laſt indulge the pious breathing of his ſoul; for, after eight or ten days illneſs, he was gathered to his fathers, in the houſe of his brother in-law, Mr Lewis Skinner of Brechin, upon Wedneſday forenoon, October 10. 1665, in the 45th year of his age, and was buried in the church of Brechin, under Pitfrothy's deſk.

During his ſickneſs, he was viſited by the Biſhop of Brechin, and ſeveral Epiſcopal miniſters and relations, who all had a high value for him; notwithſtanding, he expreſſed his ſorrow with great freedom, for their compliance with the corrupted eſtabliſhment in eccleſiaſtical affairs. He died in the

full

full assurance of faith, as to his own interest in God's covenant, and under the pleasing hopes, that God would return in glory to the church of Scotland.

Mr John Livingstone, in his Memorable Characteristics, says, "Mr William Guthrie, minister at Fenwick, was a man of most ready wit, fruitful invention, and apposite comparisons, qualified both to awaken and pacify conscience, straight and zealous for the cause of Christ, and a great light in the west of Scotland." And elsewhere says, "Mr Guthrie, in his doctrine, was as full and free as any man in Scotland had ever been; which, together with the excellency of his preaching gift, did so recommend him to the affection of his people, that they turned the corn-field of his glebe into a little town, every one building a house for his family on it, that they might live under the drop of his ministry."

Mr Crawford, in a MS. never published, says, "Mr Guthrie was a burning and a shining light, kept in after many others, by the favour of the old Earl of Eglinton, the Chancellor's father-in-law.—He converted and confirmed many thousands of souls, and was esteemed the greatest preacher in Scotland."

And indeed he was accounted as singular a person for confirming those that were under soul-exercise, as almost any in his age, or any age we have heard of.—Many have made reflections on him, because he left off his ministry, on account of the Bishop's suspension; his reasons may be taken from what hath been already related. It is true, indeed, the authority of the Stuarts was too much the idol of jealousy to many of our worthy Scots reformers; for we may well think, as a late author says, though no great enemy unto these civil powers, that it was a wonder the nation did not rise up as one man, to cut off those who had razed the whole of the Presbyterian constitution; but the Lord, for holy and wise ends, saw meet to do otherwise, and cut off those in power by another arm, after they had all been brought to the furnace together; although they might well have all the while seen, as Mr Guthrie has observed, "That the civil power laid the foundation for the other."

So far as can be learned, Mr Guthrie never preached in Fenwick again, after the intimation of the Bishop's sentence to him; and it is well known, that he, with many of his people in Fenwick, upon a time went to Stuarton, to hear a young Presbyterian minister preach; and when coming home they said to him, that they were not pleased with that man's preaching, he being of a slow delivery;—he said, they were all mistaken in the man, he had a great sermon; and if they

pleaſed, at a convenient place, he ſhould let them hear a good part thereof.—And ſitting all down on the ground, in a good ſummer night, about the ſun-ſetting, when, he having rehearſed the ſermon, they thought it a wonderful great one, becauſe of his good delivery, and their amazing love to him: After which they aroſe, and ſet forward.

All allow that Mr Guthrie was a man of ſtrong natural parts, notwithſtanding his being a hard ſtudent at firſt; his voice was among the beſt ſort, loud, and yet managed with a charming cadence and elevation; his oratory was ſingular, and by it he was wholly maſter of the paſſions of his hearers. He was an eminent chirurgeon at the jointing of a broken ſoul, and at the ſtating of a doubtful conſcience; ſo that afflicted perſons in ſpirit came far and near, and received much ſatisfaction and comfort by him. Thoſe who were very rude, when he came firſt to the pariſh, at his departure were very ſorrowful, and, at the curate's intimation of the Biſhop's commiſſion, would have made reſiſtance, if he would have permitted them, not fearing the hazards or hardſhips they might have endured on that account afterwards.

Beſides his valuable treatiſe already mentioned, there are alſo a few very faithful ſermons, bearing his name, ſaid to be preached at Fenwick, from Matth. xiv. 44. &c. Hoſ. xiii. 9. &c. But becauſe they are ſomewhat rude in expreſſion, differing from the ſtyle of his treatiſe, ſome have thought them ſpurious, or at leaſt not as they were at firſt delivered by him. And as for that treatiſe on ruling elders, which is now affixed to the laſt edition of his treatiſe, called his works, it was wrote by his couſin, Mr James Guthrie of Stirling. There are alſo ſome other diſcourſes of his yet in manuſcript, out of which I had occaſion to tranſcribe ſeventeen ſermons, publiſhed in the year 1779. There are yet a great variety of ſermons, and notes of ſermons, bearing his name, yet in manuſcript, ſome of which ſeem to be wrote with his own hand.

MR ROBERT BLAIR.

MR BLAIR was born at Irvine in 1593. His father was John Blair of Windyedge, a younger brother of the ancient and honourable family of Blair of that Ilk; his mother was Beatrix Muir, of the ancient family of Rowallan. His father died when he was young, leaving his mother with ſix children, of whom Robert was the youngeſt. She con-

tinued near fifty years a widow, and lived till she was an hundred years old.

Mr Robert entered into the college of Glasgow, about the year 1608, where he studied hard, and made great progress; but lest he should have been puffed up with hisproficiency, as he himself observes, the Lord was pleased to visit him with a tertian fever, for full four months, to the great detriment of his studies.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the 20th year of his age, when he gave himself sometimes to the exercise of archery, and the like recreations; but lest his studies should have been hindered, he resolved to be busy at them every other night, and for that purpose could find no place so proper as a room whereunto none were permitted to go, by reason of an apparition that was said to frequent it; yea, wherein it is also said, that he himself had seen the devil, in the likeness of one of his fellow-students *, whom he took to be really his companion, but when he, with a candle in his hand, chaced him to the corner of the room, offering to pull him out, he found nothing; after which he was never more troubled, studying the one night without fear, and the other he slept very sweetly, believing in him who was still his great Preserver and Protecter for ever.

Having now finished his course of philosophy, under the discipline of his own brother, Mr William Blair, who was afterwards minister at Dumbarton, he engaged for some time to be an assistant to an aged schoolmaster at Glasgow, who had above 300 scholars under his instruction, the half of whom were committed to the charge of Mr Blair. At this time he was called, by the ministry of the famous Mr Boyd of Trochrigg, then principal of the college of Glasgow, in whose hand, as he himself observes in his Memoirs, the Lord did put the key of his heart so, that whenever he heard him in public or private, he profited much, being, as it were, sent to him from God, to speak the words of eternal life.

Two years after, he was admitted in the room of his brother, Mr William, to be regent in the college of Glasgow, though not without the opposition of Archbishop Law, who had promised that place to another.—But neither the principal nor regents giving place to his motion, Mr Blair was admitted. After his admission, his elder colleagues perceiving what great skill and insight he had in humanity, urged him to read the classical authors; whereupon he began and read Plautus; but the Lord being displeased with that design, diverted

* In the form of a crooked boy, who laughed in his face, &c. Fulfilling of the Scriptures, vol. i. page 357.

diverted him from it, by meeting with Auguſtine's Confeſſion, wherein he inveighs ſharply againſt the education of youth in heathen writings.—Whereupon he betook himſelf to the reading of the holy ſcriptures, and the ancient fathers, eſpecially Auguſtine, who had another reliſh; and though he perceived that our reformed divines were more ſound than ſeveral of the ancient, yet in his ſpare hours he was reſolved to peruſe the ancient monuments, wherein he made a conſiderable progreſs.

In ſummer 1616, he entered on trials for the miniſtry; and it was laid upon him to preach in the College Kirk the firſt Sabbath after his licence; and ſome years after, being told by ſome of the hearers, who were better acquainted with religion than he was then, that in his ſermon the Lord did ſpeak to their hearts; which not only ſurpriſed him, but alſo ſtirred him to follow after the Lord.

Upon an evening the ſame year, having been engaged with ſome irreligious company, when he returned to his chamber to his wonted devotion, he was threatened to be deſerted of God, had a reſtleſs night, and to-morrow reſolved on a day of faſting, humiliation, and prayer; and towards the end of that day, he found acceſs to God with ſweet peace, through Jeſus Chriſt, and turned to beware of ſuch company; but running into another extreme of rudeneſs and incivility to profane perſons, he found it was very hard for ſhort-ſighted ſinners to hold the right and the ſtraight way.

While he was regent in the college, upon a report that ſome ſinful oath was to be impoſed upon the maſters, he inquired at Mr Gavin Forſyth, one of his fellow-regents, what he would do in this? He anſwered, By my faith, I muſt live. —Mr Blair ſaid, "Sir, I will not ſwear by my faith, as you do, but truly, I intend to live by my faith. You may chooſe your own way, but I will adventure on the Lord."—And ſo this man did continue, to whom the matter of an oath was a ſmall thing, after he was gone; but it is to be noticed, that Mr Forſyth was many years in ſuch poverty, as forced him to ſupplicate the General Aſſembly for ſome relief; when Mr Blair, who was choſen moderator, upon his appearing in ſuch a deſperate caſe, could not ſhun obſerving that former paſſage of his; and upon his addreſs to him in private, with great tenderneſs put him in mind, that he had been truly carried through by his faith, at which he formerly had ſcoffed.

Some time after he was regent in the college, he was under deep exerciſes of ſoul, wherein he attained unto much comfort.—Among other things, that great oracle, *the juſt ſhall live by faith*, ſounded loudly in his ears, which put him on a

new ſearch of the ſcriptures, in which he went on till Mr Calverwall's Treatiſe of Faith came out; which being the ſame with what is ſince publiſhed by the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, he was thereby much ſatisfied and comforted.

"By this ſtudy of the nature of faith, and eſpecially of the text before mentioned, (ſays he), I learned, 1*ſt*, That nominal Chriſtians, or common profeſſors, were much deluded in their way of believing; and that not only do Papiſts err, who place faith in an implicit aſſent to the truth which they know not, and that it is better defined by ignorance than knowledge, (a way of believing very ſuitable to Antichriſt's ſlaves, who are led by the noſe they know not whither), but alſo ſecure Proteſtants, who, abuſing the deſcription of old given of faith, ſay, that it implies an aſſured knowledge in the perſon who believes of the love of God in Chriſt to him in particular: this aſſurance is no doubt attainable, and many believers do comfortably enjoy the ſame, as our divines prove unanſwerably againſt the Popiſh doctors, who maintain the neceſſity of perpetual doubting, and miſcall comfortable aſſurance the Proteſtant's preſumption. But notwithſtanding that comfortable aſſurance doth ordinarily accompany a high degree of faith, yet that aſſurance is not to be found in all the degrees of ſaving faith; ſo that by not adverting to that diſtinction, many gracious ſouls and ſound believers, who have received Jeſus Chriſt, and reſted upon him as he is offered to them in the word, have been much puzzled, as if they were not believers at all: on the other hand, many ſecure and impenitent ſinners, who have not yet believed the Lord's holineſs, nor abhorrence of ſin, nor their own ruined ſtate and condition, do from ſelf-love imagine, without any warrant of the word, that they are beloved of God, and that the foreſaid deſcription of faith agrees well to them.

"2*dly*, I perceived, that many that make a right uſe of faith in order to attain to the knowledge of their juſtification, make no direct uſe of it in order to ſanctification; and that the living of *the juſt by faith*, reacheth farther than I formerly conceived; and that the heart is purified by faith. If any ſay, Why did I not know, that precious faith, being a grace, is not only a part of our holineſs, but does promote other parts of holineſs; I anſwer, that I did indeed know this, and made uſe of faith as a motive to ſtir me up to holineſs, according to the apoſtle's exhortation, *Having therefore theſe promiſes, let us cleanſe ourſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of the Lord.* But I had not before learned to make uſe of faith as a mean and inſtrument to draw holineſs out of Chriſt, though, it may be, I had both

heard

heard and ſpoken that by way of a tranſient notion; but then I learned to purpoſe, that they who receive forgiveneſs of ſin, are ſanctified through faith in Chriſt, as our glorious Saviour taught the apoſtle, Acts xxiv. 18.—Then I ſaw, that it was no wonder that my not making uſe of faith for ſanctification, as has been ſaid, occaſioned an obſtruction in the progreſs of holineſs; and I perceived, that making uſe of Chriſt for ſanctification, without direct employing of faith to extract the ſame out of him, was like one ſeeking water out of a deep well, without a long cord to let down the bucket, and draw it up again.—Then was I like one that came to the ſtorehouſe, but got my proviſion reached unto me, as it were, through a window: I had come to the houſe of mercy, but had not found the right door; but by this diſcovery I found a patent door, at which to go in, to receive proviſion and furniture from Chriſt Jeſus. Thus the bleſſed Lord trained me up, ſtep by ſtep, ſuffering many difficulties to ariſe, that more light from himſelf might flow in.

"I hoped then to make better progreſs, and with leſs ſtumbling; but ſhortly after, I met with another difficulty; and, wondering what diſcovery would next clear the way, I found that the ſpirit of holineſs, whoſe immediate and proper work was to ſanctify, had been ſlighted, and thereby grieved: for though the Holy Spirit had been teaching, and I had been ſpeaking of him and to him frequently, and had been ſeeking the outpouring thereof, and urging others to ſeek the ſame; yet that diſcovery appeared unto me a new practical leſſon: and ſo I laboured more to cheriſh, and not quench the Holy Spirit, praying to be led into all truth, according to the ſcripture, by that bleſſed guide; and that, by that heavenly Comforter, I might be encouraged in all troubles, and ſealed up thereby in ſtrong aſſurance of my intereſt in God.

"About that time, theLord ſet me to work to ſtir up the ſtudents under my diſcipline, earneſtly to ſtudy piety, and to be diligent in ſecret ſeeking of the Lord; and my endeavours this way were graciouſly bleſſed to ſeverals of them."

Dr John Cameron, being brought from France, and ſettled principal of the college in Mr Boyd's place, and being wholly ſet on to promote the cauſe of Epiſcopacy, urged Mr Blair to conform to the Perth articles; but he utterly refuſed. And, it being a thing uſual in theſe days, for the regents to meet to diſpute ſome theſis, for their better improvement, Mr Blair had the advantage of his opponent, who was a French ſtudent, who maintained that election did proceed upon foreſeen faith; but the Doctor ſtated himſelf in the

oppoſition

oppoſition to Mr Blair, in a way which tended to Armi-nianiſm; and Mr Blair being urged to a ſecond diſpute by the Doctor himſelf, did ſo drive him to the mire of Armi-nianiſm, as did redound much to the Doctor's ignominy after-wards; and although he and Mr Blair were afterwards re-conciled, yet he, being ſo nettled in that diſpute, improved all occaſions againſt him; and, for that purpoſe, when Mr Blair was on a viſit to ſome of his godly friends and ac-quaintances, he cauſed one Gardner ſearch his prelections on Ariſtotle's ethics and politics; and finding ſome things ca-pable of wreſting, he brought them to the Doctor, who pre-ſented them to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; which coming to Mr Blair's ears, he was ſo far from betraying innocence, being aſſured the Lord would clear his integrity, that he pre-pared a written apology, and deſired a public hearing before the miniſters and magiſtrates of the city; which being granted, he managed the points ſo properly, that all preſent profeſſed their entire ſatisfaction with him; yea, one of the miniſters of the city, who had been influenced againſt him formerly, ſaid, in the face of that meeting, Would to God, King James had been preſent, and heard what anſwers that man hath given. Such a powerful antagoniſt rendered his life ſo uneaſy, that he reſolved to leave the college, and go abroad; which reſolution no ſooner took air, than the Doc-tor and the Archbiſhop, knowing his abilities, wrote letters to cauſe him ſtay; but he, finding that little truſt was to be put in their fair promiſes, and being weary of teaching phi-loſophy, demitted his charge, took his leave of the Doctor, wiſhing him well, although he was the cauſe of his going away, and left the college, to the great grief of his fellow-regents and ſtudents, and the people of Glaſgow.

Though he had ſeveral charges in Scotland preſented him, and an invitation to go to France, yet, the next day after his leaving Glaſgow, he had an invitation to go and be miniſter of Bangor, in the county of Down in Ireland; which call he for ſome time rejected, until he was ſeveral times rebuked of the Lord; which made him bound in ſpirit to ſet his face towards a voyage to that country; and although he met with a contrary wind, and turned ſea-ſick, yet he had ſuch recourſe to God, that upon the very ſight of that land, he was made to exult with joy; and whilſt he came near Bangor, he had a ſtrong impreſſion borne in upon him, that the dean thereof was ſick; which impreſſion he found to be true when he came thither; for Mr Gibſon, the incumbent, being ſick, invi-ted him to preach there; which he did for three Sabbaths, to the good liking of the people of that pariſh; and, though he

was formerly but a very naughty man, yet he told Mr Blair, he was to ſucceed him in that place; and exhorted him, in the name of Chriſt, not to leave that good way wherein he had begun to walk, profeſſing much ſorrow that he had been a dean. He condemned Epiſcopacy more than ever Mr Blair durſt; and drawing his head toward his boſom, with both his arms he bleſſed him; which conduct being ſo unlike himſelf, and ſpeaking in a ſtrain ſo different from his uſual, made a perſon ſtanding by ſay, An angel is ſpeaking out of the Dean's bed to Mr Blair; thinking it could not be ſuch a man. Within a few days he died, and Mr Blair was ſettled miniſter there, whoſe ordination was on this manner. He went to Biſhop Knox, and told him his opinions, and withal ſaid, that his ſole ordination did contradict his principles. But the Biſhop, being informed before-hand of his great parts and piety, anſwered him both wittily and ſubmiſſively, ſaying, "Whatever you account of Epiſcopacy, yet I know you account Preſbytery to have a divine warrant. Will ye not receive ordination from Mr Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a Preſbyter;" for on no lower terms could he be anſwerable to law. This Mr Blair could not refuſe: he was accordingly ordained about the year 1623.

Being thus ſettled, his charge was very great, having above 1200 perſons come to age, beſides children, who ſtood greatly in need of inſtruction; and in this caſe, he preached twice a-week, beſides the Lord's day; on all which occaſions he found little difficulty, either as to matter or method.

He became the chief inſtrument of that great work which appeared ſhortly thereafter, at Six-mile water, and other parts in the counties of Down and Antrim; and that not only by his own miniſtry, wherein he was both diligent and faithful, but alſo in the great pains he took to ſtir up others unto the like duty.

While he was at Bangor, there was one Conſtable in that pariſh, who went to Scotland with horſes to ſell, and at a fair ſold them all to one who pretended he had not that money at preſent, but gave him a bond till Martinmas.—The poor man, ſuſpecting nothing, returned home; and one night about that time, going homeward, near Bangor, his merchant (who was ſuppoſed to be the devil) meets him; "Now, (ſays he), you know my bargain, how I bought you at ſuch a place, and now am come, as I promiſed, to pay the price." Bought me! ſaid the poor man trembling, you bought but my horſes. "Nay," ſaid the devil, "I will let you know

know I bought yourſelf;" and farther he ſaid, he muſt kill ſome body, and the more excellent the perſon, the better it would be for him; and particularly charged him to kill Mr Blair, elſe he would not free him. The man was ſo overcome with terror, through the violence of the temptation, that he determined the thing, and went to Mr Blair's houſe, with a dagger in his right-hand, under his cloak, and though much confounded, was moving to get it out; but on Mr Blair's ſpeaking to him, he fell a-trembling, and on inquiry declared the whole fact; and withal ſaid, he had laboured to draw out the dagger, but it would not come from the ſcabbard, though he knew not what hindered it; for when he eſſayed to draw it forth again, it came out with eaſe. Mr Blair bleſſed the Lord, and exhorted him to chooſe him for his refuge; after which he departed *.

But two weeks afterwards, being confined to his bed, he ſent for Mr Blair, and told him, that the night before, as he was returning home, the devil appeared to him, and challenged him for opening to Mr Blair what had paſſed betwixt them, claiming him as his; and putting the cap off his head, and the band from his neck, ſaid, that on hallow-evening he ſhould have him ſoul and body, in ſpite of the miniſter and all others; and begged Mr Blair, for Chriſt's ſake, to be with him againſt that time. Mr Blair inſtructed him, prayed with him, and promiſed to be with him againſt the appointed time; but, before that time, he had much heſitation in his own mind, whether to keep that appointment or not: Yet, at laſt, he took one of his elders with him, and went according to promiſe, and ſpent the whole night in prayer, explaining the doctrine of Chriſt's temptation, and praiſing with ſhort intermiſſions, &c. And in the morning they took courage, defying Satan and all his devices. The man ſeemed very penitent, and died in a little after.

It was during the firſt year of his miniſtry, that he reſolved not to go through a whole book or chapter, but to make choice of ſome paſſages which held forth important heads of religion, and to cloſe the courſe with one ſermon of heaven's glory, and another of hell's torments; but when he came to meditate on theſe ſubjects, he was held a whole day in great perplexity, and could fix upon neither method nor matter till night; when, after ſorrowing for his diſorder, the Lord, in great pity, brought both matter and method into his mind, which remained with him until he got the ſame delivered.

About this time he met with a moſt notable deliverance: for,

* Fulfilling of the Scriptures, vol. i. p. 375.

for, ſtaying in a high houſe at the end of the town until the manſe was built, being late at his ſtudies, the candle was done, and calling for another, as the landlady brought it from a room under which he lay, to her aſtoniſhment, a joiſt under his bed had taken fire, which, had he been in bed as uſual, the conſequence, in all probability, had been dreadful to the whole town, as well as to him, the wind being ſtrong from that quarter; but, by the timeous alarm given, the danger was prevented; which made him give thanks to God for this great deliverance.

When he firſt celebrated the Lord's ſupper, his heart was much lifted up in ſpeaking of the new covenant, which made him, under the view of a ſecond adminiſtration of that ordinance, reſolve to go back unto that inexhauſtible fountain of conſolation; and coming over to Scotland about that time *, he received no ſmall aſſiſtance from Mr Dickſon, who was then reſtored unto his flock at Irvine, and was ſtudying and preaching on the ſame ſubject.

But it was not many years that he could have liberty in the exerciſe of his office; for, in harveſt 1631, he and Mr Livingſtone were by Ecklim, Biſhop of Down, ſuſpended from their office; but, upon recourſe to Dr Uſher, who ſent a letter to the Biſhop, their ſentence was relaxed, and they went on in their miniſtry, until May 1632, that they were, by the ſaid Biſhop, depoſed from the office of the holy miniſtry.

After this, no redreſs could be had: whereupon Mr Blair reſolved on a journey to Court, to repreſent their petitions and grievances to the King; but, after his arrival at London, he could have no acceſs for ſome time to his Majeſty, and ſo laboured under many difficulties with little hopes of redreſs, until one day, having gone to Greenwich Park, where, being wearied with waiting on the Court, and while at prayer, the Lord aſſured him, that he would hunt the violent man to deſtroy him. And while thus in earneſt with the Lord for a favourite return, he adventured to propone a ſign, that, if the Lord would make the reeds, (growing hard by), which were ſo moved with the wind, as he was toſſed in mind, to ceaſe from ſhaking, he would take it as an aſſurance of the diſpatch of his buſineſs. To which the Lord condeſcended; for, in a little time, it became ſo calm, that not one of them moved; and in a ſhort time he got a diſpatch to his mind, wherein the King did not only ſign his petition, but, with his own hand,

* It ſeems to have been about this time that Mr Blair married his firſt wife, Beatrix Hamilton, a very gracious woman, of the houſe of Barduie.

wrote on the margin, (directed to the depute), Indulge theſe men, for they are Scotſmen.

It was while in England that he had, from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a ſtrange diſcovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon ſhe was lying, and particular acquaintances attending her; and although ſhe was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this exactly came to paſs.

And yet, after his return, the King's letter being ſlighted by the depute, who was newly returned from England, he was forced to have recourſe to Archbiſhop Uſher; which drew tears from his eyes, that he could not help them; and yet, by the interpoſition of Lord Caſtleſtuart with the King, they got ſix months liberty. But, upon the back of this, in November 1634, he was again convened before the Biſhop, and the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt him, by Ecklim, Biſhop of Down. After the ſentence was pronounced, Mr Blair roſe up, and publicly cited the Biſhop to appear before the tribunal of Jeſus Chriſt, to anſwer for that wicked deed. Whereupon he did appeal from the juſtice of God to his mercy; but Mr Blair replied, Your appeal is like to be rejected, becauſe you act againſt the light of your own conſcience. In a few months after he fell ſick; and the phyſician inquiring of his ſickneſs, after ſome time's ſilence, he with great difficulty ſaid, It is my conſcience, man. To which the Doctor replied, I have no cure for that. In a little time after he died.

After his ejection, he preached often in his own, and in others houſes, until the beginning of 1635, that he began to think of marriage again with Catharine Montgomery, daughter to Hugh Montgomery, formerly of Buſbie in Ayrſhire (then in Ireland), for which he came over to Scotland with his own and his wife's friends. And upon his return to Ireland, they were married in the month of May following.

But matters ſtill continuing the ſame, he engaged with the reſt of the ejected miniſters in their reſolution in building a ſhip, called the Eagle-wings, of about 115 tons, on purpoſe to go to New England. But about 300 or 400 leagues from Ireland, meeting with a terrible hurricane, they were forced back unto the ſame harbour from whence they looſed; the Lord having work for them elſewhere, it was fit their purpoſes ſhould be defeated. And having continued four months after this in Ireland, until, upon information that he and Mr Livingſtone were to be apprehended, they immediately went out of the way, took ſhipping, and landed in Scotland in 1631.

A

All that ſummer after his arrival, he was as much employed in public and private exerciſes as ever before, moſtly at Irvine and the country around, and partly at Edinburgh. But things being then in confuſion, becauſe the ſervice-book was then urged upon the miniſters, his old inclination to go to France revived; and upon an invitation to be chaplain of Col. Hepburn's regiment in the French ſervice, newly inliſted in Scotland, with them he embarked at Leith; but ſome of theſe recruits, who were moſtly Highlanders, being deſperately wicked, upon his reproofs threatening to ſtab him, he reſolved to quit that voyage, and calling to the ſhipmaſter to ſet him on ſhore, without imparting his deſign, a boat was immediately ordered for his ſervice; at which time he met with another deliverance, for his foot ſliding, he was in danger of going to the bottom; but the Lord ordered, that he got hold of a rope, by which he hung till he was relieved.

Mr Blair's return gave great ſatisfaction to his friends at Edinburgh, and the reformation being then in the aſcendant, in the ſpring of 1638, he got a call to be colleague to Mr Annan at Ayr; and upon May 2. at a meeting of the preſbytery, having preached from 2 Cor. iv. 5. he was, at the ſpecial deſire of all the people there, admitted a miniſter.

He ſtaid not long here; for having, before the General Aſſembly held at Glaſgow in 1638, fully vindicated himſelf, both anent his affair with Dr Cameron, while regent in the univerſity, and his ſettlement in Ireland, he was, for his great parts and known abilities, by them ordered to be tranſported to St Andrew's; but the Aſſembly's motives to this did prove his determent for ſome time, and the burgh of Ayr, where the Lord had begun to bleſs his labours, had the favour for another year. But the Aſſembly held at Edinburgh 1639, being offended for his diſobeying, ordered him peremptorily to tranſport himſelf thither.

In 1640, when the King had, by the advice of the clergy, cauſed burn the articles of the former treaty with the Scots, and again prepared to chaſtiſe them with a royal army, the Scots, reſolving not always to play after-game, raiſed an army, invaded England, routed about 4000 Engliſh at Newburn, had Newcaſtle ſurrendered to them, and within two days were maſters of Durham; which produced a new treaty, more favourable to them than the former; and with this army was Mr Blair, who went with Lord Lindſay's regiment; and when that treaty was on foot, the Committee of Eſtates and the army ſent him up to aſſiſt the commiſſioners with his beſt advice.

Again, after the rebellion in Ireland 1641, thoſe who ſur-

vived the ſtorm ſupplicated the General Aſſembly 1642, for a ſupply of miniſters, when ſeverals went over, and among the firſt Mr Blair. During his ſtay there, he generally preached once every day, and twice on Sabbath, and frequently in the field, the auditors being ſo numerous, and in ſome of theſe he adminiſtered the Lord's ſupper.

After his return, the condition of the church and ſtate was various during the years 1643 and 1644; and particularly in Auguſt 1643, the Committee of the General Aſſembly, whereof Mr Blair was one, with John Earl of Rutland, and other Scots Commiſſioners from the parliament of England, and Meſſ. Stephen Marſhall and Philip Nye, miniſters, agreed to a ſolemn league and covenant betwixt the two kingdoms of Scotland and England; and in the end of the ſame year, when the Scots aſſiſted the Engliſh parliament, Mr Blair was, by the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, appointed miniſter to the Earl of Crawford's regiment; with whom he ſtaid until the King was routed at Marſton-muir, July 1644, when he returned to his charge at St Andrew's.

The Parliament and Commiſſion of the kirk ſat at Perth in July 1645. The parliament was opened with a ſermon by Mr Blair; and, after he had, upon the forenoon of the 27th, a day of ſolemn humiliation, preached again to the parliament, he rode out to the army, then encampee at Torgondermy, and preached to Crawford's and Maitland's regiments, to the firſt of whom he had been chaplain.—He told the brigade, that he was informed that many of them were turned diſſolute and profane; and aſſured them, that though the Lord had covered their heads in the day of battle, few of them being killed at Marſton-muir, they ſhould not be able to ſtand before a leſs formidable foe, unleſs they repented. Though this freedom was taken in good part from one who wiſhed them well, yet was too little laid to heart; and the moſt part of Crawford's regiment was cut off at Kilſyth, in three weeks afterwards.

After the defeat at Kilſyth, ſeverals were for treating with Montroſe, but Mr Blair oppoſed it; ſo that nothing was concluded until the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people; for the Committee of Eſtates recalled General Leſlie with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England, to oppoſe whom Montroſe marched ſouthward; but was ſhamefully defeated at Philiphaugh, September 13. many of his forces being killed and taken priſoners, and he hardly eſcaped. On the 26th, the Parliament and Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly ſat down at St Andrew's, (the plague being then in Edinburgh); here Mr Blair preached before the parliament

and alſo prayed before the ſeveral ſeſſions thereof; and when ſeveral priſoners, taken at Philiphaugh, were tried, three of them, viz. Sir Robert Spottiſwood, Meſſ. Nathaniel Gordon and Andrew Guthrie, were to be executed on the 17th of January thereafter, Mr Blair viſited them often, and was at much pains with them: He prevailed ſo far with Gordon, that he deſired to be releaſed from the ſentence of excommunication which he was under; and accordingly Mr Blair did the ſame. The other two, who were biſhops ſons, died impenitent.—*Mali corvi malum ovum.*

In 1646, the General Aſſembly, ſitting at Edinburgh, ordered Mr Blair, who was then moderator, with Mr Cant and Mr Robert Douglas, to repair to the King at Newcaſtle, to concur with worthy Mr Alexander Henderſon and others, who were labouring to convince him of great bloodſhed in theſe kingdoms, and reconcile him to Preſbyterian church-government and the covenants. When theſe three miniſters got a hearing, the room was immediately filled with ſeveral ſorts of people to ſee their reception. Mr Andrew Cant, being eldeſt, began briſkly to inſinuate, with his wonted zeal and plainneſs, that the King favoured Popery; Mr Blair interrupted him, and modeſtly hinted, that it was not a fit time nor place for that. The King looking on him earneſtly, ſaid, "That honeſt man ſpeaks wiſely and diſcreetly; therefore I appoint you three to attend me to-morrow at ten o'clock, in my bed-chamber." They attended, according to appointment, but got little ſatisfaction; only Mr Blair aſked his Majeſty, if there were not abominations in Popery, &c. The King, lifting his hat, ſaid, "I take God to witneſs that there are abominations in Popery, which I ſo much abhor, that ere I conſent to them, I would rather loſe my life and my crown." Yet after all this, Mr Blair and Mr Henderſon, for theſe two he favoured moſt, having moſt earneſtly deſired him to ſatisfy the juſt deſires of his ſubjects, he obſtinately refuſed, though they beſought him on their knees with tears. Renewed commiſſions for this end were ſent from Scotland, but to no good purpoſe, and Mr Blair returned home to St Andrew's.

Mr Henderſon died at Edinburgh, Auguſt 19.; which the King no ſooner heard, than he ſent for Mr Blair to ſupply his place, as chaplain in Scotland; which Mr Blair, through fear of being inſnared, was at firſt averſe unto; but having conſulted with Mr David Dickſon, and reflecting that Mr Henderſon had held his integrity faſt unto the end, he applied himſelf to that employment with great diligence, every day praying before dinner and ſupper in the preſence-chamber;

ber; on the Lord's day, lecturing once and preaching twice; beſides preaching ſome week-days in St Nicholas's Church; as alſo converſing much with the King, deſiring him to condeſcend to the juſt deſires of his parliament, and at other times debating concerning Prelacy, liturgies, and ceremonies.

One day, after prayer, the King aſked him, If it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controverſy? Mr Blair, taking the hint, ſaid, he thought he had determined no controverſy in that prayer. Yes, ſaid the King, you have determined the Pope to be Antichriſt, which is a controverſy among orthodox divines. To this Mr Blair replied, To me this is no controverſy, and I am ſorry it ſhould be accounted ſo by your Majeſty; ſure it was none to your father. This ſilenced the King, for he was a great defender of his father's opinions; and his teſtimony, Mr Blair knew well, was of more authority with him than the teſtimony of any divine. After a few months ſtay, Mr Blair was permitted to viſit his flock and family.

After the ſitting of the Scots parliament, Mr Blair made another viſit to the King at Newcaſtle, where he urged him, with all the arguments he was maſter of, to ſubſcribe the covenants, and aboliſh Epiſcopacy in England, and he was confident all his honeſt Scotſmen would eſpouſe his quarrel againſt his enemies in England, &c. To which the King anſwered, that he was bound by his great oath to defend Epiſcopacy, &c. in that church; and ere he wronged his conſcience, by violating his coronation-oath, he would loſe his crown. Mr Blair aſked the form of that oath, he ſaid, it was to maintain it to the utmoſt of his power. Then, ſaid Mr Blair, you have not only defended it to the utmoſt of your power, but ſo long, and ſo far, that now you have no power, &c. But by nothing could he prevail upon the King, and left him with a ſorrowful heart, and returned to St Andrew's.

Again, in the year 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh, the Commiſſion of the kirk, ſent Mr Blair, and Meſſ. David Dickſon and James Guthrie, to deal with him for an uniformity in England. When they came, he entertained them with ſmooth ſpeeches, and ſolemn appeals to God as to the ſincerity of his intentions. Mr Blair being beſt acquaint with him, ſpoke for all the reſt; and, among other things, begged an anſwer to theſe three queſtions: (1.) What was his opinion of monarchical government? He anſwered, he was for monarchical government, &c. (2.) What was his opinion anent toleration? He anſwered confidently, that he was altogether againſt toleration. (3.) What was his opinion

concerning

concerning the government of the church? O now, ſaid Cromwell, Mr Blair, you article me too ſeverely; you muſt pardon me, that I give you not a preſent anſwer to this, &c. This he ſhifted, becauſe he had before, in converſation with Mr Blair, confeſſed he was for Independency. When they came out, Mr Dickſon ſaid, I am glad to hear this man ſpeak no worſe; whereunto Mr Blair replied, If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe one word he ſays, for he is an egregious diſſembler, and a great liar.

When the differences fell out betwixt the proteſtors and reſolutioners, Mr Blair was at London, and afterwards for the moſt part remained neuter in that affair; for which he was ſubjected to ſome hardſhips; yet he never omitted any proper place or occaſion, for the uniting and cementing theſe differences, none now in Scotland being more earneſt in this than he and the learned and pious Mr James Durham, miniſter at Glaſgow. Theſe two, meeting at St Andrew's, had the influence to draw a meeting of the two ſides to Edinburgh, where harmony was like to prevail; but the Lord's anger, being ſtill drawn out for the prevailing ſins of that time, all promiſing beginnings were blaſted, and all hopes of agreement did vaniſh.

Thus affairs continued until the year 1660, that the kingdom, being quite ſick of diſtractions, reſtored again Charles II.; the woful conſequences are otherwiſe too well known: And on this laſt occaſion, Mr Blair again began to beſtir himſelf to procure union betwixt the two parties, and for that end obtained a meeting; but his endeavours were fruſtrated, and no reconciliation could be made, till both ſides were caſt into the furnace of a ſore and long perſecution.

For, in September 1661, Mr Sharp came to St Andrew's, and the preſbytery, having had aſſurance of his deceitful carriage at Court, and of the probability of his being made Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, ſent Mr Blair and another to him, to diſcharge their duty; which they did ſo faithfully, that Sharp was never at eaſe till Mr Blair was rooted out.

Mr Blair taking occaſion, in a ſermon from 1 Pet. iii. 13. &c. to enlarge on ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake, giving his teſtimony to the covenants and the work of reformation, againſt the finful and corrupt courſes of the times, he was called before the Council, November 5. when the Advocate and ſome noblemen were appointed to converſe with Mr Blair, where they poſed him on the following points: (1.) Whether he had aſſerted Preſbyterial goverment to be *jure divino?* (2.) Whether he had aſſerted, that ſuffering for it was ſuffering for righteouſneſs ſake? And, (3.) Whether in his prayers

againſt

againſt Popery, he had joined Prelacy with it? Having anſwered all in the affirmative, profeſſing his ſorrow that they doubted his opinions in theſe points, he was firſt confined to his chamber in Edinburgh; and afterwards, upon ſupplication, and the atteſtation of phyſicians on account of his health, he was permitted to retire to Invereſk, about the 12th of January 1662.

Mr Blair continued here till October following, enjoying much of God's preſence amidſt his outward trouble; but being again commanded before the Council, by the way, he took a ſore fit of the gravel, and was for that time excuſed; and afterwards, through the Chancellor's favour, got liberty to go where he pleaſed, except St Andrew's, Edinburgh, and the weſt country.—He went to Kirkaldy.

While at Kirkaldy, he lectured and prayed often to ſome Chriſtian friends in his own family; and for his recreation taught his younger ſon the Greek language and logic. But the Archbiſhop, envying the repoſe Mr Blair and ſome others had in theſe circumſtances, procured an act, that no outed miniſter ſhould reſide within twenty miles of an archbiſhop's ſee; and Mr Blair removed from Kirkaldy to Meikle Couſton, in the pariſh of Aberdour, an obſcure place, in February 1666, where he continued till his death, which was ſhortly after.

For, upon the 10th of Auguſt, Mr Blair, being now worn out with old age, and his ſpirits ſunk with ſorrow and grief for the deſolations of the Lord's ſanctuary in Scotland, took his laſt ſickneſs, and entertained moſt ſerious thoughts of his near approaching end, ever extolling his glorious and good Maſter whom he had ſerved. His ſickneſs increaſing, he was viſited by many Chriſtian friends and acquaintances, whom he ſtrengthened by his many gracious and edifying words.

At one time, when they told him of ſome ſevere acts of Council newly made, upon Archbiſhop Sharp's inſtigation, he prayed that the Lord would open his eyes, and give him repentance, &c. And to Mrs Rutherford, at another time, he ſaid, I would not exchange conditions with that man, (though he was now on the bed of languiſhing, and the other poſſeſſed of great riches and revenues) tho' all betwixt them were red gold, and giving him to the bargain. When ſome miniſters aſked him, if he had any hopes of deliverance to the people of God? he ſaid, he would not take upon him to determine the times and ſeaſons the Lord keeps in his own hand, but that it was to him a token for good, that the Lord was caſting the prelates out of the affections of all ranks and degrees of people, and even ſome who were moſt active in

ſetting them up, were now beginning to loath them for their pride, falſehood, and covetouſneſs.

To his wife and children he ſpake gravely and Chriſtianly; and, after he had ſolemnly bleſſed them, he ſeverally admoniſhed them as he judged expedient. His ſon David ſaid, The beſt and worſt of men have their thoughts and afterthoughts; now, Sir, God having given you time for afterthoughts on your way, we would hear what they are now.—He anſwered, I have again and again thought upon my former ways, and communed with mine heart; and as for my public actings and carriage, in reference to the Lord's work, if I I were to begin again, I would juſt do as I have done. He often repeated the 16th and 23d pſalm, and once the 71ſt pſalm which he uſed to call his own pſalm. About two days before his death, his ſpeech began to fail, and he could not be well heard or underſtood: however, ſome things were not loſt; for, ſpeaking of ſome eminent ſaints then alive, he prayed earneſtly that the Lord would bleſs them; and, as an evidence of his love to them, he deſired Mr George Hutcheſon, then preſent to carry his Chriſtian remembrance to them. When Mr Hutcheſon went from his bed-ſide, he ſaid to his wife, and others who waited on him, that he rejoiced in ſuffering as a perſecuted miniſter. "Is it not perſecution," added he, "to thruſt me from the work of the miniſtry, which was my delight, and hinder me from doing good to my people and flock, which was my joy and crown of rejoicing, and to chace me from place to place, till I am waſted with heavineſs and ſorrow for the injuries done to the Lord's prerogative, intereſt, and cauſe." What he afterwards ſaid, was either forgot or not underſtood, till, at length, about four o'clock in the morning, he was gathered to his fathers, by a bleſſed and happy death, the certain reſult of a holy life.

His body lies in the burial-place at Aberdour; and upon the church-wall above his grave, was erected a little monument with this inſcription:

Hic reconditæ jacent mortui
Exuviæ D. Roberti Blair, S. S.
Evangelii apud Andreapolin
Predicatoris fideliſſimi. Obiit
Auguſti 27. 1666. *Ætatis ſuæ* 73.

Mr Blair was a man of a fine conſtitution, both of body and mind, of a majeſtic but amiable countenance and carriage, thoroughly learned, and of a moſt public ſpirit for God. He was of unremitting diligence and labour, in all the private as well as public duties of his ſtation. He did highly endear

himself to the affection of his own people, and to the whole country where he lived; and their attachment to him was not a little strengthened by his conduct in the judicatories of the church; which indeed constituted the distinguishing part of his character.

When the General Assembly resolved upon a new explication of the Holy Bible, among others of the godly and learned in the ministry, Mr Blair had the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes assigned to him for his part; but he neglected that task, till he was rendered useless for other purposes, and then set about and finished his Commentary on the Proverbs in 1666. He composed also some small poetical pieces, as a poem in commendation of Jesus Christ, for the confutation of Popish errors; with some short epigrams on different subjects.

MR HUGH M'KAIL.

MR M'KAIL was born about the year 1640, and was educated at the university of Edinburgh, under the inspection of his uncle Mr Hugh M'Kail, in whose family he resided. In the winter 1661, he offered himself to trials for the ministry, before the presbytery of Edinburgh, being then about twenty years old; and, being by them licensed, he preached several times with great applause. He preached his last public sermon from Cant. i. 7. in the High Church of Edinburgh, upon the Sabbath immediately preceding the 8th of September 1662, the day fixed by the then parliament for the removal of the ministers of Edinburgh.

In this sermon, taking occasion to speak of the great and many persecutions to which the church of God has been and is obnoxious, amplifying the point from the persons and powers that have been instrumental therein, he said, That the church and people of God had been persecuted both by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the church, &c.; which case, to the conviction of his adversaries, seemed so similar to the state and condition of the then rulers of church and state, that, though he made no particular application, yet was he reputed guilty. Whereupon, a few days after, a party of horse was sent to the place of his residence, near Edinburgh, to apprehend him; but, upon little more than a moment's warning, he escaped out of bed into another chamber, where he was preserved from the

search.

ſearch. After this, he was obliged to return home to his father's houſe; and, having lurked there for ſome time, he ſpent other four years before his death in ſeveral other places.

While he lived at his father's houſe, troubles aroſe in the weſt; and the news thereof having alarmed him, with the reſt of that country, upon the 18th of November, for ſuch motives and conſiderations as he himſelf afterwards more fully declares, he joined himſelf to thoſe who roſe in theſe parts, for the aſſiſting of that poor afflicted party. Being of a tender conſtitution, by the toil, fatigue, and continual marching in tempeſtuous weather, he was ſo diſabled and weakened, that he could no longer endure; and upon the 27th of the ſaid month, he was obliged to leave them near Cramond water; and, in his way to Libberton pariſh, paſſing through Braid's Craigs, he was taken without any reſiſtance, (having only a ſmall ordinary ſword), by ſome of the countrymen who were ſent out to view the fields. And here it is obſervable, that his former eſcape was no more miraculous than his preſent taking was fatal; for the leaſt caution might have prevented him this inconveniency; but God, who gave him the full experience of his turning all things to the good of them that love him, did thus, by his ſimplicity, prepare the way for his own glory, and his ſervant's joy and victory.

He was brought to Edinburgh, firſt to the town-council houſe, and there ſearched for letters; but none being found, he was committed priſoner to the tolbooth. Upon Wedneſday the 28th, he was, by order of the Secret Council, brought before the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Prieſtfield, and others, in order to his examination; where, being interrogate, concerning his joining the weſt-land forces, he, conceiving himſelf not obliged, by any law or reaſon, to be his own accuſer, did decline the queſtion. After ſome reaſoning, he was deſired to ſubſcribe his name, but refuſed; which, when reported to the Council, gave great offence, and brought him under ſome ſuſpicion of being a diſſembler. On the 29th he was again called before them, where, for allaying the Council's prejudice, he gave in a declaration under his hand, teſtifying that he had been with the weſt-land forces, &c. Though it was certainly known, that he had both formed and ſubſcribed this acknowledgement the night before, yet they ſtill perſiſted in their jealouſy, ſuſpecting him to have been privy to all the deſigns of that party, and dealt with him, with the greater importunity, to declare an account of the whole buſineſs; and upon December 3. the boots (a moſt terrible inſtrument of tor-

ture) were laid on the council-house table before him, and he was certified, that if he would not confess, he should be tortured to-morrow. Accordingly he was called before them, and being urged to confess, he solemnly declared, that he knew no more than what he had already confessed; whereupon they ordered the executioner to put his leg to the boot, and to proceed to the torture, to the number of ten or eleven strokes, with considerable intervals; yet all did not move him to express any impatience or bitterness.

This torture was the cause of his not being indicted with the first ten, who were arraigned and sentenced on Wednesday December 5. to be hanged on the Friday following.—Many thought, that his small accession to the rising, and what he had suffered by torture, should have procured him some favour, but it was otherwise determined; nor was his former sermon forgot, and the words *Achab on the throne*. On Monday the 10th, he and other seven received their indictment of treason, and were summoned to appear before the justices on Wednesday December 12.; but his torture and close imprisonment (for so it was ordered) had cast him into a fever, whereby he was utterly unable to make his appearance; therefore, upon Tuesday the 11th, he gave in to the Lords of the Council a supplication, declaring his weak and sickly condition, craving that they may surcease any legal procedure against him, in such an extremely weak and sickly condition, and that they would discharge him of the foresaid appearance. Hereupon the Council ordered two physicians and two chirurgeons to visit him, and to return their attestations, upon soul and conscience, betwixt and to-morrow at ten o'clock, to the justices.

Upon December 8. his brother went from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with a letter from the Lady Marquis of Douglas, and another from the Duchess of Hamilton, to the Lord Commissioner, in his favour; but both proved ineffectual; his cousin, Mr Matthew M'Kail, carried another letter from the Lady Marquis of Douglas, to the Archbishop of St Andrew's, for the same purpose; but with no better success.

On December 18. he being indifferently recovered, was with other three brought before the justices, where the general indictment was read, founded both on old and late acts of parliament, made against rising in arms, entering into leagues and covenants, and renewing the solemn league and covenant, without and against the King's authority, &c. Mr Hugh was particularly charged with joining the rebels at Ayr, Ochiltree, Lanark, and other places, on horseback, &c. Whereupon, being permitted to answer, he spoke in his own

defence,

defence, both concerning the charge laid againſt him, and likewiſe of the ties and obligations that were upon this land to God; commending the inſtitution, dignity, and bleſſing of Preſbyterial government. He ſaid, The laſt words of the national covenant had always a great weight upon his ſpirit. Here he was interrupted by the King's Advocate, who bade him forbear that diſcourſe, and anſwer the queſtion for the crime of rebellion. Unto which he anſwered, The thing that moved him to declare as he had done, was that weighty and important ſaying of our Lord Jeſus, *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall the Son of man alſo confeſs before the angels of God*, &c. After this confeſſion, and the depoſitions of thoſe examined anent him, were read, with his replies to the ſame, the aſſize was incloſed; after which they gave their verdict *una voce*, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray, their chancellor, reported him guilty, &c. The verdict being reported, doom was pronounced, declaring and adjudging him and the reſt to be taken, on Saturday December 20. to the market-croſs of Edinburgh, there to be hanged on a gibbet till dead, and his goods and lands to be eſcheated and forfeited for his Highneſs's uſe. At the hearing of this ſentence he cheerfully ſaid, *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away: bleſſed be the name of the Lord.* He was then carried back to the tolbooth through the guards, the people making lamentation for him by the way. After he came to his chamber, he immediately addreſſed himſelf to God in prayer, with great enlargement of heart, in behalf of himſelf, and thoſe who were condemned with them. Afterwards, to a friend he ſaid, "O how good news! to be within four days journey to enjoy the ſight of Jeſus Chriſt;" and proteſted, "he was not ſo cumbered how to die, as he had ſometimes been to preach a ſermon." To ſome women lamenting for him, he ſaid, "That his condition, though he was but young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours in the miniſtry, was not to be mourned; for one drop of my blood, through the grace of God, may make more hearts contrite, than many years ſermons might have done."

This afternoon he ſupplicated the Council for liberty to his father to come to him; which being granted, his father came next night, to whom he diſcourſed a little concerning obedience to parents, from the fifth commandment; and then, after prayer, his father ſaid to him, "Hugh, I called thee a a goodly olive-tree of fair fruit, and now a ſtorm hath deſtroyed the tree and his fruit." He anſwered *, That his too

good

* Let both parents and children learn from this precious father and ſon.

good thought of him afflicted him. His father ſaid, "He was perſuaded God was viſiting not his own ſins, but his parents ſins, ſo that he might ſay, Our fathers have ſinned and we have born their iniquity." He further ſaid, "I have ſinned; thou poor ſheep, what haſt thou done?" Mr Hugh anſwered with many groans, "That, through coming ſhort of the fifth commandment, he had come ſhort of the promiſe, that his days ſhould be prolonged in the land of the living; and that God's controverſy with his father was for over-valuing his children, eſpecially himſelf."

Upon the 20th of December, through the importunity of friends, more than his own inclination, he gave in a petition to the Council, craving their clemency, after having declared his own innocence; but it proved altogether ineffectual.—During his abode in priſon, the Lord was very graciouſly preſent with him, both to ſuſtain him againſt the fears of death, and by expelling the overcloudings of terror, that ſometimes the beſt of men, through the frailty of fleſh and blood, are ſubject unto. He was alſo wonderfully aſſiſted in prayer and praiſe, to the admiration of all the hearers; eſpecially on Thurſday's night, when, being ſet at ſupper with his fellow-priſoners, his father, and one or two more, he requeſted his fellow-priſoners, ſaying merrily, Eat to the full, and cheriſh your bodies, that we may be a fat Chriſtmas-pye to the prelates. After ſupper, in thankſgiving, he broke forth into ſeveral expreſſions, both concerning himſelf and the church of God; and at laſt uſed that exclamation in the laſt of Daniel, *What, Lord, ſhall be the end of theſe wonders?*

The laſt night of his life he propounded and anſwered ſeveral queſtions for the ſtrengthening of his fellow-priſoners: How ſhould he go from the tolbooth through a multitude of gazing people, and guards of ſoldiers, to a ſcaffold and gibbet, and overcome the impreſſions of all this? He anſwered, By conceiving a deeper impreſſion of a multitude of angels, who are on-lookers; according to that, *We are a gazing-ſtock to the world, angels, and men*; for the angels, rejoicing at our good confeſſion, are preſent to convoy and carry our ſouls, as the ſoul of Lazarus, to Abraham's boſom, not to receive them, for that is Jeſus Chriſt's work alone, who will welcome them to heaven himſelf, with the ſongs of angels and bleſſed ſpirits; but the angels are miniſtering ſpirits, always ready to ſerve and ſtrengthen all dying believers, &c. What is the way for us to conceive of heaven, who are haſtening to it, ſeeing the word ſaith, *Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard*, &c. To this he anſwered, That the ſcripture helps us two ways to conceive of heaven; (1.) By way of ſimilitude, as in Rev. xxi. where heaven is held forth by the

repreſentation

representation of a glorious city, there discoursed of, &c. (2.) By holding forth the love of the saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. v. 12.; and no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ, can rightly apprehend the joys of heaven.

The last words he spoke at supper were in the commendation of love above knowledge, "O but notions of knowledge without love are of small worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dangerous." After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16th psalm, and then said, "If there were any thing in the world sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the scriptures. I said, I shall not see the Lord in the land of the living; but this needs not make us sad, for where we go, the Lamb is the book of scripture, and the llght of that city, and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs," &c. Supper being ended, he called for a pen, saying, It was to write his testament; wherein he ordered some few books he had to be re-delivered to several persons. He went to bed about eleven o'clock, and slept till five in the morning; then he arose, and called for his comrade John Wodrow, saying pleasantly, "Up, John, for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going to be hanged this day, seeing we lie so long." Then he spake to him in the words of Isaiah, xlii. 24.; and after some short discourse, John said to him, "You and I will be chambered shortly beside Mr Robertson." He answered, "John, I fear you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the scaffold." He said, "He had got a clear ray of the majesty of the Lord after his awakening, but it was a little overclouded thereafter." He prayed with great fervency, pleading his covenant-relation with him, and that they might be enabled that day to witness a good confession before many witnesses. Then his father coming to him, bade him farewell. His last word to him, after prayer, was, That his sufferings would do more hurt to the prelates, and be more edifying to God's people, than if he were to continue in the ministry twenty years. Then he desired his father to leave him, and go to his chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with him on the scaffold; for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.

About two o'clock afternoon he was brought to the scaffold, with other five who suffered with him; where, to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, he had a fairer and more stayed countenance than ever they had before observed.

Being

Being come to the foot of the ladder, he directed his ſpeech to the multitude northward, ſaying, "That as his years in the world had been but few, his words then ſhould not be many;" and then ſpoke to the people the ſpeech and teſtimony which he had before written and ſubſcribed, which will be found in Naphtali and Samſon's Riddle.

Having done ſpeaking, he ſung a part of the 31ſt pſalm, and then prayed with ſuch power and fervency, as cauſed many to weep bitterly. Then he gave his hat and cloak from him; and when he took hold of the ladder to go up, he ſaid, with an audible voice, "I care no more to go up this ladder, and over it, than if I were going home to my father's houſe." Hearing a noiſe among the people, he called down to his fellow-ſufferers, ſaying, "Friends and fellow-ſufferers, be not afraid; every ſtep of this ladder is a degree nearer heaven:" and then, having ſeated himſelf thereon, he ſaid, "I do partly believe that the noble counſellors and rulers of this land would have uſed ſome mitigation of this puniſhment, had they not been inſtigated by the prelates, ſo that our blood lies principally at the prelates door; but this is my comfort now, that I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the truth and cauſe of God, the covenants and work of reformation, which were once counted the glory of this nation; and it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope," (the executioner then putting the rope about his neck). Then hearing the people weep, he ſaid, "Your work is not to weep, but to pray, that we may be honourably borne through; and bleſſed be the Lord that ſupports me now; as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindneſs of many ſince my impriſonment and ſentence, ſo I hope ye will not be wanting to me now in the laſt ſtep of my journey, that I may witneſs a good confeſſion; and that ye may know what the ground of my encouragement in this work is, I ſhall read to you in the laſt chapter of the Bible;" which having read, he ſaid, "Here you ſee the glory that is to be revealed on me, a pure river of water of life, &c.; and here you ſee my acceſs to my glory and reward, *Let him that is athirſt come*, &c.; and here you ſee my welcome, *the Spirit and the bride ſay, Come.*" Then he ſaid, "I have one word more to ſay to my friends, (looking down to the ſcaffold), Where are ye? Ye need neither lament nor be aſhamed of me in this condition, for I may make uſe of that expreſſion of Chriſt, *I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God*, to your King and my King, to the bleſſed apoſtles and martyrs, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem,

ruſalem, to an innumerable company of angels, to the general aſſembly of the firſt-born, to God the judge of all, to the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the new covenant; and I bid you all farewell, for God will be more comfortable to you than I could be, and he will be now more refreſhing to me than you can be: Farewell, farewell, in the Lord." Then, the napkin being put on his face, he prayed a little, and put it up with his hand, and ſaid, he had a word more to ſay concerning what comfort he had in his death: "I hope you perceive no alteration or diſcouragement in my countenance and carriage; and as it may be your wonder, ſo I profeſs it is a wonder to myſelf; and I will tell you the reaſon of it; beſide the juſtice of my cauſe, this is my comfort, what was ſaid of Lazarus when he died, *That the angels did carry his ſoul to Abraham's boſom*; ſo that as there is a great ſolemnity here, of a confluence of people, a ſcaffold, a gallows, a people looking out at windows; ſo there is a greater and more ſolemn preparation of angels to carry my ſoul to Chriſt's boſom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come to Chriſt's hand, and he will preſent it blameleſs and faultleſs to the Father, and then ſhall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to ſpeak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourſe with God, which ſhall never be broken off: Farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell ſun, moon, and ſtars; welcome God and Father; welcome ſweet Jeſus Chriſt, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome bleſſed Spirit of grace, and God of all conſolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death."

Then he deſired the executioner not to turn him over until he himſelf ſhould put over his ſhoulders, which, after praying a little in private, he did, ſaying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commit my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed my ſoul, O Lord God of truth." And thus, in the 26th year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

His death was ſo much lamented by the on-lookers and ſpectators, that there was ſcarce a dry cheek ſeen in all the ſtreets and windows about the croſs of Edinburgh, at the time of his execution. A late hiſtorian * gives him this character, that "he was a youth of 26 years of age, univerſally beloved, ſingularly pious, of very conſiderable learning; he had ſeen the world, and travelled ſome years abroad, and was a very comely and graceful perſon. I am told, ſaith he, that he

* Mr Crookſhanks. This was about Nov. 1662, when the Council commenced a proceſs againſt Sir James Stuart, for entertaining him in that family. See his Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 134.

uſed to faſt one day every week, and had frequently, before this, ſignified to his friends his impreſſion of ſuch a death as he now underwent. His ſhare in the riſing was known to be but ſmall; and when he ſpoke of his comfort and joy in his death, heavy were the groans of thoſe preſent."

MR JOHN NEVAY.

MR JOHN NEVAY was licenſed and ordained a miniſter in the time of Scotland's pureſt reformation, and ſettled at Newmills in the pariſh of Loudon; and was, beſides his ſoundneſs in the faith, ſhining piety in converſation, and great diligence in attending all the parts of his miniſterial function, particularly church-judicatories; one who was alſo very zealous in contending againſt ſeveral ſteps of defection, which were contrary to the work of reformation carried on in that period. Thus,

When the Earl of Callendar and Major-General Middleton were cruelly haraſſing the covenanters, and well-affected people in the weſt of Scotland, becauſe they would not join in the Duke of Hamilton's unlawful engagement in war againſt England, which was a manifeſt breach of the ſolemn league and covenant, Mr Nevay was one of thoſe miniſters, and other well-affected people, who were aſſembled at the celebration of our Lord's ſupper at Mauchlin-muir, in June 1648, where oppoſition, in their own defence, was made to the ſaid Callendar and Middleton's forces, who attacked them there upon the laſt day of that ſolemnity *.

Again, when that pretended Aſſembly held at Edinburgh and St Andrew's, in 1651, did approve and ratify the public reſolutions, in bringing in the juſtly excluded malignants into places of public power and truſt in judicatories and armies, he was one of thoſe called remonſtrators, who faithfully witneſſed and proteſted againſt that ſad courſe of covenant-breaking and land defiling ſin.

And, as a concluſion to all, when that head of malignants, Charles II. was again reſtored as King over theſe lands, in conſequence of which the whole of our covenanted work of reformation,

* Biſhop Guthrie ſays, That the chief managers here were Meſſ. William Ardir, William Guthrie, and John Nevay; and that the covenanters were of foot 2000 and horſe 500 ſtrong; and this is more than probable. See his Memoirs. p. 177. Bailey's Letters add Meſſ. Muat, Thomas Wylie, GabrielMaxwell, and Alexander Blair; and ſays they were about 800 foot and 12 horſe ſtrong. Vol. ii. p. 295.—299.

reformation, which for ſome time had flouriſhed, now began to be defaced and overturned; and therefore it behoved the chief promoters thereof to be, in the firſt place, attacked: and Mr Nevay, being the Earl of Loudon's chaplain, and very much valued by him, muſt be included among the reſt; and was, Nov. 18. 1662, by order of the Council, cited, with ſome others, to repair to Edinburgh, and appear before the Council, on the 9th of December after. He did not compear until the 23d, when he was examined, and upon his refuſal of the oath of allegiance, he was baniſhed, and enacted himſelf in a bond as follows:

"I John Nevay, miniſter of the goſpel at Newmills, bind and oblige myſelf to remove forth of the King's dominions, and not to return under pain of death; and that I ſhall remove before the firſt of February; and that I ſhall not remain within the dioceſes of Glaſgow and Edinburgh in the mean time. Subſcribed, at Edinburgh, December 23.

John Nevay."

And taking leave of his old pariſhioners, no doubt with a ſorrowful heart, he prepared for his journey, and went over to Holland, among the reſt of our baniſhed miniſters; where for ſome years he preached to ſuch as would come and hear him; and yet all the while he retained the affection of a moſt dear and loving paſtor to his old pariſhioners of Loudon, both by ſending them many ſermons, and ſeveral affectionate letters, wherein he not only exhorted them to ſtedfaſtneſs in midſt of manifold temptations, but alſo ſhewed a longing deſire to return to his native land and pariſhioners again; as is evident from that excellent letter, wrote ſome time before his death, dated at Rotterdam, October 22. 1669; in which letter, among other things, he has theſe expreſſions: "I can do no more than pray for you; and if I could do that well, I had done almoſt all that is required. I am not worthy of the eſteem you have of me: I have not whereof to glory, but much whereof I am aſhamed, and which may make me go mourning to my grave; but if you ſtand faſt, I live; you are all my crown and joy in this earth, next to the joy of Jeruſalem and her King, and I hope to have ſome of you my joy and crown in our Father's kingdom, beſides thoſe that are gone before us, and entered into the joy of the Lord. I have not been altogether ignorant of the changes and wars that have been amongſt you, deep calling unto deep, nor how the Lord did ſit on all your floods as King, and did give you many times ſome more eaſe than others, and you wanted not

your ſhare in the moſt honourable teſtimony that ever was given to the truth and kingdom of Chriſt in that land, ſince the days of Mr Patrick Hamilton, Mr George Wiſhart, and Mr Walter Mill, &c. martyrs."

That Mr John Nevay was no mean divine in his day, either in parts or learning, is fully evident, both from an act of the General Aſſembly in 1647, wherein he was one of thoſe four miniſters who were appointed to reviſe and correct Rouſe's Paraphraſe of David's Pſalms in Metre, lately ſent from England, (of which he had the laſt thirty for his ſhare); and alſo that elegant and handſome Paraphraſe of his upon the Song of Solomon, in Latin verſe, both of which ſhew him to have been of a profound judgement and rare abilities.

There are 52 ſermons, or rather notes of ſermons, of his publiſhed, upon the nature, properties, bleſſings, &c. of the Covenant of Grace, in 8vo; 39 ſermons on Chriſt's Temptations, in manuſcript, being all ſent over from Holland, for the benefit of his old pariſhioners of Newmills, and might alſo have been publiſhed, if thoſe upon the covenant had met with that reception they deſerved.

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

MR LIVINGSTONE was born in 1603. He was ſon to Mr William Livingſtone, miniſter firſt at Monybroch or Kilſyth, and afterwards tranſported to Lanark. He was nearly related to the houſe of Callendar. Having firſt taught his ſon to read and write, he put him to the Latin ſchool at Stirling, under Mr Wallace, a godly and learned man. He ſtaid here till ſummer 1617, when he returned home. In October following he was ſent to the college of Glaſgow, where he ſtaid four years, until he paſſed Maſter of Arts in 1621.

After this he ſtaid with his father until he began to preach, during which time he began to obſerve the Lord's great goodneſs, that he was born of ſuch parents, who taught him the principles of religion ſo ſoon as he was capable to underſtand any thing. He ſays, in his own hiſtorical account of his life, that he does not remember the time or means particularly whereby the Lord at firſt wrought upon his heart; only, when he was but very young, he would ſometimes pray with ſome feeling, and read the word with ſome delight; but thereafter did often intermit ſuch exerciſes, and then would have ſome challenges, and begin, and intermit again, &c. He ſays, he had no inclination to the miniſtry, till a year or more after

he

he had paſſed his courſe at the college; upon which he bent his deſires to the knowledge and practice of medicine, and to go to France for that end; but when propoſed to his father, he refuſed to comply. About this time his father, having purchaſed ſome land in the pariſh of Monybroch, took the rights in his ſon's name, propoſing that he ſhould marry and live there; but this he refuſed, thinking it would divert him from his ſtudies, and, in the midſt of theſe ſtraits, he reſolved to ſet apart a day by himſelf before God, for more ſpecial direction; which he did, near Cleghorn wood, where, after much confuſion anent the ſtate of his ſoul, at laſt he thought it was made out to him, that he behoved to preach Jeſus Chriſt; which if he did not, he ſhould have no aſſurance of ſalvation: upon which, laying aſide all thoughts of other things, he betook himſelf to the ſtudy of divinity. He continued a year and a half in his father's houſe, where he ſtudied, and ſometimes preached; during which time he wrote all his ſermons before he preached them, until one day, being to preach after the communion of Quodgen, and having in readineſs a ſermon which he had preached at another place one day before, but perceiving ſeverals there who had heard him preach that ſermon formerly, he reſolved to chooſe a new text, and wrote only ſome notes of the heads he was to deliver; yet he ſays he found, at that time, more aſſiſtance in enlarging upon theſe points, and more motion in his own heart, than ever he had found before; which made him never afterwards write any more ſermons, excepting only ſome notes for the help of his memory.

About April 1626, he was ſent for by Lord Kenmuir to Galloway, in reference to a call to the pariſh of Anworth; but ſome hindrance coming in the way, this deſign was laid aſide. In the harveſt following, he hearkened to another call to Torphichen; but this proved alſo unſucceſsful.

After this he went to the Earl of Wigton's, where he ſtaid ſome time; the moſt part of this ſummer he travelled from place to place, according as he got invitations to preach, and eſpecially at communions in Lanark, Irvine, Newmills, Kinniel, &c. He was alſo ſometimes invited to preach at the Shots; in that place, he ſays, he uſed to find more liberty in preaching than elſewhere; yea, the only day in all his life wherein he found moſt of the preſence of God in preaching, he obſerves, was on a Monday after a communion at the Kirk of Shots, June 21. 1630. The night before he had been with ſome Chriſtians, who ſpent the night in prayer and conference; on the morning there came ſuch a miſgiving of ſpirit upon him, in conſidering his own unworthineſs and weakneſs, and the expec-

tation

tation of the people, that he was conſulting to have ſtolen away ſomewhere, and declined that day's work; but thinking he could not ſo diſtruſt God, he went to preach, where he got remarkable aſſiſtance in ſpeaking about one hour and a half, from Ezekiel xxxvi. 25. 26. *Then will I ſprinkle clean water upon you, and ye ſhall be clean, from all your filthineſs*, &c. Here he was led out in ſuch a melting ſtrain, that, by the down-pouring of the Spirit from one high, a moſt diſcernible change was wrought upon about 500 of hearers, who could either date their converſion, or ſome remarkable confirmation, from that day forward *. Some little of that ſtamp, he ſays, remained on him the Thurſday after, when he preached at Kilmarnock; but on the Monday following, preaching at Irvine, he was ſo deſerted, that what he had meditated upon, wrote, and kept fully in memory, he could not get pronounced; which ſo diſcouraged him, that he reſolved not to preach for ſome time, at leaſt at Irvine; but Mr Dickſon would not ſuffer him to go from thence, till he preached next Sabbath; which he did with ſome freedom.

This ſummer, being in Irvine, he got letters from Viſcount Clanniboy, to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killinchie; and, ſeeing no appearance of entering into the miniſtry in Scotland, he went thither, and got an unanimous call from that pariſh. Here he laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity among that people, who were both rude and profane before that; and they became the moſt experienced Chriſtians in that country. But he was not above a year here, until the Biſhop of Down ſuſpended him and Mr Blair for non-conformity. They remained depoſed until May 1632, when, by the interceſſion of Lord Caſtleſtuart, a warrant was granted them from the King to be reſtored.

After this he was married to the eldeſt daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, who was then in Ireland. In November 1635, he was again depoſed by the Biſhop of Down, and a little after, by his orders, excommunicated by one Mr Melvill miniſter of Down. This winter finding no appearance of liberty either to miniſters or profeſſors, from the bondage of the prelates, he, with others of the depoſed miniſters, took a reſolution to go to New England, upon which they built a ſhip for that purpoſe; and when all things were ready, they, about the 9th of September, looſed from Lochfergus; but a violent ſtorm ariſing they were driven near the banks of Newfoundland, and were all in danger of being drowned, and, after prayer and conſul-

tatio

* See the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, part i. p. 434. Wodrow's History, vol. i. p. 143.

tation, they were obliged to return back to Lochfergus. After this he ſtaid in Ireland, until he heard that he and Mr Blair were to be apprehended; and then they went out of the way, and came over to Scotland. When he came to Irvine, Mr Dickſon cauſed him preach, for which he was called in queſtion afterwards. Leaving Irvine, he paſſed by Loudon and Lanark to Edinburgh, where he continued ſome time.

About the beginning of March 1638, when the body of the land was about to renew the national covenant, he was ſent poſt to London with ſeveral copies of the covenant, and letters to friends at court of both nations; when he came there, Mr Borthwick delivered the letters for him; but he had been there but few days, until he had word ſent him from the Marquis of Hamilton, that he had overheard the King ſay, he was come, but he ſhould put a pair of fetters about his feet: whereupon fearing he ſhould be taken in the poſt-way, he bought a horſe, and came home by St Alban's and the weſtern way, and was preſent at Lanark and other places when the covenant was read and ſworn unto; and, excepting at the Kirk of Shots, already noticed, he, as himſelf ſays, never ſaw ſuch motions from the Spirit of God, all the people ſo generally and willingly concurring, yea, thouſands of perſons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling from their eyes; ſo that, through the whole land, the people (a few Papiſts, and others who adhered to the prelates, excepted) univerſally entered into the covenant of God, for the reformation of religion againſt prelates and their ceremonies.

After this, in 1638, he got a call both from Stranrawer in Galloway, and Straiton in Carrick; but he referred the matter to Meſſ. Blair, Dickſon, Cant, Henderſon, Rutherford, and his father; who having heard both parties, adviſed him to Stranrawer; and he was received there by the preſbytery upon the 5th of July 1638. Here he remained, in the faithful diſcharge of the miniſtry, until harveſt 1648, that he was, by the ſentence of the General Aſſembly, tranſported to Ancrum in Tiviotdale. When he came to Ancrum, he found the people very tractable, but very ignorant, and ſome of them very looſe in their carriage; and it was a long time before any competent number of them were brought to ſuch a condition, that he could adventure to celebrate the Lord's ſupper; but by his diligence, through the grace of God, ſome of them began to lay religion to heart.

In 1649, the parliament and church of Scotland had ſent ſome commiſſioners to treat with the King at the Hague, in order

order to his admiſſion; but they returned without ſatisfaction. Yet the parliament, in ſummer 1650, ſent other commiſſioners to proſecute the foreſaid treaty at Breda; and the Commiſſion of the kirk choſe Mr Livingſtone and Mr Wood, and after that added Mr Hutcheſon to them, with the Lords Caſſillis and Brody as ruling elders, that in name of the church they ſhould preſent and proſecute their deſires. Mr Livingſtone was very unwilling to go, and that for ſeveral reaſons; the chief of which was, he ſtill ſuſpected the King to be not right at heart in reſpect of the true Preſbyterian religion, and notwithſtanding, he ſaw that many in the kingdom were ready to receive the King home upon any terms; but he was prevailed on by Meſſ. Dickſon, James Guthrie, and Patrick Gilleſpie, to go. After much conference and reaſoning with the King at Breda, they were not like to come to any concluſion. Here he obſerved, that the King ſtill continued the uſe of the ſervice-book and his chaplains, and was many a night balling and dancing till near day. This, with many other things, made him conclude there would be no bleſſing on that treaty; the treaty, to his unſpeakable grief, was at laſt concluded, and ſome time after the King ſet ſail for Scotland; but Mr Livingſtone refuſed to go aboard with them; ſo that when Brody and Mr Hutcheſon ſaw that they could not prevail with him to come aboard, they deſired him before parting to come into the ſhip, to ſpeak of ſome matters in hand; which he did, and in the mean while, the boat that ſhould have waited his return made ſtraight for ſhore without him. After this the King agreed with the commiſſioners to ſwear and ſubſcribe the covenant, and it was laid upon him to preach the next Sabbath, and tender the covenants, national and ſolemn league, and take his oath thereon; but he, judging that ſuch a raſh and precipitate ſwearing of the covenants would not be for the honour of the cauſe they were embarked in, did all he could to deter the King and commiſſioners from doing it until he came to Scotland; but when nothing would diſſuade the King from his reſolution, it was done; for the King performed every thing that could have been required of him; upon which Mr Livingſtone obſerved, that it ſeems to have been the guilt, not only of commiſſioners, but of the whole kingdom; yea, of the church alſo, who knew the terms whereupon he was to be admitted to his government, and yet without any evidence of a real change upon his heart, and without forſaking former principles, counſels, and company.

After they landed in Scotland, before he took his leave of the King at Dundee, he uſed ſome freedom with him. After

ter ſpeaking ſomewhat to him anent his carriage, he adviſed him, that as he ſaw the Engliſh army approaching in a moſt victorious manner, he would divert the ſtroke by a declaration, or ſome ſuch way, wherein he needed not weaken his right to the crown of England, and not proſecute his title at preſent by fire and ſword, until the ſtorm blew over, and then perhaps they would be in a better caſe to be governed, &c. But he did not reliſh this motion well, ſaying, he would not wiſh to ſell his father's blood; which made Mr Livingſtone conclude, that either he was not called to meddle in ſtate-matters, or elſe he ſhould have little ſucceſs. Another inſtance of this he gives us, in 1654, when he and Mr Patrick Gilleſpie and Mr Menzies were called up by the Protector to London, where he propoſed to him, that he would take off the heavy fines, that were laid on ſeverals in Scotland, which they were unable to pay; he ſeemed to like the motion, but when he propoſed the overture to the Council, they went not into the purpoſe.

While at London, preaching before the Protector, he mentioned the King in prayer, whereat ſome were greatly incenſed; but Cromwell, knowing Mr Livingſtone's influence in Scotland, ſaid, "Let him alone; he is a good man; and what are we poor men in compariſon of the Kings of England?"

The General Aſſembly appointed ſome miniſters, and him among the reſt, to wait upon the army and the Committee of Eſtates that reſided with them; but the fear and apprehenſion of what enſued, kept him back from going, and he went home until he got the ſad news of the defeat at Dunbar. After which Cromwell, wrote to him from Edinburgh, to come and ſpeak to him; but he excuſed himſelf. That winter the unhappy difference fell out anent the public reſolutions; his light carried him to join the proteſtors againſt the reſolutioners; and the Aſſembly that followed thereafter, he was preſent at their firſt meeting in the weſt, at Kilmarnock, and ſeveral other meetings of the proteſting brethren afterwards; but not being ſatisfied with keeping theſe meetings ſo often, and continuing them ſo long, which he imagined made the breach wider, he declined them for ſome time.

After this, he ſpent the reſt of his time in the exerciſe of the miniſtry, both at Ancrum and other places, until ſummer 1660, that news was brought him that the King was called home, and then he clearly foreſaw that the overturning of the whole work of reformation would enſue, and a trial to all who ſhould adhere to the ſame. But in 1662, when the Parliament and Council had, by proclamation, ordered all miniſters who had come in ſince 1649, and had not kept the

holiday of the 29th of May, either to acknowledge the prelates or remove, he then more clearly foreſaw a ſtorm approaching. At the laſt communion which he had at Ancrum, in October, he ſays, that after ſermon on Monday, it pleaſed the Lord to open his mouth, in a reaſonably large diſcourſe, anent the grounds and encouragements to ſuffer for the preſent controverſy of the kingdom of Chriſt, in the appointing the government of his houſe; then he took his leave of that place, although he knew nothing of what was ſhortly to follow after.

After he had, with Elijah, eaten before a great journey, having communicated before he entered upon ſuffering, he heard, in a little time, of the Council's procedure againſt him, and about twelve or ſixteen others who were to be brought before them; he went preſently to Edinburgh, before the ſummons could reach him, and lurked there ſome time, until he got certain information of the Council's deſign, whether they were for their life, like as was done with Mr Guthrie, or only for baniſhment, as was done with Mr M'Ward and Mr Simpſon; but, finding that they intended only the laſt, he accordingly reſolved to appear with his brethren. He appeared Dec. 11. and was examined* before the Council; the ſum of which came to this, That they required him to ſubſcribe or take the oath of allegiance, which he, upon ſeveral ſolid grounds and reaſons, refuſed; and ſentence was pronounced, that in forty-eight hours he ſhould depart Edinburgh, and go to the north ſide of Tay, and within two months depart out of all the King's dominions. Accordingly he went from Edinburgh to Leith; and thereafter, upon a petition in regard of his infirmity, he obtained liberty to ſtay there until he ſhould remove. He petitioned alſo for a few days to go home to ſee his wife and children, but was refuſed; as alſo for an extract of his ſentence, but could not obtain it. In 1663, he went aboard, accompanied by ſeveral friends to the ſhip; they ſet ſail, and in eight days came to Rotterdam, where he found the reſt of the baniſhed miniſters there before him. Here he got frequent occaſions of preaching to the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; and in December following, his wife, with two of his children, came over to him, and the other five were left in Scotland.

Here, upon a retrograde view of his life, he, in the foreſaid hiſtorical account, obſerves, that the Lord had given him a body not very ſtrong, and yet not weak; for he could hardly remember himſelf wearied in reading and ſtudying, although he had continued ſeven or eight hours without riſing, and alſo that there was but two recreations that he

was

* Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 144.

was in danger to be taken with; the firſt was hunting on horſeback, but this he had very little occaſion of, yet he found it very enticing; the other was, ſinging in concerts of muſic, wherein he had ſome ſkill, and in which he took great delight. He ſays further, that he was always ſhort-ſighted, and could not diſcern any perſon or thing afar off; but hitherto he had found no occaſion for ſpectacles, and could read ſmall print as long, and with as little light, almoſt as any other. And, as to his inclination, he was generally ſoft and amorous, averſe to debates, rather given to lazineſs than raſhneſs, and too eaſy to be wrought upon. And although he could not ſay what Luther affirmed of himſelf concerning covetouſneſs, yet he could ſay, he had been leſs troubled with covetouſneſs and cares than many other evils, and rather inclined to ſolitarineſs than company, and was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts; and for outward things, he was never rich; and although, when in Killinchie, he had not above four pounds Sterling of ſtipend a-year, yet he was never in want.

He further obſerves, that he could not remember any particular time of converſion, or that he was much caſt down or lifted up; only one night, in the Dean of Kilmarnock's, having been, moſt of the day before, in company with ſome people of Stuarton, who were under rare and ſad exerciſe of mind, he lay down under ſome heavineſs, that he never had ſuch experience of; but, in the midſt of his ſleep, there came ſuch a terror of the wrath of God upon him, that if it had but increaſed a little higher, or continued but a few minutes longer, he had been in a moſt dreadful condition, but it was inſtantly removed, and he thought it was ſaid within his heart, See what a fool thou art to deſire the thing thou couldſt not endure. In his preaching he was ſometimes much deſerted and caſt down, and again at other times tolerably aſſiſted. He himſelf declares, that he never preached a ſermon, excepting two, that he would be earneſt to ſee again in print; the firſt (ſays Wodrow) was at the Kirk of Shots, as was already noticed, and the other at a communion Monday, at Holywood in Ireland; and both theſe times he had ſpent the night before in conference and prayer with ſome Chriſtians, without any more than ordinary preparation. For otherwiſe, ſays he, his gift was rather ſuited to common people, than to learned judicious auditors. He had a tolerable inſight in the Hebrew, Chaldee, and ſomewhat of the Syriac languages; Arabic he did eſſay, but he ſoon dropped it.

He had as much of the French, Italian, Dutch, and Spaniſh, as enabled him to make uſe of their books and Bibles. It

was thrice laid upon him by the General Aſſembly to write the hiſtory of the church of Scotland ſince the Reformation 1638; but this, for certain reaſons, he had altogether omitted.

The greater part of his time in Holland he ſpent in reducing the original text into a Latin tranſlation of the Bible; and for that purpoſe compared Pagnin's with the original text, and with the later tranſlations, ſuch as Munſter, the Tigurine, Junius, Diodati, the Engliſh, but eſpecially the Dutch, which he thought was the moſt accurate tranſlation.

Whether by conſtant ſitting at theſe ſtudies, or ſome other reaſons, the infirmities of old age creeping on, he could not determine, but ſince the year 1664, there was ſuch a continual pain contracted in his bladder, that he could not walk abroad, and a ſhaking of his hands, that he could ſcarcely write any; otherwiſe he bleſſed the Lord that hitherto he had found no great defection either in body or mind.

Thus he continued at Rotterdam until Auguſt 9. 1672, when he died. Some of his laſt words were, "Carry my commendation to Jeſus Chriſt, till I come there myſelf;" after a pauſe, he added, "I die in the faith, that the truths of God, which he hath helped the church of Scotland to own, ſhall be owned by him as truths ſo long as ſun and moon endure, and that independency, though there be good men and well-meaning profeſſors of that way, will be found more to the prejudice of the work of God than many are aware of, for they evaniſh into vain opinions. I have my own faults, as well as other men, but he made me always abhor ſhews. I have, I know, given offence to many, through my ſlackneſs and negligence; but I forgive, and deſire to be forgiven." After a pauſe, for he was not able to ſpeak much at a time, he ſaid, "I would not have people to forecaſt the worſt, but there is a dark cloud above the reformed churches, which prognoſticates a ſtorm coming." His wife, fearing what ſhortly followed, deſired him to take leave of his friends: "I dare not, (replied he, with an affectionate tenderneſs), but it is like our parting will only be for a ſhort time." And then he ſlept in the Lord.

Although it is uſual with the moſt of men, when writing their own account, through modeſty, to conceal their own parts, qualifications, and other abilities, yet here theſe things cannot be hid; for it is pretty evident, that ſince our reformation commenced in Scotland, there has been none whoſe labours in the goſpel have been more remarkably bleſſed with the downpouring of the Spirit in converſion-work than great Mr Livingſtone's were; yea, it is a queſtion, if any one, ſince the

the primitive times, can produce ſo many convincing and confirming ſeals of their miniſtry; as witneſs the Kirk of Shots, and Holywood in Ireland, at which two places, it is ſaid, that about 1500 ſouls were either confirmed, or converted and brought to Chriſt.

His works, beſides his letter from Leith, 1663, to his pariſhioners at Ancrum, are, his Memorable Characteriſtics of Divine Providence, &c. and a manuſcript of his own life, of which this is an abbreviate. He alſo, while in his Patmos of Holland, wrote a new Latin Tranſlation of the Old Teſtament, which was reviſed and approven of by Voſſius, Eſſenius, Nethneus, Leuſden, and other eminent lights of that time; before his death, it was put into the hands of the laſt to be printed.

MR JOHN SEMPLE.

MR JOHN SEMPLE was, for his exemplary walk and ſingular piety, had in ſuch eſteem and veneration, that all ranks of people ſtood in awe of him; and particularly the clergy, he being a great check upon the lazy and corrupt part of them, who oftentimes were much afraid of him.—One time, coming from Carſphairn to Sanquhar, being twelve miles of a rough way, on a Monday morning, after the ſacrament the miniſters, being ſtill in bed, got up in all haſte, to prevent his reproof; but he, perceiving them putting on their clothes, ſaid, "What will become of the ſheep, when the ſhepherds ſleep ſo long: in my way hither, I ſaw ſome ſhepherds on the hills looking after their flocks."—Which, conſidering his age, and early journey ſo many miles after he had preached the day before at home, had much influence on them, and made them ſomewhat aſhamed.

He was one who very carefully attended church-judicatories, from which he was ſeldom abſent, and that from a principle of conſcience; ſo that almoſt no impediment could hinder him in his purpoſes; for one time going to the preſbytery of Kirkcudbright, twenty miles diſtant from Carſphairn, when about to ford the water of Dee, he was told by ſome, that it was impaſſable; yet he perſiſted, ſaying, "I muſt go through, if the Lord will; I am going about his work."—He entered in, and the ſtrength of the current carried him and his horſe beneath the ford; he fell from his horſe, and ſtood upright in the water, and taking off his hat, prayed a word; after

which

which he and his horſe got ſafely out, to the admiration of all the ſpectators there preſent.

He was alſo a man much given to ſecret prayer, and ordinarily prayed in the kirk before ſacramental occaſions, and oftentimes ſet apart Friday in wreſtling with the Lord for his gracious preſence on communion Sabbaths; and was often favoured with merciful returns, to the great comfort of both miniſters and people; and would appoint a week day thereafter for thankſgiving to God.

As he was one faithful and laborious in his Maſter's ſervice, ſo he was alſo moſt courageous and bold, having no reſpect of perſons, but did ſharply reprove all ſorts of wickedneſs in the higheſt as well as in the loweſt, and yet he was ſo convincingly a man of God, that the moſt wicked, to whom he was a terror, had a kindneſs for him, and ſometimes ſpoke favourably of him, as one who wiſhed their ſouls well; inſomuch as one time, ſome perſons of quality calling him a varlet, another perſon of quality, whom he had often reproved for his wickedneſs, being preſent, ſaid, he was ſure if he was a varlet, he was one of God's varlets, &c. At another time, when a certain gentleman, from whoſe houſe he was going home, ſent one of the rudeſt of his ſervants, well furniſhed, with a horſe, broad ſword, and loaded piſtols, to attack him in a deſert place in the night-time; and the ſervant was ordered to do all that he could to fright him. Accordingly he ſurpriſed him with holding a piſtol to his breaſt, bidding him render up his purſe, under pain of being ſhot. But, Mr Semple, with much preſence of mind, although he knew nothing of the pre-concert, anſwered, It ſeems you are a wicked man, who will either take my life or my purſe, if God gives you leave. As for my purſe, it will not do you much ſervice, though you had it; and for my life, I am willing to lay it down when and where God pleaſeth; however, if you will lay bye your weapons, I will wreſtle a fall with you for my life; which, if you be a man, you cannot refuſe, ſeeing I have no weapons to fight with you.—In ſhort, after many threats, though all in vain, the ſervant diſcovered the whole plot, and aſked him, if he was not at the firſt afraid? Not in the leaſt, anſwered he, for although you had killed me, as I knew not but you might, I was ſure to get the ſooner to heaven; and then they parted.

Mr Semple was a man who knew much of his Maſter's mind, as evidently appears by his diſcovering of ſeveral future events:—for on a time, when news came that Cromwell and thoſe with him were upon the trial of Charles I. ſome perſons aſked him, what he thought would become of the King?—

He

He went to his cloſet a little, and coming back, he ſaid to them, the King is gone, he will neither do us good nor ill any more; which of a truth came to paſs. At another time, paſſing by the houſe of Kenmuir, as the maſons were making ſome additions thereunto, he ſaid, Lads, ye are buſy, enlarging and repairing the houſe, but it will be burnt like a crow's neſt in a miſty morning; which accordingly came to paſs, for it was burnt in a dark miſty morning by the Engliſh.

Upon a certain time, when a neighbouring miniſter was diſtributing tokens before the ſacrament, and when reaching a token to a certain woman, Mr Semple (ſtanding by) ſaid, hold your hand, ſhe hath gotten too many tokens already; ſhe is a witch;—which though none ſuſpected her then, ſhe herſelf confeſſed to be true, and was deſervedly put to death for the ſame.

At another time, a miniſter in the ſhire of Galloway, ſending one of his elders to Mr Semple with a letter, earneſtly deſiring his help at the ſacrament, which was to be in three weeks after. He read the letter, and went to his cloſet, and coming back, he ſaid to the elder, I am ſorry you have come ſo far on a needleſs errand: go home, and tell your miniſter, he hath had all the communions that ever he will have, for he is guilty of fornication, and God will bring it to light ere that time. This likewiſe came to paſs. He often ſaid to a perſon of quality (Lord Kenmuir), that he was a rough wicked man, for which God would ſhake him over hell before he died; and yet God would give him his ſoul for a prey: which had its accompliſhment at laſt, to the no ſmall comfort and ſatisfaction of all his near and dear relations.

When ſome Scots regiments, in the year 1648, in their march through Carſphairn for Preſton in England, to the Duke's engagement, (as it was commonly called), and hearing that the ſacrament was to be diſpenſed there next Lord's day, ſome of the ſoldiers put up their horſes in the kirk, and went to the manſe and deſtroyed the communion-elements in a moſt profane manner, Mr Semple being then from home. The next day, he complained to the commanding officer in ſuch a pathetical manner, repreſenting the horrible vileneſs of ſuch an action, that the officer not only regretted the action, but alſo gave money for furniſhing them again: he moreover told them, he was ſorry for the errand they were going upon, for it would not proſper; and the profanity of that army would ruin them. About or after this, he went up to a hill and prayed; and being interrogated by ſome acquaintances, what anſwer he got? he replied, That he had fought with neither ſmall nor great, but with the Duke himſelf,

ſelf, whom he never left until he was beheaded; which was too ſadly verified.—[Stevenſon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 283.]

His painful endeavours were bleſſed with no ſmall ſucceſs, eſpecially at ſacramental occaſions: and this the devil envied very much; and particularly one time, among many, when he deſigned to adminiſter the Lord's ſupper, before which he aſſured the people of a great communion, by a gracious and remarkable downpouring of the Spirit, but that the devil would be envious about this good work, and that he was afraid he would be permitted to raiſe a ſtorm or ſpeat of rain, deſigning to drown ſome of them; but, ſaid he, it ſhall not be in his power to drown any of you, no, not ſo much as a dog. Accordingly it came to paſs on Monday, when he was diſmiſſing the people, they ſaw a man all in black entering the water a little above them, at which they were amazed, as the water was very large. He loſt his feet, as they apprehended, and came down on his back, waving his hand: the people ran and got ropes, and threw them in to him; and there were ten or twelve men upon the ropes, yet they were in danger of being all drawn into the water and drowned. Mr Semple looking on, cried, Quit the rope, and let him go; I ſee who it is, it is the devil; he will burn, but not drown; and by drowning of you, would have God diſhonoured, becauſe he hath got ſome glory to his free grace in being King to many of your ſouls at this time, and the wicked world to reproach the work of God, &c. All ſearch was made in that country to find if any man was loſt; but none was heard of, which made them conclude it to be the devil.

Mr Semple, being one of the faithful proteſtors, in the year 1657, was apprehended with the famous Mr James Guthrie, at Edinburgh, in Auguſt 1660; and, after ten months impriſonment in the caſtle, was brought before the bloody Council, who threatened him ſeverely with death and baniſhment; but he anſwered with boldneſs, My God will not let you either kill or baniſh me; but I will go home and die in peace, and my duſt will lie among the bodies of my people. Accordingly he was diſmiſſed; and went home, and entered his pulpit, ſaying, I parted with thee too eaſily, but I ſhall hang by the wicks of thee now. It was ſome time after the Reſtoration, that, while under his hidings, being one night in bed with another miniſter, the back-ſide of the bed falling down to the ground, the enemy came and carried away the other miniſter, but got not him; which was a moſt remarkable deliverance.

Laſtly, He was ſo concerned for the ſalvation of his people, that when on his deathbed he ſent for them, and preached

I

to them with ſuch fervency, ſhewing them their miſerable ſtate by nature, and their need of a Saviour; expreſſing his ſorrow to leave many of them as graceleſs as he got them, with ſo much vehemency, as made many of them weep bitterly.

He died at Carſphairn, about the year 1677, being upwards of ſeventy years of age, in much aſſurance of heaven, often longing to be there, rejoicing in the God of his ſalvation; and that under great impreſſions of dreadful judgements to come on theſe covenanted ſinning lands: and when ſcarce able to ſpeak, he cried three times over, A Popiſh ſword for thee, O Scotland, England, and Ireland! &c.

MR JAMES MITCHELL.

MR JAMES MITCHELL * was educated at the univerſity of Edinburgh, and was, with ſome other of his fellow-ſtudents, made Maſter of Arts in 1656. Mr Robert Leighton, afterwards Biſhop Leighton, being then principal of that college, before the degree was conferred upon them, tendered to them the national and ſolemn league and covenant; which covenants, upon mature deliberation, he took, finding nothing in them but a ſhort compend of the moral law, binding to our duty towards God, and towards man, in their ſeveral ſtations, and taking the King's intereſt to be therein included: when others were taking the tender to Oliver Cromwell, he ſubſcribed the oath of allegiance to the King; but how he was repaid for this after the Reſtoration, the following account will more fully diſcover.

Mr Mitchell, having received a licence to preach the goſpel, very ſoon after the Reſtoration, was, with the reſt of his faithful brethren, reduced to many hardſhips and difficulties. I find (ſays Wodrow, vol. i. p. 292.) Mr Trail miniſter at Edinburgh, in 1661, recommending him to ſome miniſters in Galloway as a good youth, that had not much to ſubſiſt upon, and as fit for a ſchool, or teaching gentlemen's children. There being no door of acceſs then to the miniſtry for him, or any ſuch, when Prelacy was on ſuch an advance in Scotland.

* It is generally told, that, when his mother was ready to be delivered of him, his father, being in the next room, intreated the midwife, if poſſible, to ſtop the birth a few minutes; but ſhe anſwered, ſhe could not. Afterwards, being aſked the reaſon of it, he anſwered, He would not die an ordinary death.

But whether he employed himſelf in this manner, or if he preached on ſome occaſions, where he could have the beſt opportunity, we have no certain account; only we find he joined with that faithful handful who roſe in 1666; but was not at the engagement at Pentland *, being ſent in by Captain Arnot to Edinburgh the day before, upon ſome neceſſary buſineſs, on ſuch an emergent occaſion. However, he was excepted from the indemnity in the ſeveral liſts for that purpoſe.

After Pentland affair, in the ſpace of ſix weeks, Mr Mitchell went abroad, in the trading way, to Flanders, and was for ſome time upon the borders of Germany; after which he, in the ſpace of three quarters of a year, returned home with ſome Dutchmen of Amſterdam, having a cargo of different ſorts of goods, which took ſome time up before he got them all ſold off.

Mr Mitchell, being now excluded from all mercy or favour from the government, and having not yet laid down arms, and taking the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's to be the main inſtigator of all the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of his faithful brethren, took up a reſolution, in 1668, to diſpatch him; and for that purpoſe, upon the 11th of July, he waited the Biſhop's coming down in the afternoon to his coach, at the head of Blackfriars wynd in Edinburgh, and with him was Honeyman, Biſhop of Orkney. When the Archbiſhop had entered, and taken his ſeat in the coach, Mr Mitchell ſtepped ſtraight to the north ſide of the coach, and diſcharged a piſtol, loaded with three balls, in at the door thereof; that moment Honeyman ſet his foot in the boot of the coach, and reaching up his hand to ſtep in, received the ſhot deſigned for Sharp in the wriſt of his hand, and the Primate eſcaped.

Upon this, Mr Mitchell croſſed the ſtreet with much compoſure, till he came to Niddery's Wynd-head, where a man offered to ſtop him, to whom he preſented a piſtol, upon which he let him go; he ſtepped down the wynd, and up Stevenlaw's Cloſe, went into a houſe, changed his clothes, and came ſtraight to the ſtreet, as being the place where indeed he would be leaſt ſuſpected. The cry aroſe, that a man was killed; upon which ſome replied, it was only a biſhop, and all was very ſoon calmed. Upon Monday the 13th, the Council iſſued out a proclamation, offering a reward of five thouſand merks to any that would diſcover the actor, and pardon to acceſſories; but nothing more at that time enſued.

The

† Mr Wodrow thinks he was at Pentland; but in his anſwers before the Committee, he ſays otherwiſe.

The managers, and thoſe of the Prelatical perſuaſion, made a mighty noiſe and handle of this againſt the Preſbyterians; whereas this deed was his only, without the knowledge or preconcert of any, as he himſelf in a letter declares; yea, with a deſign to beſpatter the Preſbyterian church of Scotland, a moſt ſcurrilous pamphlet was publiſhed at London, not only reflecting on our excellent reformers from Popery, publiſhing arrant lies anent Mr Alexander Henderſon, abuſing Mr David Dickſon, and breaking jeſts upon the remonſtrators and Preſbyterians, as they called them, but alſo, in a moſt malicious and groundleſs kind of rhapſody, ſlandering Mr Mitchell.

After this, Mr Mitchell ſhifted the beſt way he could, until the beginning of the year 1674, he was diſcovered by Sir William Sharp, the Biſhop's brother, and ere ever Mr Mitchell was aware, he cauſed a certain number of his ſervants, armed for that purpoſe, lay hold on him, and apprehend and commit him to priſon; and on the 10th of February was examined by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Regiſter, and Lord Halton; he denied the aſſaſſination of the Archbiſhop; but being taken apart by the Chancellor, he confeſſed, that it was he who ſhot the Biſhop of Orkney, while aiming at the Archbiſhop, upon aſſurance of his life, given by the Chancellor in theſe words: "Upon my great oath and reputation, if I be Chancellor, I ſhall ſave your life." On the 12th he was examined before the Council, and ſaid nothing but what he had ſaid before the Committee: he was remitted to the Juſtice Court to receive his indictment and ſentence, which was, to have his right hand ſtruck off at the croſs of Edinburgh, and his goods forfeited; which laſt part was not to be executed, till his Majeſty had got notice; becauſe, ſays Lord Halton, in a letter to Earl Kincardine, aſſurance of life was given him upon his confeſſion.

However, he was, on the ſecond of March, brought before the Lords of Juſticiary, and indicted for being concerned at Pentland, and for the attempt on the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. But he pleaded, Not guilty; and inſiſted, that the things alledged againſt him ſhould be proved. The Lords poſtponed the affair till the 25th. Meanwhile, the Council made an act (March 12.), ſpecifying, that Mr James Mitchell confeſſed his firing the piſtol at the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, upon aſſurance given him of life by one of the Committee, who had a warrant from the Lord Commiſſioner and Secret Council to give the ſame; and therefore did freely confeſs, &c. In the ſaid act, it was declared, that, on account of his refuſing to adhere to his confeſſion, the promiſes made to him were void; and that the Lords of Juſticiary and jury

ought to proceed againſt him, without any regard to theſe. About the 25th, he was brought before the Juſticiary; but, as there was no proof againſt him, they, with conſent of the Advocate, protracted the affair; and he was again remanded to priſon.

Thus he continued until January 6. 1676, that he was ordered to be examined before the Council by torture, concerning his being in the rebellion, as they termed it, in the year 1666. Accordingly he was brought before them upon the 18th, about ſix o'clock at night. Linlithgow being preſes, told him, he was brought before them to ſee whether he would adhere to his former confeſſion. He anſwered, "My Lord, it is not unknown to your Lordſhip, and others here preſent, that, by the Council's order, I was remitted to the Lords of Juſticiary, before whom I received an indictment at my Lord Advocate's inſtance, &c. to which indictment I anſwered at three ſeveral diets; and the laſt diet, being deſerted by my Lord Advocate, I humbly conceive, that, both by the law of the nation, and the practice of this Court, I ought to have been ſet at liberty; yet, notwithſtanding, I was, contrary to law, equity, and juſtice, returned to priſon: And upon what account I am this night before you, I am ignorant." The preſes told him, he was only called to ſee if he would own his former confeſſion. He replied, "He knew no crime he was guilty of, and therefore made no ſuch confeſſion as he alledged." Upon this, the treaſurer-depute ſaid, The pannel was one of the moſt arrogant liars and rogues he had known. Mr Mitchell replied, "My Lord, if there were fewer of theſe perſons, you have been ſpeaking of, in the nation, I ſhould not be ſtanding this night at the bar; but my Lord Advocate knoweth, that what is alledged againſt me is not my confeſſion." The preſes ſaid, "Sir, we will cauſe a ſharper thing make you confeſs." He anſwered, "My Lord, I hope you are Chriſtians, and not Pagans." Then he was returned to priſon.

On the 22d, he was again called before them, to ſee if he would own his former confeſſion, and a paper produced, alledged to be ſubſcribed by him; but he would not acknowledge the ſame. The preſes ſaid, "You ſee what is upon the table, (meaning the boots), I will ſee if that will make you do it." Mr Mitchell anſwered, "My Lord, I confeſs, that by torture you may cauſe me to blaſpheme God, as Saul did compel the ſaints; you may compel me to ſpeak amiſs of your Lordſhips; to call myſelf a thief, a murderer, &c. and then pannel me on it: but, if you ſhall here put me to it, I proteſt before God and your Lordſhips, that nothing

extorted

extorted from me by torture ſhall be made uſe of againſt me in judgement, nor have any force in law againſt me, or any other perſon. But to be plain with you, my Lords, I am ſo much of a Chriſtian, that whatever your Lordſhips ſhall legally prove againſt me, if it be truth, I ſhall not deny it;—but, on the contrary, I am ſo much of a man, and a Scotſman, that I never held myſelf obliged, by the law of God, nature, and nations, to be my own accuſer." The treaſurer-depute ſaid, he had the devil's logic, and ſophiſticated like him: aſk him, whether that be his ſubſcription? Mr Mitchell replied, I acknowledge no ſuch thing; and he was ſent back to priſon.

Upon the 24th, they aſſembled in their robes in the inner parliament-houſe, and the boots and executioner were preſented. Mr Mitchell was again interrogated as above; but ſtill perſiſting, he was ordered to the torture: and he knowing that, after the manner of the Spaniſh inquiſition, the more he confeſſed, either concerning himſelf or others, the more ſevere the torture would be to make him confeſs the more, delivered himſelf in this manner. "My Lord, I have been now theſe two full years in priſon, and more than one of them in bolts and fetters, which hath been more intolerable to me than many deaths, if I had been capable thereof; and it is well known, that ſome, in a ſhorter time, have been tempted to make away with themſelves; but reſpect and obedience to the expreſs law and command of God hath made me to undergo all theſe hardſhips, and I hope this torture with patience alſo, viz. that for the preſervation of my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my power; and to keep innocent blood off your Lordſhips perſons and families, which, by ſhedding of mine, you would doubtleſs bring upon yourſelves and poſterity, and wrath from the Lord to the conſuming thereof, till there ſhould be no eſcaping; and now again I proteſt, &c. as above. When you pleaſe, call for the man appointed for the work." The executioner being called, he was tied in a two-armed chair, and the boot brought: the executioner aſked, which of the legs he ſhould take; the Lords bade him take any of them; the executioner laying the left in the boot; Mr Mitchell, lifting it out again, ſaid, "Since the Judges have not determined, take the beſt of the two, for I freely beſtow it in the cauſe;" and ſo laid his right leg into the engine. After which, the Advocate aſked leave to ſpeak but one word; but, notwithſtanding, inſiſted at a great length. To which Mr Mitchell anſwered. "The Advocate's word or two hath multiplied to ſo many, that my memory cannot ſerve, in the condition wherein I am, (the torture being begun), to reſume them

in

in particular; but I ſhall eſſay to anſwer the ſcope of his diſcourſe: Whereas he hath been ſpeaking of the ſovereignty of the magiſtrate, I ſhall go ſomewhat further than he hath done, and own that the magiſtrate whom God hath appointed is God's depute; both the throne and the judgement are the Lord's, when he judgeth for God, and according to his law; and a part of his office is to deliver the poor oppreſſed out of the hand of the oppreſſor, and ſhed no innocent blood, Jerem. xxii. 3. &c. And whereas the Advocate has been hinting at the ſinfulneſs of lying on any account: it is anſwered, that not only lying is ſinful, but alſo a pernicious ſpeaking of the truth is a horrid ſin before the Lord, when it tendeth to the ſhedding of innocent blood; witneſs the caſe of Doeg, Pſal. lii. compared with 2 Sam. xxii. 9. But what my Lord Advocate has forged againſt me is falſe; ſo that I am ſtanding on my former ground, viz. the preſervation of my own life, and the life of others, as far as lies in my power; the which I am expreſsly commanded by the Lord of hoſts."

Then the clerk's ſervant, being called, interrogated him in the torture, in upwards of thirty queſtions, which were all in writ, of which the following are of the moſt importance.

Q. Are you that Mr James Mitchell who was excepted out of the King's grace and favour?

A. I never committed any crime deſerving to be excluded.

Q. Were you at Pentland?

A. No.

Q. Were you at Ayr? and did you join with the rebels there?

A. I never joined with any ſuch.

Q. Where was you at the time of Pentland?

A. In Edinburgh.

Q. When did you know of their riſing in arms?

A. When the reſt of the city knew of it.

Q. Where did you meet with James Wallace?

A. I knew him not at that time.

Q Did you go out of town with Captain Arnot?

A. No.

The other queſtions were anent his going abroad, &c. He perceived that they intended to catch him in a contradiction, or to find any who would witneſs againſt him. At the beginning of the torture, he ſaid, "My Lords, not knowing that I ſhall eſcape this torture with my life, therefore I beſeech you to remember what Solomon ſaith, *He who ſheweth no mercy ſhall have judgement without mercy*, &c. And now, my Lords, I do freely from my heart forgive you, who are ſit-

ting

ting judges upon the bench, and the men who are appointed to be about this horrible piece of work, and alſo thoſe who are vitiating their eyes in beholding the ſame; and I intreat that God may never lay it to the charge of any of you, as I beg God may be pleaſed, for Chriſt's ſake, to blot out my ſins and iniquities, and never to lay them to my charge here nor hereafter."

All this being over, the executioner took down his leg from a cheſt on which it was lying all the time in the boot, and ſet both on the ground; and thruſting in the ſhelves to drive the wedges, began his ſtrokes, at every one of which, inquiring if he had any more to ſay, or would ſay any more, Mr Mitchell anſwered, No; and they continued to nine ſtrokes upon the head of the wedges: At length he fainted, through the extremity of the pain; at which the executioner cried, Alas! my Lords, he is gone! then they ſtopped the torture, and went off; and in a little time, when recovered, he was carried in the ſame chair to the tolbooth.

It is indeed true, that Mr Mitchell made a confeſſion, upon the promiſe of his life; but the managers having revoked their promiſe, becauſe he would not adhere to his confeſſion before the Juſticiary, being adviſed by ſome friends not to truſt too much to that promiſe, and be his own accuſer. "The reader muſt determine (ſays Crookſhanks) how far he was to blame now, in not owning his confeſſion judicially, as they had judicially revoked the condition upon which the confeſſion was made; and to put a man to torture for finding out things for which they had not the leaſt proof, ſeems to be unprecedented and cruel; and to bring him to a farther trial, appears to be unjuſt. For as another author * has well obſerved, "That when a confeſſion or promiſe is made upon a condition, and that condition is judicially reſcinded, the obligation of the promiſe or confeſſion is taken away, and both parties are in *ſtatu quo*, Joſh. ii. 14. &c.: That in many caſes it is lawful to conceal and obſcure a neceſſary duty, and divert enemies from a purſuit of it for a time, 1 Sam. xvi. 1. 2. xx. 5. 6. Jer. xxxviii. 24. &c.: That when an open enemy perverts and overturns the very nature and matter of a diſcourſe or confeſſion, by leaving out the moſt material truths, and putting in untruths and circumſtances in their room, it no longer is the former diſcourſe or confeſſion, &c.: That when a perſon is brought before a limited judicatory, &c. before whom nothing was ever confeſſed or proven, the perſon may juſtly ſtand to his defence, and put his enemies to bring in proof againſt him," &c. After

* The author of the narration of his torture; which is inſerted at large in Naphtali.

After this, Mr Mitchell continued in priſon till the beginning of next year, when he and Mr Frazer of Brae were, with a party of twelve horſe and thirty foot, ſent to the Baſs, where he remained till about the 6th of December, when he was again brought to Edinburgh, in order for his trial and execution; which came on upon the 7th of January 1678. On the third of the month, Sir George Lockhart and Mr John Ellis were appointed to plead for the pannel; but Sharp would have his life, and Lauderdale gave way to it. Sir Archibald Primroſe, lately turned out of the Regiſter's place, took a copy of the Council's act anent Mr Mitchell, and ſent it to his counſel; and a day or two before the trial, went to Lauderdale, who, together with Lord Rothes, Lord Halton, and Sharp, was ſummoned: The priſoner's witneſs, Primroſe, told Lauderdale, that he thought a promiſe of life had been given: The latter denied it: The former wiſhed that that act of the Council might be looked into: Lauderdale ſaid, he would not give himſelf the trouble to look over the book of Council.

When his trial came on, the great proof was, his confeſſion, February 16. 1674.; many and long were the reaſons on the points of the indictment. Sir George Lockhart argued in behalf of the priſoner with great learning, to the admiration of the audience, that no extra-judicial confeſſion could be allowed in Court, and that his confeſſion was extorted from him by hopes and promiſes of life. The debates were ſo tedious that the Court adjourned to the 9th of January; the replies and duplies are too tedious to be inſerted here: The reader will find them at large in Wodrow's Hiſtory.

The witneſſes being examined, Lord Rothes, being ſhewn Mr Mitchell's confeſſion, ſwore that he was preſent, and ſaw him ſubſcribe that paper, and heard him make that confeſſion, but that he did not at all give any aſſurance to the priſoner for his life; nor did he remember that there was any warrant given by the Council to his Lordſhip for that effect, &c. Halton and Lauderdale ſwore much to the ſame purpoſe; but the Archbiſhop ſwore, that he knew him at the firſt ſight at the bar, to be the perſon who ſhot at him, &c. But that he either gave him aſſurance, or a warrant to any to give it, was a falſe and malicious calumny. That his Grace gave no promiſe to Nichol Somerville, other than that it was his intereſt to make a free confeſſion. This Nichol Somerville, Mr Mitchell's brother-in-law, offered in Court to depone, that the Archbiſhop promiſed to him to ſecure his life, if he would prevail with him to confeſs. The Archbiſhop denied this, and called it a villainous lie. Several other depoſitions were taken; ſuch as Sir William Paterſon, Mr John Vanſe, and

the Biſhop of Galloway, who all ſwore in Sharp's favour, it being dangerous for them, at this juncture, to do otherwiſe.

After the witneſſes were examined, the Advocate declared he had cloſed the probation; whereupon Mr Mitchell produced a copy of an act of Council, March 12. 1674, praying that the regiſter might be produced, or the clerk obliged to give extracts; but this they refuſed to do. "Lockhart (ſays Burnet) pleaded for this; but Lauderdale, who was only a witneſs, and had no right to ſpeak, refuſed; and ſo it was neglected."

The aſſize was incloſed, and ordered to return their verdict to-morrow afternoon; which being done, the ſentence was pronounced, "That the ſaid Mr James Mitchell ſhould be taken to the Graſsmarket of Edinburgh, upon Friday the 18th of January inſtant, betwixt two and four o'clock in the afternoon, and there to be hanged on a gibbet till he be dead, and all his moveables, goods, and gear eſcheat, and in-brought to his Majeſty's uſe," &c. No ſooner did the Court break up, than the Lords, being up ſtairs, found the act recorded, and ſigned by Lord Rothes, the Preſident of the Council.—"This action," ſays the laſt cited hiſtorian, "and all concerned in it, were looked on by all the people with horror; and it was ſuch a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known."

Two days after the ſentence, orders came from Court, for placing Mr Mitchell's head and hands on ſome public place of the city; but the ſentence being paſſed, no alteration could be made; and if Sharp had any hand in this, he miſſed his end and deſign. About the ſame time, his wife petitioned the Council, that her huſband might be reprieved for ſome time, that ſhe might be in caſe to ſee and take her laſt farewell of him, eſpecially as it was not above twelve days ſince ſhe was delivered of a child, and preſently affected with a fever; but no regard was paid to this: The ſentence muſt be executed. The reader will find this petition inſerted in Naphtali.

While he was in priſon, he emitted a moſt faithful and large teſtimony, which is inſerted at large in Naphtali. In the firſt place, teſtifying againſt all profanity. Then he gives the cauſe of his ſuffering, in the words of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 14. *I have been very zealous for the Lord of hoſts*, &c. He adheres to the covenanted work of reformation and the covenant; approves of *Lex Rex*, the Cauſes of God's Wrath, Apologetical Relation, Naphtali, *Jus Populi*, &c. Afterwards he ſpeaks of magiſtracy in theſe words: "I believe magiſtracy

to be an ordinance and appointment of God, as well under the New Teſtament as it was under the Old; and that whoſoever reſiſteth the lawful magiſtrate in the exerciſe of his lawful power, reſiſteth the ordinance and appointment of God, Rom. xiii. 1. &c. 1 Pet. ii. 13. Deut. xvii. 15. &c. The lawful magiſtrate muſt be a man qualified according to God's appointment, and not according to the people's luſt and pleaſure, leſt in the end he ſhould prove to them a prince of Sodom, and governor of Gommorrah, whom God, in his righteouſneſs, ſhould appoint for their judgement, and eſtabliſh for their correction," &c. Then he comes to be moſt explicit in teſtifying againſt the givers and receivers of the indulgence, as an incroachment on Chriſt's crown and prerogative royal, &c.; proteſts before God, angels, and men, againſt all acts made anywiſe derogative to the work of God and reformation; likewiſe proteſts againſt all baniſhments, impriſoning, finings, and confinements, that the people of God had been put to for ſome years bypaſt; deſcribing the woful ſtate and condition of malignants, and all the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. And, in the laſt place, ſpeaks very fervently anent his own ſufferings, ſtate, and condition, which he begins to expreſs in theſe words: "Now, if the Lord, in his wiſe and over-ruling providence, bring me to the cloſe of my pilgrimage, to the full enjoyment of my long looked for and deſired happineſs, let him take his own way and time in bringing me to it. And in the mean time, O thou my ſoul! ſing thou this ſong, Spring thou up, O well of thy happineſs and ſalvation, of thy eternal hope and conſolation: and whilſt thou art burdened with this clog of clay and tabernacle, dig thou deep in it by faith, hope, and charity, and with all the inſtruments that God hath given thee; dig in it by precepts and promiſes; dig carefully, and dig continually; ay and until thou come to the ſource and head of the Fountain himſelf, from whence the water of life floweth: Dig until thou come to the aſſembly of the firſt-born, where this ſong is moſt ſuitably ſung, to the praiſe and glory of the rich grace and mercy of the Fountain of life," &c. And farther, when ſpeaking of his mortification to the world, and other experiences, he ſays, "Although, O Lord, thou ſhouldſt ſend me in the back tract and tenor of my life, to ſeek my ſoul's comfort and encouragement from them, yet I have no cauſe to complain of hard dealing from thy hand, ſeeing it is thy ordinary way with ſome of thy people: Pſalm xlii. 6. *O God, my ſoul is caſt down in me, from the land of Jordan and the hill Hermon*, &c. Yea, though laſt, he brought me to the banquetting-houſe, and made love his banner over me, among the cold Highland hills beſide Kippen, November 1673

1673. He remembered his former loving kindneſs to me; but withal he ſpoke in mine ear, that there was a tempeſtuous ſtorm to meet me in the face, which I behoved to go through in the ſtrength of that proviſion," 1 Kings xix. 7. Then, after the reciting of ſeveral ſcriptures, as comforting to him in his ſufferings, he comes at laſt to conclude with theſe words: "And ſeeing I have not preferred nor ſought after mine own things, but thy honour and glory, the good, liberty, and ſafety of thy church and people; although it be now miſconſtructed by many, yet I hope that thou, O Lord, wilt make thy light to break forth as the morning, and thy righteouſneſs as the noon-day, and that ſhame and darkneſs ſhall cover all who are enemies to thy righteous cauſe: For thou, O Lord, art the Shield of my head, and Sword of my excellency; and mine enemies ſhall be found liars, and ſhall be ſubdued. Amen, yea and Amen.—(*Sic ſubſcribitur*),

"JAMES MITCHELL."

Accordingly, upon the 18th of January, he was taken to the Graſsmarket of Edinburgh, and the ſentence put in execution. In the morning he delivered ſome copies of what he had to ſay, if permitted, at his death; but not having liberty to deliver this part of his vindicatory ſpeech to the people, he threw it over the ſcaffold, the ſubſtance of which was as follows.

"*Chriſtian People,*

"IT being rumoured abroad, immediately after I received my ſentence, that I would not have liberty to ſpeak in this place, I have not troubled myſelf to prepare any formal diſcourſe, on account of the pretended crime for which I am accuſed and ſentenced; neither did I think it very neceſſary, the fame of the proceſs having gone ſo much abroad, what by a former indictment given me near four years ago, the diet of which was ſuffered to deſert, in reſpect the late Advocate could not find a juſt way to reach me with the extrajudicial confeſſion they opponed to me; all knew he was zealous in it, yet my charity to him is ſuch, that he would not ſuffer that unwarrantable zeal ſo far to blind him, as to overſtretch the laws of the land beyond their due limits, in prejudice of the life of a native ſubject; firſt by an extreme inquiry of torture, and then by exiling me to the Baſs; and then, after all, by giving me a new indictment at the inſtance of the new Advocate, who before was one of mine, when I received the firſt indictment; to which new indictment, and debate in the proceſs, I refer you; and particularly to theſe

two defences of an extra-judicial confeſſion, and the promiſe of life given to me by the Chancellor, upon his own and the public faith of the kingdom; upon the verity thereof I am content to die; and ready to lay down my life; and hope your charity to me, a dying man, will be ſuch as not to miſtruſt me therein; eſpecially ſince it is notoriouſly adminiculate by act of Secret Council, and yet denied upon oath by the principal officers of ſtate preſent in Council at the making of ſaid act, and whom the act bears to have been preſent: the Duke of Lauderdale, being then his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, was likewiſe preſent;—and which act of Council was, by the Lords of Juſticiary, moſt unjuſtly repelled, &c. Thus much for a ſhort account of the affair for which I am unjuſtly brought to this place; but I acknowledge my private and particular ſins have been ſuch as deſerved a worſe death to me; but I hope, in the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, to be freed from the eternal puniſhment due to me for ſin. I am confident that God doth not plead with me in this place, for my private and particular ſins, but I am brought here that the work of God may be made manifeſt, and for the trial of faith, John ix. 3. 1 Pet. i. 7.; that I might be a witneſs for his deſpiſed truths and intereſts in this land, where I am called to ſeal the ſame with my blood; and I wiſh heartily that this my poor life may put an end to the perſecution of the true members of Chriſt in this place, ſo much actuated by theſe perfidious prelates, in oppoſition to whom, and teſtimony to the cauſe of Chriſt, I at this time lay down my life, and bleſs God that he hath thought me ſo much worthy as to do the ſame, for his glory and intereſt. Finally, Concerning a Chriſtian duty, in a ſingular and extraordinary caſe, and anent my particular judgement, concerning both church and ſtate, it is evidently declared and manifeſted elſewhere. Farewell all earthly enjoyments; and welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, into whoſe hands I commit my ſpirit.

"JAMES MITCHELL."

Here we have heard the end of the zealous and faithful Mr James Mitchell, who, beyond all doubt, was a moſt pious man, notwithſtanding all the foul aſperſions that have been, or will be caſt upon him, not only by malignant prelates, but even by the high fliers or more corrupted part of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion, namely, on account of his firing at Biſhop Sharp; which, they think, is enough to explode, affront, or beſpatter, all the faithful contendings of the true reformed and covenanted church of Scotland. But in this Mr Mitchell ſtands in need of little or no vindication; for by this time, the reader may perceive, that

that he looked upon himſelf as in a ſtate of war, and that, as Sharp was doubtleſs one of the chief inſtigators of the tyranny, bloodſhed, and oppreſſion, in that diſmal period, he therefore, no doubt, thought he had a right to take every opportunity of cutting him off, eſpecially as the ways of common juſtice were blocked up; yet all this opens no door for every private perſon, at their own hand, to execute juſtice on an open offender, where there is acceſs to a lawful magiſtrate appointed for that end. Yea, what he himſelf ſaith anent this affair, in a letter dated Feb. 1674, may be ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of all that have, or may oppoſe the ſame, a few words of which may be ſubjoined to this narrative; where, after he has reſumed what paſſed betwixt him and the Chancellor, he ſays, that as to his deſign againſt Sharp, "he looked upon him to be the main inſtigator of all the oppreſſion and bloodſhed of his brethren, that followed thereupon, and of the continual purſuing of his life; and he being a ſoldier, not having laid down arms, but being ſtill upon his own defence, and having no other end or quarrel againſt any man, but what, according to his apprehenſion of him, may be underſtood by the many thouſands of the faithful, beſides the proſecution of the ends of the ſame covenant, which was and is, in that point, the overthrow of prelates and Prelacy; and he being a declared enemy to him on that account, and he to him in like manner; and as he was always to take his advantage, as it appeared, ſo he took of him any opportunity that offered.—For (ſays he) I, by his inſtigation, being excluded from all grace and favour, thought it my duty to purſue him at all occaſions," &c. And a little farther he inſtances, in Deut. xiii. 19. where the ſeducer, or enticer to a falſe worſhip, is to be put to death, and that by the hand of the witneſs, whereof he was one; takes notice of Phinehas, Elijah, &c.; and then obſerves, that the biſhops would ſay, what they did was by law and authority, but what he did was contrary to both; but he anſwers, The King himſelf, and all the Eſtates of the land, &c. both were and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to extirpate the perjured prelates and Prelacy, and, in doing thereof, to have defended one another with their lives and fortunes, &c.

Mr JOHN WELWOOD.

Mr JOHN WELWOOD, born about 1649, was ſon to Mr James Welwood, ſometime miniſter at Tindergirth, and brother to Mr Andrew Welwood, and James Welwood,

Welwood, Doctor of Medicine at London. After he had gone through the ordinary courſes of learning, he entered on the miniſtry, and afterwards preached in many places; but we do not hear that he was ever ſettled miniſter in any pariſh, it being then a time when all who intended any honeſty or faithfulneſs in teſtifying againſt the ſins and defections of the times, were thruſt out of the church, and proſecuted with the greateſt ſeverity. It is ſaid, that he preached ſome five or ſix ſermons in the pariſh where his father was miniſter, which were bleſſed with more diſcernible effects of good amongſt that people than all the diligent painfulneſs his father had exerciſed in the time he was miniſter of that pariſh.

And, beſides his ſingular piety and faithfulneſs in preaching, he was a moſt fervent preſſer to all the duties of a Chriſtian life, particularly to the ſetting up and keeping of fellowſhip and ſociety meetings for prayer and Chriſtian conference, which he often frequented himſelf. One time, among ſeveral others, at the new houſe in Livingſton pariſh, after the night was far ſpent, he ſaid, Let one pray, and be ſhort, that we may win to our apartments before it be light; it was the turn of one who exceeded many in gifts. But before he ended, it was day-light within the houſe. After prayer he ſaid, James, James, your gifts have the ſtart of your graces: and to the reſt he ſaid, Be adviſed, all of you, not to follow him at all times, and in all things; otherwiſe there will be many ins and many outs in your tract and walk.

In 1677, there was an Eraſtian meeting of the actually indulged and non-indulged, procured by the indulged and their favourites, in order to get unity made and kept up; but rather, in reality, a conſpiracy without any truth, unity, or veracity, among theſe backſliders and falſe prophets. Mr Welwood, worthy Mr Cameron, and another miniſter, were called before this meeting, in order to have them depoſed, and their licence taken from them, for their faithfulneſs in preaching up ſeparation from the actually indulged. But they declined their authority, as being no lawful judicatory of Jeſus Chriſt, whilſt thus made up of thoſe who were actually indulged. Some of them went to Mr Hog, who was then in town, though not at this meeting, for his advice anent them. To whom he ſaid, His name is Welwood; but if ye take that unhappy courſe to depoſe them, he will perhaps turn out the Torwood at laſt.

Mr Welwood was a man of a lean and tender body. He always ſlept, ate, and drank but little, as being one ſtill under a deep exerciſe, the ſtate and caſe of his ſoul laying a great concern upon his ſpirit, about the defections and tyranny of

of that day, especially concerning the indulged, and so many pleading in their favour: but, being of a fickly constitution before, he turned more melancholy and tender. Much about this time, (says Wodrow), he was informed against to the managers at Edinburgh, that having intruded upon the kirk of Tarbolton, in the shire of Ayr, the Council appointed Glencairn and Lord Ross to see that he be turned out and apprehended. But there is nothing further can be learned anent this order.

One Sabbath, when he was going to preach, and the tent set up for him, the laird on whose ground it was, caused lift it, and set it on another laird's ground. But when Mr Welwood saw it, he said, In a short time that laird shall not have one furr of land. Some quarrelled him for saying so, this laird being then a great professor. He said, Let alone a little, and he will turn out in his own colours. Shortly after this, he fell out in adultery, and became most miserable and contemptible, being, as was said, one of York's four-pound Papists.

In the beginning of the year 1679, he said to William Nicolson, a Fifeshire man, Ye shall have a brave summer of the gospel this year; and for your further encouragement, an old man or woman, for very age, may yet live to see the bishops down, and yet the church not delivered: but ere all be done, we will get a few faithful ministers in Scotland to hear. But keep still amongst the faithful, poor mourning remnant that is for God; for there is a cloud coming on the church of Scotland, the like of which was never heard of; for the most part will turn to defection. But I see, on the other side of it, the church's delivery, with ministers and Christians, that you would be ashamed to open a mouth before them.

Among his last public days of preaching, he preached at Boulterhall in Fife, upon that text, *Not many noble*, &c. Here he wished that all the Lord's people, whom he had placed in stations of distinction, there and every where, would express their thankfulness, that the words *not many* were not *not any*, and that the whole of them were not excluded. In the end of that sermon he said, pointing to St Andrew's, "If that unhappy Prelate Sharp die the death of all men, God never spoke by me." The Bishop had a servant, who, upon liberty from his master on Saturday's night, went to visit his brother, who was a servant to a gentleman near Boulterhall, the Bishop ordering him to be home on Sabbath night. He went with the laird and his brother that day. Mr Welwood noticed him with the Bishop's livery on; and when sermon was ended, he desired him to stand up, for he had somewhat

to

to ſay to him. "I deſire you, (ſaid he), before all theſe witneſſes, when thou goeſt home, to tell thy maſter, that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life, are near an end; and his death ſhall be both ſudden, ſurpriſing, and bloody; and as he hath thirſted after, and ſhed the blood of the ſaints, he ſhall not go to his grave in peace," &c. The youth went home, and at ſupper the Biſhop aſked him, if he had been at a conventicle? he ſaid, he was. He aſked, what his text was, and what he ſaid? The man told him ſeveral things, and particularly the above meſſage from Mr Welwood. The Biſhop made ſport of it; but his wife ſaid, I adviſe you to take more notice of that, for I hear that theſe men's words are not vain words.

Shortly after this, he went to Perth, and there lodged in the houſe of one John Barclay. His bodily weakneſs increaſing, he was laid aſide from ſerving his Maſter in public; and lingered under a conſumptive diſtemper, until the beginning of April 1679, when he died. During the time of his ſickneſs, while he was able to ſpeak, he laid himſelf out to do good to ſouls. None but ſuch as were looked upon to be friends to the perſecuted cauſe knew that he was in town; and his practice was to call them in, one family after another, at different times, and diſcourſe to them about their ſpiritual ſtate. His converſation was both convincing, edifying, and confirming. Many came to viſit him; and, among the reſt, one Ayton, younger of Inchdarny in Fife, a pious youth about eighteen years of age; and giving Mr Welwood an account of the great tyranny and wickedneſs of Prelate Sharp, Mr Welwood ſaid, "You will ſhortly be quit of him: and he will get a ſudden and ſharp off-going; and you will be the firſt that will take the good news of his death to heaven." Which literally came to paſs the May following.

About the ſame time, he ſaid to another who came to viſit him, "That many of the Lord's people ſhould be in arms that ſummer for the defence of the goſpel; but he was fully perſuaded that they would work no deliverance; and that, after the fall of that party, the public ſtandard of the goſpel ſhould fall for ſome time, ſo that there would not be a true faithful miniſter in Scotland, excepting two, unto whom they could reſort, to hear or converſe with anent the ſtate of the church; and they would alſo ſeal the teſtimony with their blood; and that after this there ſhould be a dreadful defection and apoſtacy; but God would pour out his wrath upon the enemies of his church and people, wherein many of the Lord's people, who had made defection from his way, ſhould fall among the reſt in this common calamity; but this ſtroke,

he

he thought, would not be long; and upon the back thereof there would be the moſt glorious deliverance and reformation that ever was in Britain, wherein the church ſhould never be troubled any more with Prelacy."

When drawing near his end, in converſation with ſome friends, he uſed frequently to communicate his own exerciſe and experience, with the aſſurance he had obtained of his intereſt in Chriſt; he ſaid, "I have no more doubt of my intereſt in Chriſt, than if I were in heaven already." And at another time he ſaid, "Although I have been for ſome weeks without ſenſible comforting preſence, yet I have not the leaſt doubt of my intereſt in Chriſt: I have oftentimes endeavoured to pick a hole in my intereſt, but cannot get it done." That morning ere he died, when he obſerved the light of the day, he ſaid, "Now eternal light, and no more night and darkneſs to me." And that night, he exchanged a weakly body, a wicked world, and a weary life, for an immortal crown of glory, in that heavenly inheritance which is prepared and reſerved for ſuch as him.

The night after his exit, his corpſe was removed from John Barclay's houſe into a private room, belonging to one Janet Hutton, till his friends might conſult about his funeral, that ſo he might not be put to trouble for concealing him. It was quickly ſpread abroad, that an intercommuned preacher was dead in town, upon which the magiſtrates ordered a meſſenger to go and arreſt the corpſe. They lay there that night; and the next day, a conſiderable number of his friends in Fife, in good order, came to town to attend his burial. But the magiſtrates would not ſuffer him to be interred at Perth; but ordered the town-militia to be raiſed; and impriſoned John Bryce, boxmaſter or treaſurer to the guildry, for refuſing to give out the militia's arms. However, the magiſtrates gave his friends leave to carry his corpſe out of town, and bury them without their precincts, where they pleaſed; but any of the town's people, who were obſerved to accompany the funeral were impriſoned. After they were gone out of town, his friends ſent two men before them to Drone, four miles from Perth, to prepare a grave in that church-yard. The men went to Mr Pitcairn, the miniſter there, (one of the old reſolutioners), and deſired the keys of the church-yard, that they might dig a grave for the corpſe of Mr Welwood; but he refuſed to give them. They went over the church-yard-dyke, and digged a grave, and there the corpſe was interred.

There appears to be only one of his ſermons in print, ſaid

to be preached in Bogle's-hole in Clydeſdale, upon 1 Peter iv. 18. *And if the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved*, &c.

There are alſo ſome of his religious letters written to his godly friends and acquaintances, yet extant in manuſcript. But we are not to expect to meet with any thing conſiderable of the writings of Mr John Welwood *, or the ſucceeding Worthies; and no wonder, ſeeing that, in ſuch a broken ſtate of the church, they were ſtill upon their watch, haunted and hurried from place to place, without the leaſt time or conveniency for writing; yea, and oftentimes what little fragments they had collected fell into the hands of falſe friends and enemies, and were by them either deſtroyed or loſt.

WILLIAM GORDON OF EARLSTOUN.

WILLIAM GORDON of Earlſtoun was ſon to that great reformer, Alexander Gordon of Earlſtoun, and was lineally deſcended of that famous Alexander Gordon who entertained the followers of John Wickliffe, and who had a New Teſtament in the vulgar tongue, which they uſed to read in their meetings at the wood near Airds, beſide Earlſtoun. William Gordon, having thus the advantage of a very religious education, began very early to follow Chriſt. As early as 1637, Mr Rutherford, in his Letters, admoniſhes him thus. "Sir, lay the foundation thus, and ye ſhall not ſoon ſhrink nor be ſhaken; make tight work at the bottom, and your ſhip ſhall ride againſt all ſtorms; if withal your anchor be faſtened on good ground, I mean within the vail," &c. And indeed, by the bleſſing of God, he began very early to diſtinguiſh himſelf for piety and religion, with a firm attachment to the Preſbyterian intereſt and a covenanted work of reformation; in which he continued ſtedfaſt and unmoveable until he loſt his life in the honourable cauſe.

What hand he had in the public affairs during Cromwell's uſurpation, I cannot ſo well ſay: we muſt ſuppoſe him upon the remonſtrators ſide. But the firſt public teſtimony he gave after the reſtoration of Charles II. recorded in hiſtory, was about 1663, when ſome commiſſioners were appointed by the Council to go ſouth and inquire anent ſome oppoſition that

* Mr Crookſhanks, in his Hiſtory, page 439. calls him Mr James Welwood; which alteration proceeds probably from a miſtake in P. Walker's Remarkable Paſſages of the Lives of Semple, Welwood, &c. p. 26. edit. 1728.

that was then made by the people to the ſettlement of curates at Kirkcudbright and Irongray; and the ſaid commiſſioners, knowing this worthy gentleman's firmneſs to the Preſbyterian principles, and being deſigned either to make him comply in ſettling an Epiſcopal incumbent in the pariſh of Dalry in Galloway, where, by the once eſtabliſhed laws, he had ſome right in preſenting, or, if he refuſed to concur with the Biſhop, which they had all reaſon imaginable to ſuſpect he would, to bring him to further trouble. Accordingly, they wrote him a letter, in the following tenor :—" Finding the church of Dalry to be one of thoſe to which the Biſhop hath preſented an actual miniſter, Mr George Henry, fit and qualified for the charge, and that the gentleman is to come to your pariſh this Sabbath next to preach to that people, and that you are a perſon of ſpecial intereſt there, we do require you to cauſe this edict to be ſerved, and the congregation to convene and countenance him, ſo as to be encouraged to proſecute his miniſtry in that place. Your loving friends and ſervants,

" LINLITHGOW. GALLOWAY.
" ANNANDALE. DRUMLANARK."

To this letter Earlſtoun gave them a very reſpectful return, ſhewing, upon ſolid reaſons, why he could not comply with this their unjuſt demand, as the following excerpt from that letter evidences :—" I ever judged it ſafeſt to obey God, and ſtand at a diſtance from whatſoever doth not tend to God's glory, and the edification of the ſouls of his ſcattered people, of which that congregation is a part. And beſides, my Lords, it is known to many, that I pretend to lay claim to the right of patronage of that pariſh, and have already determined therein, with the conſent of the people, to a truly worthy and qualified perſon, that he may be admitted to exerciſe his gifts amongſt that people ; and for me to countenance the bearer of your Lordſhips letter, were to procure me moſt impiouſly and diſhonourably to wrong the majeſty of God, and violently to take away the Chriſtian liberty of his afflicted people, and enervate my own right," &c. *

This was, without queſtion, what the managers wanted, and ſo his trouble began ; for, on the 30th of July following, "The Lords of Council order letters to be directed, to charge

* Here obſerve, that though this worthy gentleman mentions the right of patronage, yet it is with this proviſo or limitation, the choice or conſent of the people ; otherwiſe, ſays he, it would wrong the majeſty of God, take away the Chriſtian liberty of the people, and invalidate his own right : and how unlike is this to the ſpecies of patronage and claim of patrons at this time, when nothing but abſolute power and arbitrary meaſures will ſatisfy them.

William Gordon of Earlſtoun to compear before them, to anſwer for his ſeditious and factious carriage:" that was, his refuſing to comply with Prelacy, and hear the curates, and for his favouring and hearing the outed miniſters. And further, November 24. ſame year, "The Council being informed, that the Laird of Earlſtoun kept conventicles and private meetings in his houſe, do order letters to be directed againſt him, to compear before this Council, to anſwer for his contempt, under pain of rebellion." But all this nowiſe daſhed the courage of this faithful confeſſor of Chriſt in adhering to his perſecuted and deſpiſed goſpel; which made theſe malignant enemies yet paſs a more ſevere and rigorous act againſt him; in which it was exhibited, that he had been at ſeveral conventicles, as they were pleaſed to call the preachings of the goſpel, where Mr Gabriel Semple, a depoſed miniſter, did preach in the Corſack wood and wood of Airds; and heard texts of ſcripture explained, both in his mother's and in his own houſe, by outed miniſters: "And being required to enact himſelf to abſtain from all ſuch meetings in time coming, and to live peaceably and orderly, conform to law," he refuſed to do the ſame: They did, therefore, order the ſaid William Gordon of Earlſtoun to be baniſhed, and to depart forth of the kingdom within a month, and not to return under pain of death, and that he live peaceably during that time, under the penalty of L.10,000, or otherwiſe to enter his perſon in priſon.

Here it would appear, that he did not obey this ſentence.—And although we have little or no particular account of his ſufferings, yet we are aſſured he endured a ſeries of hardſhips. In 1667, he was turned out of his houſe and all; and the ſaid houſe made a garriſon for Bannatyne, that wicked wretch and his party; after which, almoſt every year produced him new troubles, until the 22d or 23d of January 1679, that he emerged out of all his troubles, and arrived at the haven of reſt, and obtained his glorious reward, in the following manner.—

Having ſome affairs to ſettle, (perhaps on a view never to return), he could not join that ſuffering handful who were then in arms near Bothwell; he ſent his ſon, who was in the action. He himſelf haſtening forward as ſoon as poſſible to their aſſiſtance, and not knowing of their diſaſter, was met near the place by a party of Engliſh dragoons who were in queſt of the ſufferers, and, like another valiant champion of Chriſt, he refuſed to ſurrender, or comply with their demand, and ſo they killed him upon the ſpot; his ſon being out of the way, and his friends not obtaining that his body ſhould be urned amongſt the bones of his anceſtors, he was interred in

in the church-yard of Glasford; and though a pillar or monument was erected over his grave, yet no inscription was got inscribed, because of the severity of these times *.

Thus fell a renowned Gordon, one whose character at present I am in no capacity to describe: only I may venture to say, that he was a gentleman of good parts and endowments; a man devoted unto religion and godliness; and a prime supporter of the Presbyterian interest in that part of the country where he lived.—The Gordons have all along made no small figure in our Scottish history; but here was a patriot, a good Christian, a confessor, and, I may add, a martyr of Jesus Christ.

MESS. JOHN KID AND JOHN KING.

MESS. JOHN KID and JOHN KING suffered many hardships during the persecuting period, namely, from the year 1670, to the time of their martyrdom, 1679. Mr King was sometime chaplain to Lord Cardross; and it appears, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the year 1674, but got out on a bond and surety for 5000 merks, to appear when called. Next year he was again, by a party of the persecutors, apprehended in the said Lord Cardross's, but was immediately rescued from their hands by some country people, who had profited much by his ministry. After this, he was taken a third time by bloody Claverhouse near Hamilton, with about seventeen others, and brought to Evandale, where they were all rescued by their suffering brethren at Drumclog. After which he and Mr Kid were of great service, and preached often among the honest party of our sufferers, till their defeat at Bothwell, where Mr Kid, among other prisoners, was taken and brought to Edinburgh. It would appear that Mr King was apprehended also at the same time in or west from Glasgow.

* His son, Alexander Gordon, here narrowly escaped being taken, by means of one of his tenants, who knowing him as he rode through Hamilton, made him dismount, put on women's clothes, and rock the cradle. After this, he went over to his brother-in-law, Mr Hamilton, to represent the low case of the united societies to the churches of the Netherlands; he was by them called home, and when returning back a second time, he was apprehended by the enemy, and put to the torture; but by means of his friend, the Duke of Gordon, his life was spared. However, he was sent to the Bass, and from thence, I suppose to Blackness, where, from 1683, he continued till he was liberated at the Revolution. It is to be lamented, that neither he, after this, nor his son Sir Thomas, fully followed the steps of their ancestors.

gow *. For a party of Engliſh dragoons being there, and one of them on horſe-back called for ſome ale, and drank to the confuſion of the covenants. Another of his companions aſking him at the ſtable-green port, where he was going, he anſwered, To carry King to hell. But this poor wretch had not gone far whiſtling and ſinging, till his carbine accidentally went off, and killed him on the ſpot. *God ſhall ſhoot at them with an arrow, ſuddenly ſhall they be wounded*, Pſal. lxiv. 7.

Mr King was taken to Edinburgh, where both he and Mr Kid were before the Council, July 9. Mr King confeſſed, when examined, that he was with thoſe who roſe at that time,

* The following account of the taking of Mr King has been received from a correſpondent.

Mr King having come to pay his reſpects to the Laird of Blair, in Dalry pariſh, near Kilwinning, to whom formerly he had been ſome time chaplain, one Bryce Blair, a farmer, who had been groom there while Mr King was about that houſe, getting notice, came and deſired Mr King to pay him a viſit; to which he conſented. Accordingly he went; where he preached a ſhort word on the Saturday night following. But on the Sabbath morning, a party of the enemy (ſaid to be Crichton's dragoons) being in queſt of him, and getting the ſcent, two of them in diſguiſe came to an old man feeding cattle near Bryce Blair's houſe, and aſked him, whether he knew where that godly miniſter Mr King was; for they were afraid he would be taken, as the enemy were in purſuit of him; and if they knew where he was, they would ſecure him from them. The old man, having more honeſty than policy, cried out, I'll run and tell him. Whereupon they rode full ſpeed after him to the houſe. Finding a ſervant of the houſe waiting on Mr King's and his ſervant's horſes, they immediately diſmounted; and having driven their own horſes into the ſtanding corn, threatening him not to ſtir from the ſpot on pain of death: one of them took his ſaddle, and putting it on Mr King's horſe, ſaid, Many a mile have I rode after thee, but I ſhall ride upon thee now.

By this time the reſt had ſurrounded the houſe; and Mr King and his ſervant being in bed, they immediately commanded them to riſe and put on their clothes. While his ſervant was putting on his ſpurs, one of the ſoldiers damned him, ſaying, was he putting a ſpur on a priſoner? To whom he replied, he would put on what he pleaſed: For which he received from him a blow: then another gave that ſoldier a blow, ſaying, Damn you, Sir, are you ſtriking a priſoner while making no reſiſtance. In the hurry, Mr King's ſervant threw his maſter's wallees into a peat-loft. Thus they were both carried off.—They hired one David Cumming, in the ſame pariſh, to be their guide to Glaſgow; who willingly conſented. They preſſed a horſe for him to ride upon: but they had not gone far, when the horſe run ſtark mad, and jumping and ſtriking all around him with ſuch violence as affrighted the beholders, they were obliged to let him go; but no ſooner was he returned home, than he became as calm as ever. Cumming had to go on foot to Glaſgow. From thence Mr King was ſent to Edinburgh. After which his ſervant was ſet at liberty. For what afterwards became of Cumming, ſee the Appendix.

time, &c. Mr Kid confeſſed, he had preached in the fields, but never where there were men in arms, except in two places. They ſigned their confeſſion, which was afterwards produced in evidence againſt them before the Juſticiary. On the 12th, Mr Kid was again examined before the Council, and put to the torture. It ſeems he was more than once in the boots, where he behaved with much meekneſs and patience. Mr King was examined on the 16th before the Juſticiary, and Mr Kid on the day following. On the 22d, they received their indictments. Their trial came on upon the 28th. They were again before the Juſticiary, where, upon their former petition on the 24th, advocates were allowed to plead for them *, but no exculpation was allowed them. When their indictments were read, the Advocate produced their confeſſions before the Council, as proof againſt them; and accordingly they were brought in guilty, and condemned to be hanged at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, on Thurſday, the 14th of Auguſt, and their heads and right-arms to be cut off, and diſpoſed of at the Council's pleaſure.

Accordingly, the ſame day the King's act of indemnity was publiſhed in the forenoon, and, to grace the ſolemnity, the two noble martyrs, who were denied a ſhare therein, were in the afternoon brought forth to their execution. It was related by one there preſent, that, as they approached the place, walking together hand in hand, Mr Kid, looking about to Mr King, with a cheerful countenance, ſaid, "I have often heard and read of a kid ſacrificed, but I ſeldom or never heard of a king made a ſacrifice." Upon the ſcaffold they appeared with a great deal of courage and ſerenity of mind, as was uſual with the martyrs in theſe times, and died in much peace and joy; even a joy that none of their perſecutors could intermeddle with. Their heads were cut off on another ſcaffold, prepared for the purpoſe.

Thus ended theſe two worthy miniſters and martyrs of Jeſus Chriſt, after they had owned their allegiance to Zion's King and Lord, and given a faithful teſtimony againſt Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, &c.; and for the covenanted work of reformation, in its different parts and periods. The reader will find their dying teſtimonies in Naphtali and the Weſtern Martyrology.

MR

* See a ſhort hint of their advocates pleadings and petition in behalf of Mr King, Crookſhank's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 27.

Mr JOHN BROWN.

MR BROWN was ordained miniſter at Wamphray, in Annandale. There is no certain account how long he was miniſter there, only it was ſome time before the reſtoration of Charles II. as appears from his great faithfulneſs in oppoſing Prelacy, which was then about to be intruded upon the church; inſomuch that, for his fortitude and freedom with ſome of his neighbouring miniſters, for their compliance with the prelates, contrary to the promiſe they had given him, he was turned out of that place.

Upon the 6th of November 1662, he was brought before the Council. Whether by letters to converſe with the managers, or by a citation, it is not certain. But the ſame day, the Council's act againſt him runs thus:

"Mr John Brown of Wamphray, being convened before the Council, for abuſing and reproaching ſome miniſters for keeping the dioceſan ſynod with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, calling them perjured knaves and villains, did acknowledge that he called them falſe knaves for ſo doing, becauſe they had promiſed the contrary to him. The Council ordain him to be ſecured cloſe priſoner in the tolbooth till further orders."

He remained in priſon till December 11. when, after Mr Livingſtone and others had received their ſentence, the Council came to this concluſion anent him, "Upon a petition preſented by Mr John Brown, miniſter of Wamphray, now priſoner in Edinburgh, ſhewing, that he had been kept cloſe priſoner theſe five weeks bypaſt, and ſeeing that, by want of free air, and other neceſſaries for maintaining his crazy body, he is in hazard to loſe his life, therefore humbly deſiring warrant to be put at liberty, upon caution to enter his perſon when he ſhould be commanded, as the petition bears; which being at length heard and conſidered, the Lords of Council ordain the ſupplicant to be put at liberty, forth of the tolbooth, he firſt obliging himſelf to remove and depart off the King's dominions, and not to return, without licence from his Majeſty and Council, under pain of death."

Great were the hardſhips he underwent in priſon, for (ſays Crookſhanks) he was denied even the neceſſaries of life; and though, becauſe of the ill treatment he met with, he was brought almoſt to the gates of death, yet he could not have the beneſit of the free air, until he ſigned a bond, obliging himſelf to a voluntary baniſhment, and that without any juſt cauſe.

But, upon the 23d of the ſame month, on preſenting a petition to the Council, to prorogue the time of his removal from

from the kingdom, in regard he was not able to provide himself with neceſſaries, and the weather ſo unſeaſonable that he could not have the opportunity of a ſhip, &c. as the petition bears; which being read and conſidered, "They grant him two months longer after the 11th of December bypaſt;—in the mean time he being peaceable, acting nothing in prejudice of the preſent government," &c.—And next year he went over to Holland, then the aſylum of the baniſhed, where he lived many years, but never, that we heard of, ſaw his own native country any more.

How he employed himſelf moſtly in Holland, we are at a loſs to ſay; his many elaborate pieces, both practical, argumentative, and hiſtorical, witneſs that he was not idle; which were either moſtly wrote there, or publiſhed from thence; and particularly thoſe concerning the indulgence, ceſs-paying, &c.; ſent for the ſupport and ſtrengthening of his perſecuted brethren in the church of Scotland, unto whom he and Mr M'Ward contributed all in their power, that they might be kept ſtraight while labouring in the furnace of affliction, under a ſcene of ſore oppreſſion and bloody tyranny. But hither did the malice of their enemies yet purſue them. For the King, by the inſtigation of Prelate Sharp, in 1676, wrote to the States-General to remove them from their province. And although the States neither did nor could reaſonably grant this demand, ſeeing they had got the full ſtreſs of laws in Scotland many years before, yet it appears, that they were obliged to wander farther from the land of their nativity.

Some time before his death, he was admitted miniſter of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam; where he, with great prudence and diligence, exerciſed that function; it being always his ſtudy and care to gain many ſouls to Chriſt. For as he was faithful in declaring the whole counſel of God to his people, in warning them againſt the evils of the time, ſo he was likewiſe a great textuary, cloſe in handling any truth he diſcourſed upon, and in the application moſt home, warm, and ſearching, ſhewing himſelf a moſt ſkilful caſuiſt. His ſermons were not ſo plain, but the learned might admire them; nor ſo learned, but the plain underſtood them. His fellow-ſoldier and companion in tribulation (M'Ward in his Earneſt Contendings, p. 541.) gives him this teſtimony, "That the whole of his ſermons, without the intermixture of any other matter, had a ſpecialty of pure goſpel-tincture, breathing nothing but faith in Chriſt, and communion with him," &c.

The ordination of faithful Mr Richard Cameron ſeems to have been the laſt of his public employments; and his laſt but excellent diſcourſe, before his exit from this world, which

appears to have been about the end of 1679, was from Jer. iii. 35. *Behold I will plead with thee, becauſe thou ſayeſt, I have not ſinned*, &c. And having finiſhed his courſe with joy, he died in the Lord. *Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may reſt from their labours, and their works do follow them.*

No doubt Mr Brown was a man famous in his day, both for learning, faithfulneſs, warm zeal, and true piety. He was a notable writer, a choice and pathetic preacher; in controverſy he was acute, maſculine, and ſtrong; in hiſtory, plain and comprehenſive; in divinity, ſubſtantial and divine; the firſt he diſcovers in his work printed in Latin againſt the Socinians, and his treatiſe *de Cauſa Dei contra Anti-Sabbatarios*, which the learned world know better than can be here deſcribed. There is alſo a large manuſcript hiſtory, intitled, *Apologia pro Eccleſia*, &c. *anno Domini* 1660, conſiſting of 1600 pages in 4to, which he gave in to Charles Gordon, ſometime miniſter at Dalmony, to be by him preſented to the firſt free General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, and was by him exhibited to the General Aſſembly in 1692; of this hiſtory the Apologetical Relation ſeems to be an abridgement. His letters and other papers, particularly the hiſtory of the indulgence, written and ſent home to his native country, manifeſt his great and fervent zeal for the cauſe of Chriſt. And his other practical pieces, ſuch as that on Juſtification on the Romans; Quakeriſm the Way to Paganiſm; the Hope of Glory; and Chriſt the Way, the Truth, and the Life; the firſt and ſecond parts of his Life of Faith, and Enoch's Teſtament opened up, &c.; all which evidence his ſolid piety, and real acquaintance with God and godlineſs.

HENRY HALL OF HAUGH-HEAD.

MR HALL of Haugh-head, in the pariſh of Eckford in Teviotdale, having had a religious education, began very early to mind a life of holineſs, in all manner of godly converſation. In his younger years he was a moſt zealous oppoſer of the public reſolutions that took place in 1651; inſomuch, that when the miniſter of that pariſh complied with that courſe, he refuſed to hear him, and often went to Ancrum to hear Mr John Livingſtone. After the reſtoration of that wicked tyrant Charles II. being oppreſſed with the malicious perſecutions of the curates and other malignants, for

for his non-conformity, he was obliged to depart his native country, and go over to the border of England in 1665, where he was very much renowned for his ſingular zeal in propagating the goſpel, by inſtructing the ignorant, and procuring miniſters to preach now and then among that people, who before his coming were very rude and barbarous, but now many of them became famous for piety. In 1666, he was taken priſoner on his way coming to Pentland, to the aſſiſtance of his covenanted brethren, and impriſoned with ſome others in Ceſsford caſtle. But, by divine providence, he ſoon eſcaped thence, through the favour of his friend the Earl of Roxburgh, who was a blood-relation of his, unto whom the caſtle then pertained. He retired again to Northumberland, where from this time until 1679, he lived, being very much beloved of all that knew him, for his care and concern in propagating the goſpel of Chriſt in that country; inſomuch that his blameleſs and ſhining converſation drew love, reverence, and eſteem even from his very enemies. About 1678, the heat of the perſecution in Scotland obliged many to wander about in Northumberland, as one Col. Struthers was violently purſuing all Scotſmen in thoſe places. Haugh-head was in that ſcuffle near Crookham, where one of his neareſt intimates, that gallant and religious gentleman Thomas Kerr of Hayhop, fell.—Upon which he was obliged to return to Scotland, where he wandered up and down in the hotteſt time of the perſecution, moſtly with Mr Donald Cargill and Mr Richard Cameron. During which time, beſides his many other Chriſtian virtues, he ſignaliſed himſelf by a real zeal, in defence of the perſecuted goſpel in the fields. He was one of thoſe four elders of the church of Scotland, who, at the Council of war at Shawhead-muir, June 18. 1669, were choſen, with Meſſ. Cargill, Douglas, King, and Barclay, to draw up the cauſes of the Lord's wrath againſt the land, which were to be the cauſes of a faſt on the day following. He had, indeed, an active hand in the moſt part of the tranſactions among the covenanters at that time; as being one of the commanding officers in that army, from the ſkirmiſh at Drumclog, to their defeat at Bothwell-bridge.

After this, being forfeited, and diligently ſearched for and purſued after, to eſchew the violent hands of theſe his indefatigable perſecutors, he was forced to go over to Holland (the only refuge then of our Scots ſufferers). But he had not ſtaid there long, until his zeal for the perſecuted intereſt of Chriſt, and his tender ſympathy for the afflicted remnant of his covenanted brethren, who were then wandering in Scotland, through the deſolate caves and dens of

the earth, drew him home again; choosing rather to undergo the utmost efforts of persecuting fury, than to live at ease in the time of Joseph's affliction, making Moses's generous choice, rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy what momentary pleasures the ease of the world could afford. Nor was he very much concerned with the riches of this world; for he stood not to give his ground to hold field-preachings on *, when few or none else would do it; for he was still a true lover of the free and faithful preached gospel, and was always against the indulgence.

About a quarter of a year after his return from Holland, he was mostly with Mr Cargill, lurking as privily as they could about Borrowstounness, and other places on this and the other side of the frith of Forth. At last they were taken notice of by these two bloody hounds, the curates of Borrowstounness and Carriden, who soon smelled out Mr Cargill and his companion, and presently sent information to Middleton, Governor of Blackness castle, who was a Papist. After consultation, he immediately took the scent after them, ordering his soldiers to follow him at a distance, by twos and threes together, at convenient intervals, to avoid suspicion, while he and his man rode up after them at some distance, till they came to Queensferry; where, perceiving the house where they alighted, he sent his servant off in haste for his men, putting up his horse in another house, and coming to them as a stranger, pretended a great deal of kindness to Mr Cargill and him, desiring that they might have a glass of wine together. When each had taken a glass, and were in some friendly conference, the Governor, wearying that his men came not up, threw off the mask, and laid hands on them, saying, they were his prisoners, and commanded the people of the house in the King's name to assist. But they all refused, except one Thomas George a waiter; by whose assistance he got the gate shut. In the mean while, Haughhead, being a bold and brisk man, struggled hard with the Governor, until Cargill got off; and after the scuffle, as he was going off himself, having got clear of the Governor, Thomas George struck him on the head with a carbine, and wounded him mortally. However, he got out; and by this time the women of the town, who were assembled at the gate to

* The Rev. Mr George Barclay, who was very public at this time, and had his hand at many a good turn, and was a blessed instrument to the edification of many souls, but got a waff of that murdering east wind, in the year 1679, said, The best days that ever he had in preaching of the gospel was in the bounds belonging to the Laird of Haughhead, worthy Henry Hall, &c.

to the reſcue of the priſoners, convoyed him out of town.—He walked ſome time on foot, but unable to ſpeak much, ſave only ſome little reflection upon a woman who interpoſed, hindering him to kill the Governor, that ſo he might have made his eſcape more timeouſly. At laſt he fainted, and was carried to a country-houſe near Echlin; and although chirurgeons were ſpeedily brought, yet he never recovered the uſe of his ſpeech any more. Dalziel, living near-by, was ſoon advertiſed, and came quickly with a party of the guards, and ſeized him; and although every one ſaw the gentleman juſt a-dying, yet ſuch was his inhumanity, that he muſt carry him to Edinburgh. But he died in their hands, on the way thither; and made an end of this his earthly pilgrimage to receive his heavenly crown. His corpſe was carried to the Canongate tolbooth, where they lay three days without burial: and then his friends convened for that end, to do their laſt office to him; yet that could not be granted. At laſt they cauſed bury him clandeſtinely in the night; for ſuch was the fury of theſe limbs of Antichriſt, that after they had ſlain the witneſſes, they would not ſuffer them to be decently interred in the earth; which is another laſting evidence of the cruelty of thoſe times.

Thus the worthy gentleman, after he had in an eminent manner, ſerved his day and generation, fell a victim to Prelatic fury. Upon him was found, when he was taken, a rude draught of an unſubſcribed paper, afterwards called the Queensferry Paper; which the reader will find inſerted at large in Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. ii. Appendix, No. 46.; the ſubſtance of which is contained in Crookſhanks's Hiſtory, and in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witneſſes.

Mr RICHARD CAMERON.

MR RICHARD CAMERON was born in Falkland, in the ſhire of Fife, his father being a merchant there. He was of the Epiſcopal perſuaſion at firſt; for, after he had paſſed his courſe of learning, he was ſome time ſchoolmaſter and precentor to the curate of Falkland. He ſometimes attended the ſermons of the indulged, as he had opportunity; but at laſt it pleaſed the Lord to incline him to go out and hear the perſecuted goſpel in the fields; which when the curates underſtood, they ſet upon him, partly by flattery and partly by threats, and at laſt by more direct perſecution, to make him forbear

forbear attending thoſe meetings. But ſuch was the wonderful working of the Lord by his powerful Spirit upon him, that having got a lively diſcovery of the ſin and hazard of Prelacy, he deſerted the curates altogether; and no ſooner was he enlightened anent the evil of Prelacy, but he began more narrowly to ſearch into the ſtate of things, that he might know what was his proper and neceſſary duty. The Lord was pleaſed to diſcover to him the ſinfulneſs of the indulgence, as flowing from the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy uſurped by the King; and, being zealouſly affected for the honour of Chriſt, wronged by that Eraſtian acknowledgement of the magiſtrate's uſurped power over the church, he longed for an opportunity to give a teſtimony againſt it. This made him leave Falkland, and go to Sir Walter Scot of Harden, who attended the indulged meetings. Here he took the opportunity, notwithſtanding of many ſtrong temptations to the contrary, to witneſs in his ſtation againſt the indulgence. Particularly on Sabbath, when called to attend the Lady to church, he returned from the entry, refuſing to go that day; and ſpent it in his chamber, where he met with much of the Lord's preſence, as he himſelf afterwards teſtified, and got very evident diſcoveries of the nature of theſe temptations and ſuggeſtions of Satan, which were like to prevail with him before; and upon Monday, giving a reaſon to the ſaid Sir Walter and his Lady why he went not to church with them, he took occaſion to be plain and expreſs in teſtifying againſt the indulgence, in the original riſe, ſpring, and complex nature thereof. After which, finding his ſervice would be no longer acceptable to them, he went to the ſouth, where he met with the Reverend Mr John Welch. He ſtaid ſome time in his company, who, finding him a man every way qualified for the miniſtry, preſſed him to except a licence to preach; which he for ſome time refuſed, chiefly upon the account that having ſuch clear diſcoveries of the ſinfulneſs of the indulgence, he could not but teſtify againſt it explicitly, ſo ſoon as he ſhould have opportunity to preach the goſpel in public. But the force of his objections being anſwered by Mr Welch's ſerious ſolicitations, he was prevailed on to accept of a licence from the outed miniſters, who were then preaching in the fields, and had not then complied with the indulgence. Accordingly he was licenſed by Mr Welch and Mr Semple, at Haugh-head in Teviotdale, at the houſe of Henry Hall. Here he told them, he would be a bone of contention among them; for if he preached againſt a national ſin among them, it ſhould be againſt the indulgences, and for ſeparation from the indulged.

After

After he was licenſed, they ſent him at firſt to preach in Annandale. He ſaid, how could he go there? He knew not what ſort of people they were. But Mr Welch ſaid, Go your way, Ritchie, and ſet the fire of hell to their tails. He went, and, the firſt day, he preached upon that text, *How ſhall I put thee among the children*, &c. In the application he ſaid, Put you among the children! the offspring of robbers and thieves. Many have heard of Annandale thieves. Some of them got a merciful caſt that day, and told it afterwards, that it was the firſt field-meeting that ever they attended; and that they went out of curioſity, to ſee how a miniſter could preach in a tent, and people ſit on the ground. After this, he preached ſeveral times with Mr Welch, Mr Semple, and others, until 1679, that he and Mr Welwood were called before that Eraſtian meeting at Edinburgh, in order to be depoſed, for their freedom and faithfulneſs in preaching againſt the ſinful compliance of that time.

After this he preached at Maybole, where many thouſands of people were aſſembled together, it being the firſt time that the * ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper was then diſpenſed in the open fields. At this time he uſed yet more freedom in teſtifying againſt the ſinfulneſs of the indulgences, for which he was alſo called before another meeting of the indulged at Dinugh in Galloway; and a little after that, he was again called before a preſbytery of them, at Sundewall in Dunſcore in Nithſdale: and this was the third time they had deſigned to take his licence from him. Here it was where Robert Gray, a Northumberland man, (who ſuffered afterwards in the Graſsmarket in 1682.), Robert Neilſon and others, proteſted againſt them for ſuch a conduct. At this meeting they prevailed with him to give his promiſe, that for ſome ſhort time he ſhould forbear ſuch an explicit way of preaching againſt the indulgence, and ſeparation from them who were indulged: which promiſe lay heavy on him afterwards, as will appear in its own proper place.

After the giving of this promiſe, finding himſelf by virtue thereof bound up from declaring the whole counſel of God, he turned a little melancholy; and to get the definite time of that unhappy promiſe exhauſted, in the end of the year 1678, he went over to Holland, not knowing what work the Lord had for him there; where he converſed with Mr M'Ward and others of our baniſhed Worthies. In his private converſation and exerciſe in families, but eſpecially in his public

* Thoſe who diſpenſed the ſacrament of the Lords ſupper here, were Meſſ. Archibald Riddel, John Welch, Andrew Morton, Patrick Warner, George Barclay, and others.

lic ſermon in the Scots kirk of Rotterdam, he was moſt refreſhing unto many ſouls, where he was moſt cloſe upon converſion-work, from that text, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden*, &c.; and moſt ſatisfying and agreeable to Mr M'Ward, Mr Brown, and others, who were ſadly miſinformed by the indulged, and thoſe of their perſuaſion, that he could preach nothing but babble againſt the indulgence, ceſs-paying, &c. But here he touched upon none of theſe things, except in prayer, when lamenting over the deplorable caſe of Scotland by defection and tyranny.

About this time, Mr M'Ward ſaid to him, "Richard, the public ſtandard is now fallen in Scotland; and, if I know any thing of the mind of the Lord, you are called to undergo your trials before us; and go home, and lift the fallen ſtandard, and diſplay it publicly before the world; but before ye put your hand to it, ye ſhall go to as many of the field-miniſters (for ſo they were yet called) as ye can find, and give them your hearty invitation to go with you; and if they will not go, go alone, and the Lord will go with you."

Accordingly he was ordained by Mr M'Ward, Mr Brown, and Roleman, a famous Dutch divine. When their hands were lift up from his head, Mr M'Ward continued his on his head, and cried out, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful miniſter and ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall loſe the ſame for his Maſter's intereſt, and ſhall be ſet up before ſun and moon, in the view of the world."

In the beginning of 1680, he returned home to Scotland, where he ſpent ſome time in going from miniſter to miniſter, of thoſe who formerly kept up the public ſtandard of the goſpel in the fields; but all in vain, for the perſecution being then ſo hot after Bothwell, againſt all ſuch who had not accepted the indulgence and indemnity, none of them would adventure upon that hazard, except Mr Donald Cargill and Mr Thomas Douglas who came together, and kept a public faſt-day in Darmeid-muir, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian; one of the chief cauſes of which was the reception of the Duke of York, that ſworn vaſſal of Antichriſt, into Scotland, after he had been excluded from England and ſeveral other places. After ſeveral meetings among themſelves, for forming a declaration and teſtimony, which they were about to publiſh to the world, at laſt they agreed upon one, which they publiſhed at the market-croſs of Sanquhar, June 22. 1680; from which place it is commonly called the Sanquhar declaration. After this they were obliged, for ſome time, to ſeparate one from another, and go to different corners of the land: And that not only upon account of the urgent call and

neceſſity of the people, who were then in a moſt ſtarving condition, with reſpect to the free and faithful preached goſpel, but alſo on account of the indefatigable ſcrutiny of the enemy, who, for their better encouragement, had, by proclamation, 5000 merks offered for apprehending Mr Cameron, 3000 for Mr Cargill and Mr Douglas, and 100 for each of the reſt, who were concerned in the publication of the foreſaid declaration.

After parting, Mr Cameron went to Swine know in New Monkland, where he had a moſt confirming and comforting day, upon that ſoul-refreſhing text, Iſa. xxxi. 2. *And a man ſhall be a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempeſt*, &c. In his preface that day, he ſaid, he was fully aſſured that the Lord, in mercy to this church and nation, would ſweep the throne of Britain of that unhappy race of the name of Stuart for their treachery, tyranny, and lechery, but eſpecially their uſurping the royal prerogatives of Chriſt; and this he was as ſure of as his hands were upon that cloth, yea, and more ſure, for he had that by ſenſe, but the other by faith.

Mr H. E.* who ſuffered much by impriſonment and otherwiſe in this period, and though otherwiſe a worthy good man, yet was ſo miſled, that he had one time premeditated a ſermon, wherein he intended to ſpeak ſomewhat againſt Mr Cameron and Mr Cargill, ſo far was he from taking part with them; But on Saturday's night he heard an audible voice, which ſaid unto him, *audi*, he anſwered, *audio*, I hear: the voice ſpoke again, and ſaid, "Beware of calling Cameron's words vain." This ſtopt him from his intended purpoſe. This he told himſelf afterwards unto an old reverend miniſter, who afterwards related the matter as above ſtated.

When he came to preach in and about Cumnock, he was much oppoſed by the Lairds of Logan and Horſecleugh, who repreſented him as a Jeſuit, and a vile naughty perſon. But yet ſome of the Lord's people, who had retained their former faithfulneſs, gave him a call to preach in that pariſh. When he began, he exhorted the people to mind that they were in the ſight and preſence of a holy God, and that all of them were haſtening to an endleſs ſtate of either well or woe. One Andrew Dalziel, a debauchee, (a cocker or fowler), who was in the houſe, it being a ſtormy day, cried out, "Sir, we neither know you nor your God." Mr Cameron, muſing a little, ſaid, "You, and all who do not know my God in mercy, ſhall know him in his judgements, which ſhall be ſudden and ſurpriſing in a few days upon you; and I, as a ſent ſer-

* Probably this was Mr Henry Erſkine, the late Mr Erſkine's grandfather.

vant of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe commiſſion I bear, and whoſe badge I wear upon my breaſt, give you warning, and leave you to the juſtice of God." Accordingly, in a few days after, the ſaid Andrew, being in perfect health, took his breakfaſt plentifully, and before he roſe fell a vomiting, and vomited his heart's blood into the very veſſel out of which he had taken his breakfaſt, and died in a moſt frightful manner. This admoniſhing paſſage, together with the power and preſence of the Lord going along with the goſpel diſpenſed by him, during the little time he was there, made the foreſaid two Lairds deſire a conference with him; which he readily aſſented to. After which they were obliged to acknowledge, that they had been in the wrong to him, and deſired his forgiveneſs. He ſaid, from his heart he forgave them what wrongs they had done to him; but for what wrongs they had done to the intereſt of Chriſt, it was not his part; but he was perſuaded that they would be remarkably puniſhed for it. And to the Laird of Logan he ſaid, that he ſhould be written childleſs; and to Horſecleugh, that he ſhould ſuffer by burning.—Both of which afterwards came to paſs.

Upon the fourth of July following, being eighteen days before his death, he preached at the Graſs-water-ſide near Cumnock. In his preface that day, he ſaid, "There are three or four things I have to tell you this day, which I muſt not omit, becauſe I will be but a breakfaſt or four-hours to the enemy, ſome day or other ſhortly; and then my work and my time will be finiſhed both. And the firſt is this, As for King Charles II. who is now upon the throne of Britain, after him there ſhall not be a crowned King of the name of Stuart in Scotland *. 2*dly*, There ſhall not be an old covenanter's head above ground, that ſwore theſe covenants with uplifted hands, ere ye get a right reformation ſet up in Scotland. 3*dly*, A man ſhall ride a day's journey in the ſhires of Galloway, Ayr, and Clydeſdale, and not ſee a reeking houſe nor hear a cock crow, ere ye get a right reformation; and ſeveral other ſhires ſhall be little better. And, 4*thly*, The rod that the Lord will make inſtrumental in this, will be the French and other foreigners, together with a party in this land joining them: but ye that ſtand to the teſtimony in that day be not diſcouraged at the fewneſs of your number; for when Chriſt comes to raiſe up his own work in Scotland, he will not want men enough to work for him," &c.

In the week following, he preached in the pariſh of Carluke, upon theſe words, Iſ. xl. 24. *Shall the prey be taken from the mighty?* &c. And the Sabbath following, at Hind-Bottom, near

* King James II. never took the coronation-oath of Scotland.

near Crawford-John, he preached on theſe words, *You will not come to me that you may have life.* In the time of which ſermon he fell a-weeping, and the greater part of the multitude alſo, ſo that few dry cheeks were to be ſeen among them. After this, unto the day of his death, he moſtly kept his chamber door ſhut until night; for the miſtreſs of the houſe where he ſtaid, having been ſeveral times at the door, got no acceſs. At laſt ſhe forced it up, and found him very melancholy. She earneſtly deſired to know how it was with him. He ſaid, That weary promiſe I gave to theſe miniſters has lain heavy upon me, and for which my carcaſe ſhall dung the wilderneſs, and that ere it be long. Being now near his end, he had ſuch a large earneſt of the Spirit, which made him have ſuch a longing deſire for full poſſeſſion of the heavenly inheritance, that he ſeldom prayed in a family, aſked a bleſſing, or gave thanks, but he requeſted patience to wait until the Lord's appointed time came.

The laſt Sabbath * he preached was with Mr Cargill in Clydeſdale, on Pſalm xlvi. 10. *Be ſtill, and know that I am God*, &c. That day he ſaid, he was ſure that the Lord would lift up a ſtandard againſt Antichriſt, that would go to the gates of Rome, and burn it with fire, and that blood ſhould be their ſign, and *no quarter* their word; and earneſtly wiſhed that it might begin in Scotland. At their parting, they concluded to meet the ſecond Sabbath after this at Craigmead.—But he was killed on the Thurſday thereafter. And the Sabbath following, Mr Cargill preached in the pariſh of Shots, upon that text, *Know ye not that there is a great man and Prince fallen this day in Iſrael?*

The laſt night of his life, he was in the houſe of William Mitchell in Meadowhead, at the water of Ayr, where about twenty-three horſe and forty foot had continued with him that week. That morning a woman gave him water to waſh his face and hands; and having waſhed, and dried them with a towel, he looked to his hands, and laid them on his face, ſaying, This is their laſt waſhing, I have need to make them clean, for there are many to ſee them. At this the woman's mother wept. He ſaid, Weep not for me, but for yourſelf and yours, and for the ſins of a ſinful land, for ye have many melancholy, ſorrowful, and weary days before you.

The people who remained with him were in ſome heſita-

* Another account bears, that his laſt ſermon was preached at the water of Renan in Galloway, and that it was a very prophetical one. But though he might have preached there, yet according to the time and place, it does not appear to have been the laſt ſermon that he preached.

tion, whether they ſhould abide together for their own defence, or deſperſe and ſhift for themſelves. But that day, being the 22d of July, they were ſurpriſed by Bruce of Earlſhall; who, having got command of Airley's troop and Strahan's dragoons, upon notice given him by Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree *, came furiouſly upon them, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when lying on the eaſt end of Airs-moſs.—When they ſaw the enemy approaching, and no poſſibility of eſcaping, they all gathered round about him, while he prayed a ſhort word; wherein he repeated this expreſſion thrice over, Lord, ſpare the green, and take the ripe. When ended, he ſaid to his brother, with great intrepidity, Come, let us fight it out to the laſt; for this is the day that I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting againſt our Lord's avowed enemies: this is the day that we will get the crown. And to the reſt he ſaid, Be encouraged all of you to fight it out valiantly, for all of you that ſhall fall this day, I ſee heaven's gates open to receive you.

But the enemy approaching, they immediately drew up eight horſe, with him on the right, the reſt, with valiant Hackſton, on the left, and the foot in the middle; where they all behaved with much bravery, until overpowered by a ſuperior number. At laſt Hackſton was taken priſoner, as will afterwards be more fully narrated, and Mr Cameron was killed on the ſpot, and his head and hands cut off by one Murray, and taken to Edinburgh. His father being in priſon for the ſame cauſe, they carried them to him, to add grief unto his former ſorrow, and inquired at him, if he knew them. He took his ſon's hands and head, which were very fair, being a man of a fair complexion, with his own hair, and kiſſed them, and ſaid, "I know, I know them; they are my ſon's, my own dear ſon's; it is the Lord, good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodneſs and mercy to follow us all our days." After which, by order of the Council, his head was fixed upon the Nether-bow port, and his hands beſide it, with the fingers upward.

Thus this valiant ſoldier and miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt came to his end, after he had been not only highly inſtrumental in turning

* It is ſaid, Earlſhall got 500 l. and Ochiltree 10,000 merks. However, ſome time after, one morning, about break of day, a fiery pillar of a bloody colour, ſeemingly about two yards long, was ſeen hanging above that houſe. The ſame day, about two o'clock afternoon, the caſtle took fire, and was, with charters, plate, and all, burnt down to the ground. The ſon ſaid to the father while it was burning, "This is the vengeance of Cameron's blood." That houſe was never built.—For the new houſe, eſtate, and all, they are gone from that race to others.

turning many ſouls unto God, but alſo in lifting up a faithful ſtandard for his royal Lord and Maſter, againſt all his enemies, and the defections and ſinful compliances of that time. One of his and Chriſt's declared enemies, when he took out his head at Edinburgh, gave him this teſtimony, ſaying, "There the head and hands of a man who lived praying and preaching, and died praying and fighting." And wherever the faithful contendings of the once famous covenanted church of Scotland are honourably made mention of, this, to his honour, ſhall be recorded of him.

When he was ſlain, there was found upon him a ſhort paper, or bond of mutual defence, which the reader will find inſerted in Wodrow's Hiſtory, and in the Appendix to the Cloud of Witneſſes. There are alſo ſome few of his Letters now publiſhed with Mr Renwick's Collection of Letters. But the only ſermon of his that appeared in print formerly, is that preached at Carluke, entitled, Good News to Scotland, publiſhed in 1733. He wrote alſo in defence of the Sanquhar declaration, but we can give no account of its ever being publiſhed. Some more of his ſermons were publiſhed.

An ACROSTIC *on his Name.*

Moſt noble Cameron of renown,
A fame of thee ſhall ne'er go down;
Since truth with zeal thou didſt purſue,
To Zion's King loyal and true.
Ev'n when the dragon ſpu'd his flood,
Reſiſt thou didſt unto the blood:

Ran ſwiftly in thy Chriſtian race,
In faith and patience to that place
Chriſt did prepare to ſuch as thee,
He knew would not his ſtandard flee.
A pattern of valour and zeal,
Rather to ſuffer than to fail,
Didſt ſhew thyſelf with might and main,

Counting that droſs others thought gain;
A faithful witneſs 'gainſt all thoſe,
Men of all ſorts did truth oppoſe;
Even thou with Moſes didſt eſteem
Reproaches for the God of heaven:
On him alone thou didſt rely,
Not ſparing for his cauſe to die.

DAVID

DAVID HACKSTON of RATHILLET.

DAVID HACKSTON of Rathillet, in Fife, is ſaid in his younger years to have been without the leaſt ſenſe of any thing religious, until it pleaſed the Lord, in his infinite goodneſs, to incline him to go out and attend the goſpel then preached in the fields, where he was caught in the goſpel-net and became ſuch a true convert, that after a moſt mature deliberation upon the controverted points of the principles of religion in that period, he at laſt embarked himſelf in that noble cauſe, for which he afterwards ſuffered, with a full reſolution to ſtand and fall with the deſpiſed perſecuted people, cauſe, and intereſt of Jeſus Chriſt.

There is no account of any public appearance that this worthy gentleman made, amongſt that party, until the 3d of May 1679, that we find him, with other eight gentlemen, who were in queſt of one Carmichael, who, by means of the Archbiſhop, had got commiſſion to haraſs and perſecute all he could find in the ſhire of Fife, for non-conformity; but not finding him, when they were ready to drop the ſearch, they providentially met with their arch enemy himſelf. Whenever they deſcried his coach, one of them ſaid, It ſeems that the Lord hath delivered him into our hand; and propoſed they ſhould chooſe one for their leader, whoſe orders the reſt were to obey. Upon which they choſe David Hackſton for their commander: but he refuſed, upon account of a difference ſubſiſting betwixt Sharp and him in a civil proceſs, wherein he judged himſelf to have been wronged by the Primate; which deed he thought would give the world ground to think it was rather out of perſonal pique and revenge, which he profeſſed he was free of. They then choſe another, and came up with the coach; and having got the Biſhop out, and given him ſome wounds, he fell on the ground. They ordered him to pray; but, inſtead of that, ſeeing Rathillet at ſome diſtance, having never alighted from his horſe, he crept towards him on his hands and his feet, and ſaid, Sir, I know you are a gentleman, you will protect me.—To which he anſwered, I ſhall never lay a hand on you. At laſt he was killed; after which every one judged of the action as their inclination moved them. However, the deed was wholly charged upon him and his brother-in-law, Balfour of Kinloch, although he had no active hand in this action.

About the latter end of the ſame month of May, that he might not be found wanting to the Lord's cauſe, intereſt, and people, upon any emergent occaſion, he, with ſome friends from Fife, joined that ſuffering handful of covenanters at Evandale,

vandale, where, after he, Mr Hamilton, &c. had drawn up that declaration, afterwards called the Rutherglen declaration, he and Mr Douglas went to the market-croſs of Rutherglen, and upon the anniverſary day, the 29th of May, where they extinguiſhed the bonefires, and publiſhed the ſaid teſtimony. They returned back to Evandale, where they were attacked by Claverhouſe, upon the firſt of June near Drumclog. Here Mr Hackſton was appointed one of the commanding officers, under Mr Hamilton, who commanded in chief, where he behaved with much valour and gallantry during that ſkirmiſh. After which he was a very uſeful inſtrument among that faithful remnant, as witneſs his repeated proteſts againſt the corrupt and Eraſtian party, and had an active hand in the moſt part of the public tranſactions among them, until that fatal day the 22d of June, where he and his troop of horſe were the laſt upon the field of battle at Bothwell-bridge.

But this worthy and religious gentleman, being now declared a rebel to the King, though no rebel to Zion's King, and a proclamation iſſued out, wherein was a reward offered of 10,000 merks to any who could inform of or apprehend him, or any of thoſe concerned in the death of the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. Upon this, and the proclamation after Bothwell, he was obliged to retire out of the way for about a year's ſpace. In which time he did not neglect to attend the goſpel in the fields, wherever he could have it faithfully diſpenſed. But this pious gentleman, having run faſt and done much in a little time, it could not be expected he ſhould continue long; and upon the 22d of July 1680, having been with that little party a few days, who attended Mr Richard Cameron at Airs-moſs, they were ſurpriſed by Bruce of Earlſhall, Airley's troop, and Strahan's dragoons.

Here, being commander in chief of that little band, and ſeeing the enemy approaching faſt, he rode off to ſeek ſome ſtrength of ground for their better advantage, and the reſt followed; but ſeeing they could go no farther, they turned back, and drew up quickly; eight horſe on the right, and fifteen on the left; and the foot, who were but ill armed in the middle. He then aſked, if they were all willing to fight? They all anſwered, they were. Both armies advanced, and a ſtrong party of the enemy's horſe coming hard upon them, their horſe fired, killed and wounded ſeverals of them, both horſe and foot: after which they advanced to the enemy's very faces, when, after giving and receiving fire, valiant Hackſton being in the front, finding the horſe behind him broke, rode in among them, and out at a ſide, without any damage; but being aſſaulted by ſeverals, with whom he fought a long time,

they following him, and he them by turns, until he ſtuck in a bog, and the foremoſt of them, one Ramſay, one of his acquaintance, who followed him in, and they being on foot, fought with ſmall ſwords, without much advantage on either ſide. But at length cloſing, he was ſtruck down by three on horſeback behind him; and falling, after he had received three ſore wounds on the head, they ſaved his life, which he ſubmitted to. He was, with the reſt of the priſoners, carried to the rear, where they gave them all a teſtimony * of brave reſolute men. After this he was brought to Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, where Dalziel threatened to roaſt him for not ſatisfying him with anſwers. After which he and other three priſoners were taken to Edinburgh, where, by order of the Council, they were received by the magiſtrates at the water-gate, and he ſet on a horſe's bare back, with his face backward, and the other three laid on a goad of iron, and carried up the ſtreet, and Mr Cameron's head on a halbert before them, to the parliament-cloſe, where he was taken down, and the reſt looſed, by the hands of the hangman.

He was immediately brought before the Council, where his indictment was read by the Chancellor, and he examined; which examination, and his anſwers thereunto, being elſewhere † inſerted at large, it may ſuffice here to obſerve, that being aſked, if he thought the Biſhop's death murder? he told them, that he was not obliged to anſwer ſuch queſtions; yet he would not call it ſo, but rather ſay, it was not murder. Being further aſked, if he owned the King's authority, he replied, "That though he was not obliged to anſwer, yet as he was permitted to ſpeak, he would ſay ſomething to that: and, *1ſt*, That there could be no lawful authority, but what was of God, and that no authority ſtated in a direct oppoſition to God, could be of God, and that he knew of no authority nor juſticiary this day in theſe nations, but what were in a direct oppoſition to God, and ſo could neither be of God, nor lawful; and that their fruits were kything it, in that they were ſetting murderers, ſorcerers, and ſuch others, at liberty from juſtice, and employing them in their ſervice,

* Some of theſe bloody enemies ſaid, that that handful were men of the greateſt courage that ever they ſet their faces to fight againſt, although they had been at battles abroad: and that if they had been as well trained, horſed, and armed, as they were, they would ſurely have been put to flight. And few of them eſcaped, for their ſhots and ſtrokes were deadly, of which few recovered; for though there were but nine of the covenanters killed, yet there were twenty-eight of the enemy killed, or died of their wounds, in a few days. *Walker's Memoirs*, p. 56.

† See his letters and anſwers in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

ſervice, and made it their whole work to oppreſs, kill, and deſtroy the Lord's people." Biſhop Paterſon aſked, "If ever Pilate, and that judicature who were direct enemies to Chriſt, were diſowned by him as judges?" He ſaid, "He would anſwer no perjured prelate in the nation." Paterſon replied, "He could not be called perjured, ſince he never took that ſacrilegious covenant." Mr Hackſton ſaid, "That God would own that covenant, when none of them were to oppoſe it," &c. Notwithſtanding theſe bold, free, and open anſwers, they threatened him with torture; but this he nowiſe regarded.

Upon the 26th, he was again brought before the Council, where he anſwered much to the ſame purpoſe as before. The Chancellor ſaid, he was a vicious man. He anſwered, that while he was ſo, he had been acceptable to him; but now, when otherwiſe, it was not ſo. He aſked him, if he would yet own that cauſe with his blood, if at liberty?—He anſwered, that both their fathers had owned it with the hazard of their blood before him. Then he was called by all a murderer.—He anſwered, God ſhould decide it betwixt them, to whom he referred it, who were moſt murderers in his ſight, him or them. Biſhop Paterſon's brother, in conference, told him, that the whole Council found that he was a man of great parts, and alſo of good birth. He ſaid, that for his birth, he was related to the beſt in the kingdom, which he thought little of; and as for his parts, they were very ſmall; yet he truſted ſo much to the goodneſs of that cauſe for which he was a priſoner, that if they would give God that juſtice, as to let his cauſe be diſputed, he doubted not to plead it againſt all that ſpeak againſt it.

Upon the 27th, he was taken before the Juſticiary, where he declined the King's authority as an uſurper of the prerogative of the Son of God, whereby he had involved the land in idolatry, perjury, and other wickedneſs; and declined them, as exerciſing under him the ſupreme power over the church, uſurped from Jeſus Chriſt, &c.; and therefore durſt not, with his own conſent, ſuſtain them as competent judges; but declined them, as open and ſtated enemies to the living God, and competitors for his throne and power, belonging to him only.

On the 29th, he was brought to his trial, where the Council, in a moſt unprecedented way, appointed the manner of his execution; for they well knew his judges would find him guilty. And upon Friday the 30th, being brought again before them, they aſked, if he had any more to ſay.—He anſwered, What I have ſaid I will ſeal. Then they told him,

they had ſomewhat to ſay to him; and commanded him to ſit down and receive his ſentence, which he did; but told them, they were all murderers; for all the power they had was derived from tyranny; and that theſe years bygone, they had not only tyranniſed over the church of God, but alſo grinded the faces of the poor; ſo that oppreſſion, perjury, and bloodſhed, were to be found in their ſkirts.

Upon this he was carried from the bar, on a hurdle drawn backwards, unto the place of execution at the eroſs of Edinburgh. None were ſuffered to be with him but two bailies, the executioner, and his ſervants. He was permitted to pray to God Almighty, but not to ſpeak to the people. Being come upon the ſcaffold, his right-hand was ſtruck off, and a little after his left; which he endured with great firmneſs and conſtancy. The hangman being long in cutting off the right-hand, he deſired him to ſtrike in the joint of the left; which being done, he was drawn up to the top of the gallows with a pully, and ſuffered to fall down a conſiderable way upon the lower ſcaffold, three times, with his whole weight, and then fixed at the top of the gallows. Then the executioner, with a large knife, cut open his breaſt, and pulled out his heart, before he was dead, for it moved when it fell on the ſcaffold. He then ſtuck his knife in it, and ſhewed it on all ſides to the people, crying, Here is the heart of a traitor. At laſt, he threw it into a fire prepared for that purpoſe; and having quartered his body, his head was fixed on the Nether Bow, one of his quarters, with his hands, at St Andrew's, another at Glaſgow, a third at Leith, and the fourth at Bruntiſland.—Thus fell this champion for the cauſe of Chriſt, a ſacrifice unto Prelatic fury, to gratify the luſt and ambition of wicked and bloody men. Whether his courage, conſtancy, or faithfulneſs, had the pre-eminence, is hard to determine.—But his memory is ſtill alive, and it is better to ſay no more of him, than either too much or too little.

ROBERT KER of KERSLAND, Esq.

ROBERT KER of Kerſland, being born and educated in a very religious family, began early to diſcover more than an ordinary zeal for religion. But the firſt public appearance that we find he made for the cauſe and intereſt of religion, was in 1666, about Nov. 26. when he, Caldwell, and ſome others of the Renfrew gentlemen, gathered themſelves

ſelves together, and marched eaſtward to join Colonel Wallace, and that little handful who renewed the covenants at Lanark. But having heard that General Dalziel was by that time got betwixt them and their friends, they were obliged to diſmiſs. But this could not eſcape the knowledge of the managers; for the Laird of Blackſtoun, one of their own number, upon a promiſe of pardon, informed againſt the reſt, and ſo redeemed his own neck by accuſing his neighbour.——But of this he had nothing to boaſt of afterwards *.

Kerſland was after this obliged to retire out of the way; and the next year he was forfeited in his life and fortune, and his eſtate given to Lieutenant-General Drummond of Cromlie, and his lands in Beith to William Blair of that Ilk; which eſtate they unjuſtly held till the Revolution †.

After this, to elude the ſtorm, he thought fit to retire, and go over to Holland, and there choſe to live with his family at Utrecht, where he had the advantage of hearing the goſpel, and other excellent converſation. In that place he continued near three years. But his friends thinking it neceſſary that he ſhould come home to ſettle ſome of his affairs, if poſſible, his lady returned home in the end of 1669, and himſelf ſoon followed: but, to his unſpeakable grief, he found, when he came to Edinburgh, that ſhe was in a fever: She lodged in the houſe of a woman who was a favourer of the ſufferers. And though he lodged in a more private place, and only uſed to come in the evenings to viſit his ſick lady; yet one Cannon of Mardrogate, who had not altogether caſt off the maſk, at leaſt his treachery and apoſtacy was not then diſcovered, got notice of it.—He ſoon gave information to the Chancellor, and orders were procured from Lauderdale, then in town, to ſearch that houſe, on pretence that Mr John Welch was keeping conventicles in the Lady Kerſland's chamber. But the deſign was for Kerſland himſelf, as the ſequel will declare. Accordingly a party came; and finding no conventicle, were juſt going to retire; but one Murray ‡ having particular notice from Mardrogate, that when any company came to the room, Kerſland in the evening uſed to retire behind a bed; and having a torch in his hand, provided for that end, ſaid, he behoved to ſearch the room; and ſo went ſtraight behind the bed and brought him out, charging him to render his arms. Kerſland told him he had none but the Bible, which he had

* See more of this Laird of Blackſtoun, in the Appendix.

† For a particular account of this gift, ſee Samſon's Riddle, &c. page 139. 144.

‡ See more of Murray in the Appendix.

then in his hand;—and that was enough to condemn him in theſe times.—At parting with his lady, ſhe ſhewed much calmneſs and compoſure, exhorting him to do nothing that might wound his conſcience out of regard to her or her children, and repeated that text of ſcripture, *No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.*

He was forthwith taken to the guard, and then to the Abbey; where a committee of the Council, that ſame night, was gathered for his examination. When he was brought before them, they aſked him concerning the lawfulneſs of the appearance at Pentland; which he, in plain terms, owned to be lawful, and what he thought duty.—Upon which he was immediately impriſoned. When going away, the Chancellor upbraided him with what paſſed betwixt him and his lady; which he ſuffered with much patience.

He was near three months priſoner in Edinburgh; and from thence ſent to Dumbarton caſtle, where he continued near a year and a half. Then he was ordered for Aberdeen, where he was kept cloſe priſoner, without fire, for three months ſpace, in the cold winter-ſeaſon.—From Aberdeen he was brought ſouth to Stirling caſtle, where he continued ſome years; and then was, a ſecond time, returned to Dumbarton, where he continued till October 1677. Then the Council confined him to Irvine, and allowed him ſome time to tranſport himſelf and his family, then at Glaſgow, into that place.

Coming to his family at Glaſgow, he was viſited by many friends and acquaintances: and the ſame night, convoying the Lady Caldwall and her daughter, he was taken by ſome of the guards, and kept in the guard-houſe till the next day; when the commanding officer would have diſmiſſed him, but firſt he behoved to know the Archbiſhop's pleaſure, who immediately ordered him a cloſe priſoner in the tolbooth. The Archbiſhop took horſe immediately for Edinburgh: Lady Kerſland followed after, if poſſible, to prevent miſinformation.—In the mean time, a fire breaking out in Glaſgow, the tolbooth being in danger, and the magiſtrates refuſing to let out the priſoners, the well-affected people of the town got long ladders, and ſet the priſoners free, and Kerſland among the reſt, after he had been eight years priſoner. After the hurry was over, he inclined to have ſurrendered himſelf again priſoner; but hearing from his lady of the Archbiſhop's deſign againſt him, he retired and abſconded all that winter*.

In

* It would appear, that he was retaken about the end of that year, by

In the ſpring and ſummer following, he kept company with the perſecuted miniſters, and heard the goſpel preached in the fields, and was at communions, particularly that at Maybole. About the beginning of harveſt 1678, he returned again to Utrecht, where he continued untill the day of his death.

When near his departure, his dear acquaintance Sir Robert Hamilton, being with him, and ſignifying to him that he might be ſpared as another Caleb to ſee the good land when the ſtorm was over; to whom, amongſt his laſt words, he ſaid, "What is man before the Lord? yea, what is a nation? as the drop of a bucket, or the ſmall duſt in the balance: yea, leſs than nothing and vanity. But this much I can ſay in humility, that through free grace, I have endeavoured to keep the poſt that God hath ſet me at. Theſe fourteen years I have not deſired to lift the one foot before God ſhewed me where to ſet down the other." And ſo, in a few minutes, he finiſhed his courſe with joy, and fell aſleep in Jeſus, Nov. 14.

by the acts of Council, and liberate without any conditions: which was a thing uncommon at this time. Vid. Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i.

N. B. It has been thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the poſterity of ſuch ancient and religious families as this and Earlſtoun, ſhould be now extinct in their houſes and eſtates. But this needs be no paradox, for the condition of the covenant, or promiſe of property and dignity, is,—"If thy children will keep my covenant and teſtimony, their chil-"dren ſhall alſo ſit upon thy throne for ever, and ſhall return unto "the Lord thy God, and obey his voice; thy God will bring thee "unto the lands which thy fathers poſſeſſed, and thou ſhalt poſſeſs it." Now the contrary practices muſt produce the contrary effects: and upon none more remarkable than thoſe who apoſtatiſed from the profeſſion, principles, and piety of their anceſtors. It is ſaid, that Sir Thomas Gordon of Earlſtoun, fell into a profligate and irreligious life. And for Donald Ker, he fell in with King William, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in Flanders 1692. And for John Crawford, alias Ker, who married his ſiſter, and with her the eſtate of Kerſland, he got a patent to be a rogue, *patrem ſequitur ſua proles*, from Queen Anne and her miniſtry, by virtue of which, he feigned himſelf ſometimes a Jacobite, and ſometimes an old Diſſenter, or Cameronian, (as he called them), unto whom he gives high encomiums. What correſpondence he might have with ſome of thoſe who had been officers in the Angus regiment, I know not; but it is evident from the minute of the general meeting, that he was never admitted into the community or ſecrets of the old genuine Diſſenters: for though he attended one or more of their meetings, yet he was refuſed, and ſo could never influence them to publiſh any of their declarations.

The reader will find the above-mentioned patent on the frontiſpiece of his Memoirs; and what ſatisfaction he himſelf had in this dirty work, and wicked courſes in the Court's intereſt, (as he himſelf calls it), and how he was by them, paid as he deſerved, in theſe Memoirs, from p. 31. to p. 81. &c.

14. 1680, leaving his wife and five children, in a ſtrange land.

It were ſuperfluous to inſiſt here upon the character of the thrice renowned Ker. It is evident to all, he was a man of a great mind, far above a ſervile and mercenary diſpoſition.—He was, for a number of years, hurried from place to place, and guarded from priſon to priſon. He endured all this with undaunted courage.—He then loſt a good eſtate for the cauſe of Chriſt: and, though he got not the martyr's crown, yet he beyond all doubt obtained the ſufferer's reward.

MR DONALD CARGILL.

MR CARGILL ſeems to have been born ſome time about the year 1610. He was eldeſt ſon to a moſt reſpected family in the pariſh of Rattray. After he had been ſome time in the ſchools of Aberdeen, he went to St Andrew's, where having perfected his courſe of philoſophy, his father preſſed upon him much to ſtudy divinity, in order for the miniſtry; but he, through tenderneſs of ſpirit, conſtantly refuſed, telling his father, that the work of the miniſtry was too great a burden for his weak ſhoulders; and requeſted to command him to any other employment he pleaſed. But his father ſtill continuing to urge him, he reſolved to ſet apart a day of private faſting, to ſeek the Lord's mind therein. And after much wreſtling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel, and chiefly theſe words in the firſt verſe, *Son of man, eat this roll, and go ſpeak unto the houſe of Iſrael*, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon his mind, ſo that he durſt no longer refuſe his father's deſire, but dedicated himſelf wholly unto that office.

After this, he got a call to the Barony Church of Glaſgow. It was ſo ordered by Divine Providence, that the very firſt text the preſbytery ordered him to preach upon, was theſe words in the third of Ezekiel, already mentioned, by which he was more confirmed, that he had God's call to this pariſh. This pariſh had been long vacant, by reaſon that two miniſters of the Reſolution-party, viz. Meſſ. Young and Blair, had ſtill oppoſed the ſettlement of ſuch godly men as had been called by the people. But in reference to Mr Cargill's call, they were, in God's providence, much bound up from their wonted oppoſition. Here Mr Cargill, perceiving the lightneſs and unconcerned behaviour of the people under the word,

was much discouraged thereat, so that he resolved to return home, and not accept the call, which, when he was urged by some godly ministers not to do, and his reason asked, he answered, they are a rebellious people. The ministers solicited him to stay, but in vain. But when the horse was drawn, and he just going to begin his journey, being in the house of Mr Durham, when he had saluted several of his Christian friends that came to see him take horse, as he was taking farewell of a certain godly woman, she said to him, "Sir, you have promised to preach on Thursday, and have you appointed a meal for poor starving people; and will you go away and not give it? if you do, the curse of God will go with you." This so moved him, that he durst not go away as he intended; but sitting down, desired her and others to pray for him. So he remained, and was settled in that parish, where he continued to exercise his ministry with great success, to the unspeakable satisfaction both of his own parish, and all the godly that heard and knew him, until that, by the unhappy Restoration of Charles II. Prelacy was again restored.

Upon the 26th of May following, the day consecrated in commemoration of the said Restoration, he had occasion to preach in his own church, it being his ordinary week-day's preaching, when he saw an unusual throng of people come to hear him, thinking he had preached in compliance with that solemnity. Upon entering the pulpit, he said, "We are not come here to keep this day upon the account for which others keep it. We thought once to have blessed the day, wherein the King came home again, but now we think we shall have reason to curse it; and if any of you come here in order to the solemnising of this day, we desire you to remove." And enlarging upon these words in the 9th of Hosea, *Rejoice not, O Israel*, &c. he said, "This is the first step of our going a-whoring from God; and whoever of the Lord's people this day are rejoicing, their joy will be like the crackling of thorns under a pot, it will soon be turned to mourning; he (meaning the King) will be the wofullest sight that ever the poor church of Scotland saw; wo, wo, wo unto him, his name shall stink while the world stands, for treachery, tyranny, and lechery."

This did extremely enrage the malignant party againſt him, so that being hotly pursued, he was obliged to abscond, remaining sometimes in private houses, and sometimes lying all night without, among broom near the city, yet never omitting any proper occasion of private preaching, catechising, and visiting of families, and other ministerial duties. But at length, when the churches were all vacated of Presbyterians by an act of Council in 1662, Middleton sent a band of soldiers to apprehend him, who, coming to the church, found him not,

not, he having providentially juſt ſtepped out of the one door a minute before they came in at the other; whereupon they took the keys of the church-door, with them and departed.—In the mean while the Council paſſed an act of confinement, baniſhing him unto the north ſide of the Tay, under penalty of being impriſoned, and proſecuted as a ſeditious perſon:—But this ſentence he no ways regarded.

During this time, partly by grief for the ruin of God's work in the land, and partly by the toils and inconveniences of his labours and accommodation, his voice became ſo broken, that he could not be heard by many together, which was a ſore exerciſe to him, and diſcouragement to preach in the fields but one day, Mr Blackatter coming to preach near Glaſgow, he eſſayed to preach with him, and ſtanding on a chair, as his cuſtom was, he lectured on Iſ. xliv. 3, *I will pour water on him that is thirſty*, &c. The people were much diſcouraged, knowing his voice to be ſore broken, leſt they ſhould not have heard by reaſon of the great confluence. But it pleaſed the Lord to looſe his tongue, and reſtore his voice to ſuch a diſtinct clearneſs, that none could eaſily exceed him; and not only his voice, but his ſpirit was ſo enlarged, and ſuch a door of utterance given him, that Mr Blackatter, ſucceeding him, ſaid to the people, "Ye that have ſuch preaching, have no need to invite ſtrangers to preach to you; make good uſe of your mercy." After this he continued to preach without the city, a great multitude attending and profiting by his miniſtry, being wonderfully preſerved in the midſt of dangers, the enemy ſeveral times ſending out to watch him, and catch ſomething from his mouth whereof they might accuſe him, &c.

In October 1665, they made a public ſearch for him in the city. But he, being informed, took horſe, and rode out of town, and at a narrow paſs of the way, he met a good number of muſketeers. As he paſſed them, turning to another way on the right-hand, one of them aſked him, Sir, what o'clock is it? he anſwered, It is ſix. Another of them, knowing his voice, ſaid, There is the man we are ſeeking.—Upon hearing this, he put ſpurs to his horſe, and ſo eſcaped.

For about three years he uſually reſided in the houſe of one Margaret Craig, a very godly woman, where he lectured morning and evening to ſuch as came to hear him. And tho' they ſearched ſtrictly for him here, yet Providence ſo ordered it, that he was either caſually or purpoſely abſent; for the Lord was often ſo gracious to him, that he left him not without ſome notice of approaching hazard. Thus, one Sabbath, as he was going to Woodſide to preach, as he was about to

mount his horſe, having one foot in the ſtirrup, he turned about to his man, and ſaid, I muſt not go yonder to-day.—And in a little, a party of the enemy came there in queſt of him; but miſſing the mark they aimed at, they fell upon the people, by apprehending and impriſoning ſeverals of them.

Another of his remarkable eſcapes was at a ſearch made for him in the city, where they came to his chamber, and found him not, being providentially in another houſe that night.—But what is moſt remarkable, being one day preaching privately in the houſe of one Mr Callender, they came and beſet the houſe; the people put him and another into a window, cloſing the window up with books. The ſearch was ſo ſtrict, that they ſearched the very ceiling of the houſe, until one of them fell through the lower loft. Had they removed but one of the books, they would certainly have found him. But the Lord ſo ordered that they did it not; for as one of the ſoldiers was about to take up one of them, the maid cried to the commander, that he was going to take her maſter's books, and he was ordered to let them be. Thus narrowly he eſcaped this danger.

Thus he continued until the 23d of November 1668, that the Council, upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. But when he was apprehended, and compeared before the Council, and ſtrictly examined, wherein he was moſt ſingularly ſtrengthened to bear a faithful teſtimony to his Maſter's honour, and his perſecuted cauſe and truths; yet by the interpoſition of ſome perſons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relations, he was diſmiſſed, and preſently returned to Glaſgow, and there performed all the miniſterial duties, as when in his own church, notwithſtanding the diligence of perſecutors in ſearching for him again.

Some time before Bothwell, notwithſtanding all the ſearches that were made for him by the enemy, which were both ſtrict and frequent, he preached publicly for eighteen Sabbath-days to multitudes, conſiſting of ſeveral thouſands, within a little more than a quarter of a mile of the city of Glaſgow; yea, ſo near it, that the pſalms, when ſinging, were heard through ſeveral parts of it; and yet all this time uninterrupted.

At Bothwell, being taken by the enemy, and ſtruck down to the ground with a ſword, ſeeing nothing but preſent death for him, having received ſeveral dangerous wounds in the head, one of the ſoldiers aſked his name; he told him it was Donald Cargill; another aſked him, if he was a miniſter? He anſwered, he was; whereupon they let him go. When his wounds were examined, he feared to aſk if they were

mortal, desiring, in submission to God, to live, judging that the Lord had yet further work for him to accomplish.

Some time after the battle at Bothwell, he was pursued from his own chamber out of town, and forced to go through several thorn-hedges. But he was no sooner out, than he saw a troop of dragoons just opposite to him; back he could not go, soldiers being posted every where to catch him; upon which he went forward, near by the troop, who looked to him, and he to them, until he got past. But coming to the place of the water at which he intended to go over, he saw another troop standing on the other side, who called to him, but he made them no answer. And going about a mile up the water, he escaped, and preached at Langside next Sabbath, without interruption. At another time, being in a house beset with soldiers, he went through the midst of them, they thinking it was the goodman of the house, and escaped.

After Bothwell *, he fell into a deep exercise anent his call to the ministry; but, by the grace and goodness of God, he soon emerged out of that, and also got much light anent the duty of the day, being a faithful contender against the enemy's usurped power, and against the sinful compliance of ministers, in accepting the indulgence, with indemnities, oaths, bonds, and all other corruptions.

There was a certain woman in Rutherglen, about two miles from Glasgow, who, by the instigation of some, both ministers and professors, was persuaded to advise her husband to go but once to hear the curate, to prevent the family being reduced; which she prevailed with him to do. But going the next day after to milk her cows, two or three of them dropt down dead at her feet, and Satan, as she conceived, appeared unto her; which cast her under sad and sore exercises and desertion; so that she was brought to question her interest in Christ, and all that had formerly passed betwixt God and her soul, and was often tempted to destroy herself, and sundry times attempted it. Being before known to be an eminent Christian, she was visited by many Christians; but without success: still crying out, she was undone; she had denied Christ, and he had denied her. After continuing a long time in this exercise, she cried for Mr Cargill; who came to her, but found her distemper so strong, that for several visits he was obliged to leave her as he found her, to his no small grief. However, after setting some days apart on her

* It appears that it was about this time that he resolved to go over to Holland, but we have no certain account where or what time he staid there; but from the sequel of the following account, it could not be long.

her behalf, he at laſt came again to her; but finding her no better, ſtill rejecting all comfort, ſtill crying out, that ſhe had no intereſt in the mercy of God, or merits of Chriſt, but had ſinned the unpardonable ſin; he, looking in her face for a conſiderable time, took out his Bible, and, naming her, ſaid, "I have this day a commiſſion from my Lord and Maſter, to renew the marriage-contract betwixt you and him; and if ye will not conſent, I am to require your ſubſcription on this Bible, that you are willing to quit all right, intereſt in, or pretence unto him:" and then he offered her pen and ink for that purpoſe. She was ſilent for ſome time; but at laſt cried out, "O! *ſalvation is come unto this houſe.* I take him; I take him on his own terms, as he is offered unto me by his faithful ambaſſador." From that time her bonds were looſed.

One time, Mr Cargill, Mr Walter Smith, and ſome other Chriſtian friends, being met in a friend's houſe in Edinburgh, one of the company told him of the general bonding of the Weſtern gentlemen for ſuppreſſing field-meetings, and putting all out of their grounds who frequented them. After ſitting ſilent for ſome time, he anſwered, with ſeveral heavy ſighs and groans, The enemy have been long filling up their cup; and miniſters and profeſſors muſt have time to fill up theirs alſo; and it ſhall not be full till enemies and they be claſped in one another's arms; and then, as the Lord lives, he will bring the wheel of his wrath and juſtice over them altogether.

Some time after the beginning of the year 1680, he retired toward the Frith of Forth, where he continued until that ſcuffle at Queensferry, where worthy Haugh-head was killed, and he ſorely wounded. But eſcaping, a certain woman found him in a private place, to the ſouth of the town, and tying up his wounds with her head-clothes, conducted him to the houſe of one Robert Puntens, in Carlowrie, where a ſurgeon dreſſed his wounds, and Mrs Puntens gave him ſome warm milk, and he lay in their barn all night. From thence he went to the ſouth, and next Sabbath preached at Cairnhill, ſomewhere adjacent to Loudon, in his blood and wounds; for no danger could ſtop him from going about doing good. His text was in Heb. xi. 32. *And what ſhall I more ſay, for time would fail me to tell of Gideon*, &c. At night, ſome perſons ſaid to him, We think, Sir, preaching and praying go beſt with you when your danger and diſtreſs are greateſt. He ſaid, It had been ſo, and he hoped it would be ſo, that the more that enemies and others did thruſt at him that he might fall, the more ſenſibly the Lord had helped him; and then (as it had been to himſelf) he repeated theſe words, *The*

Lord is my ſtrength and ſong, and has become my ſalvation, in the 118th pſalm, which was the pſalm he ſung upon the ſcaffold.

After this, he and Mr Richard Cameron met and preached together in Darmeid-muir, and other places, until that Mr Cameron was ſlain at Airs-moſs, and then he went north, where, in the month of September following, he had a moſt numerous meeting at the Torwood, near Stirling, where he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt ſome of the moſt violent perſecutors of that day, as formally as the preſent ſtate of things could then permit. Some time before this, it is ſaid, he was very remote, and ſpoke very little in company; only to ſome he ſaid, he had a tout to give with the trumpet that the Lord had put in his hand, that would ſound in the ears of many in Britain, and other places in Europe alſo. It is ſaid *, that no body knew what he was to do that morning, except Mr Walter Smith, to whom he imparted the thoughts of his heart. When he began, ſome friends feared he would be ſhot. His landlord, in whoſe houſe he had been that night, caſt his coat and ran for it. In the forenoon, he lectured on Ezek. xxi. 25. &c. and preached on 1 Cor. v. 13. and then diſcourſed ſome time on the nature of excommunication, and then proceeded to the ſentence; after which, in the afternoon, he preached from Lam. iii. 31. 32. *For the Lord will not caſt off for ever.*

The next Lord's day, he preached at Fallow-hill, in the pariſh of Livingſtone. In the preface, he ſaid, "I know I am and will be condemned by many, for excommunicating thoſe wicked men; but condemn me who will, I know I am approven of by God, and am perſuaded, that what I have done on earth, is ratified in heaven; for, if ever I knew the mind of God, and was clear in my call to any piece of my generation-work, it was that. And I ſhall give you two ſigns, that ye may know I am in no deluſion: (1.) If ſome of theſe men do not find that ſentence binding upon them, ere they go off the ſtage, and be obliged to confeſs it, &c. (2.) If theſe men die the ordinary death of men, then God hath not ſpoken by me †."

About

* See Walker's Remarkable Paſſages of the Life of Mr Cargill, &c. p. 8.

† The firſt of theſe was clearly verified, in the caſe of Lord Rothes, and the ſecond was verified, in the rememberance of ſome yet alive. (1.) Every perſon knoweth that Charles II. was poiſoned. (2.) His brother, the Duke of York, died at St Germain's in France. (3.) The Duke of Monmouth was executed at London. (4.) The Duke of Lauderdale

About the 22d of October following, a long and ſevere proclamation was iſſued out againſt him and his followers, wherein a reward of 5000 merks was offered for apprehending him, &c. —Next month, Governor Middleton, having been fruſtrated in his deſign upon Mr Cargill at Queensferry, laid another plot for him, by conſulting one James Henderſon in Ferry, who, by forging and ſigning letters, in the name of Bailie Adam in Culroſs, and ſome other ſerious Chriſtians in Fife, for Mr Cargill to come over, and preach to them at the hill of Beith. Accordingly, Henderſon went to Edinburgh with the letters, and, after a moſt diligent ſearch, found him in the Weſt Bow. Mr Cargill being willing to anſwer the call, Henderſon propoſed to go before, and have a boat ready at the Ferry when they came; and, that he might know them, he deſired to ſee Mr Cargill's cloth, Mr Skeen and Mr Boig being in the ſame room. In the mean time, he had Middleton's ſoldiers lying at the Mutton-hole, about three miles from Edinburgh. Mr Skeen, Archibald Stuart, Mrs Muir, and Marion Hervey, took the way before, on foot; Mr Cargill and Mr Boig being to follow on horſeback. Whenever they came to the place, the ſoldiers ſpied them; but Mrs Muir eſcaped, and went and ſtopped Mr Cargill and Mr Boig, who fled back to Edinburgh.

After this remarkable eſcape, Mr Cargill, ſeeing nothing but the violent flames of treachery and tyranny againſt him, above all others, retired for about three months to England, where the Lord bleſſed his labours, to the conviction and edification of many. In the time of his abſence that deluſion of the Gibbites aroſe, from one John Gib ſailor in Borrowſtounneſs, who, with other three men, and twenty-ſix women, vented and maintained the moſt ſtrange deluſions. Some time after, Mr Cargill returned from England, and was at no ſmall pains to reclaim them, but with little ſucceſs. After his laſt conference with them *, at Darngavel, in Cambuſnethen pariſh, he came next Sabbath, and preached at the Underbank

Lauderdale turned a belly-god, and died on the chamber-box. (5.) The Duke of Rothes died raving under the dreadful terror of that ſentence, &c. (6.) Bloody Sir George Mackenzie died at London, and all the paſſages of his body running blood. (7.) General Dalziel died with a glaſs of wine at his mouth, in perfect health. See Walker's Remarks, p. 10.

* About this time the Gibbites were all taken and impriſoned in the tolbooth and correction-houſe of Edinburgh; but by the Duke of York, and his faction, were ſoon liberated; after which, the four men and two women went weſt to the Froſt-moſs, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, every one of them uſing expreſſions at that horrid action which are fearful to utter.

Underbank wood, below Lanark, and from thence to Loudon-hill, where he preached upon a faſt-day, being the 5th of May. Here he intended only to have preached once, and to have baptiſed ſome children. His text was, *No man that hath followed me in the regeneration*, &c. When ſermon was over, and the children baptiſed, more children came up; whereupon friends preſſed him to preach in the afternoon; which he did, from theſe words, *Weep not for me*, &c. In the mean while, the enemy at Glaſgow getting notice of this meeting, ſeized all the horſes in and about the town, that they could come by, and mounted in queſt of him; yea, ſuch was their haſte and fury, that one of the ſoldiers, who happened to be behind the reſt, riding furiouſly down the ſtreet called the Stockwell, at mid-day, rode over a child, and killed her on the ſpot. Juſt as Mr Cargill was praying at the cloſe, a lad alarmed them of the enemy's approach. They having no centinels that day, which was not their ordinary, were ſurpriſed that ſome of them who had been at Pentland, Bothwell, Airs-moſs, and other dangers, were never ſo ſeized with fear, ſome of the women throwing their children from them. In this confuſion Mr Cargill was running ſtraight on the enemy; but Gavin Wotherſpoon and others haled him to the moſs, unto which the people fled. The dragoons fired hard upon them; but there were none either killed or taken that day.

About this time, ſome ſpoke to Mr Cargill of his preaching and praying ſhort. They ſaid, "O Sir, it is long betwixt meals, and we are in a ſtarving condition; all is good, ſweet, and wholeſome, that you deliver, but why do you ſo ſtraiten us?" He ſaid, "Ever ſince I bowed a knee in good earneſt to pray, I never durſt preach and pray with my gifts; and when my heart is not affected, and comes not up with my mouth, I always thought it time to quit it. What comes not from the heart, I have little hope it will go to the hearts of others." Then he repeated theſe words in the 51ſt pſalm, *Then will I teach tranſgreſſors thy way*, &c.

From Loudon-hill he took a tour through Ayrſhire to Carrick and Galloway, preaching, baptiſing, and marrying ſome people; but ſtaid not long until he returned to Clydeſdale. He deſigned, after his return, to have preached one day at Tinto-hill, but the Lady of St John's Kirk gave it out to be at Home common. He being in the houſe of John Liddel, near Tinto, went out to ſpend the Sabbath morning by himſelf; and ſeeing the people all paſſing by, he inquired the reaſon; which being told, he roſe and followed them five miles. The morning being warm, (about the 1ſt of June), and the heights

heights ſteep, he was very much fatigued before he got to the place, where a man gave him a drink of water out of his bonnet, and another between ſermons; this being the beſt entertainment he got that day, for he had taſted nothing in the morning. Here he lectured on the 6th of Iſaiah, and preached on theſe words, *Be not high-minded, but fear*, &c. From thence he went to Fife, and baptiſed many children, and preached one day at Daven common, and then returned to the Benry-bridge in Cambuſnethen, where he received a call from the hands of two men, to come back to Galloway, but got it not anſwered *.

Mr Cargill, in that ſhort time, had run very faſt towards his end †, which now haſtens apace. Having left the Benry-bridge, he preached one day at Auchingilloch‡, and then came to preach his laſt ſermon on Dunſyre common, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian, upon that text, Iſ. xxvi. 20. *Come, my people, and enter into your chambers*, &c.

Some time that night, through the perſuaſion of Mr Smith and Mr Boig, he went with the Lady of St John's Kirk, as far as Covington mill, to the houſe of one Andrew Fiſher. In the mean time, James Irvine of Bonſhaw, having got a general commiſſion, marched with a party of dragoons from Kilbride, and next morning, by ſun-riſing, came to St John's Kirk, and having ſearched it, he ſearched alſo the houſe of one Thomſon, and then came to Covington mill, and there apprehended him, Mr Smith, and Mr Boig. Bonſhaw, when he found them, cried out, O bleſſed Bonſhaw! and bleſſed day that ever I was born! that has found ſuch a prize! a prize of 5000 merks for apprehending of him this morning!

They

* To theſe two men he ſaid, If I be not under a deluſion, (for that was his ordinary way of ſpeaking of things to come), the French and other foreigners, with ſome unhappy men in this land, will be your ſtroke: it will come at ſuch a nick of time, when one of thoſe nations will not be in a capacity to help another. For me, I am to die ſhortly by the hand of thoſe murderers, and ſhall not ſee it. I know not how the Lord's people will endure it, that have to meet with it; but the foreſight and forethought of it makes me tremble. And then, as if it had been to himſelf, he ſaid, Short, but very ſharp.

† Sometimes he ran on foot, having loſt ſeveral horſes in his remarkable eſcapes, one of which was ſhot under him at Linlithgow-bridge.

‡ The week before he was taken, he married two perſons; and being in the Leewood, John Weir and his wife brought him his dinner. Being preſſed to eat, he ſaid, Let me alone, I cannot be preſſed: for I took not that meal of meat theſe thirty years, but I could have taken as much when I roſe up as when I ſat down. Vide Walk. Relation, p. 45.

They marched hard to Lanark, and put them in jail, until they got ſome refreſhment, and then brought them out in haſte, got horſes, and ſet the priſoners on their bare backs. Bonſhaw tied Mr Cargill's feet below the horſe's belly, with his own hand, very hard; at which this good man looked down to him, and ſaid, "Why do you tie me ſo hard, your wickedneſs is great. You will not long eſcape the juſt judgement of God; and, if I be not miſtaken, it will ſeize you in this very place." Which accordingly next year came to paſs; for having got this price of blood, one of his comrades, in a rage, ran him through with a ſword at Lanark; and his laſt words were, "G—d d——n my ſoul eternally, for I am gone." *Miſchief ſhall hunt the violent man.*

They came to Glaſgow in haſte, fearing a reſcue of the priſoners; and while waiting at the tolbooth till the magiſtrates came to receive them, one John Niſbet, the Archbiſhop's factor, ſaid to Mr Cargill in ridicule, three times over, Will you give us one word more? (alluding to an expreſſion he uſed ſometimes when preaching); to whom Mr Cargill ſaid with regret, "*Mock not, leſt your bands be made ſtrong.* The day is coming, when you ſhall not have one word to ſay, though you would." This alſo came quickly to paſs; for, not many days after, he fell ſuddenly ill, and for three days his tongue ſwelled, and though he was moſt earneſt to ſpeak, yet he could not command one word, and died in great torment, and ſeeming terror.

From Glaſgow they were taken to Edinburgh, and, July 15th, were brought before the Council. Chancellor Rothes (being one of thoſe whom he excommunicated at Torwood) raged againſt him, threatening him with torture and a violent death. To whom he ſaid, "My Lord Rothes, forbear to threaten me, for die what death I will, your eyes ſhall not ſee it."—Which accordingly came to paſs; for he died the morning of that day, in the afternoon of which Mr Cargill was executed.

When before the Council, he was aſked, if he acknowledged the King's authority, &c.; he anſwered, as the magiſtrate's authority is now eſtabliſhed by the act of parliament, and explanatory act, that he denied the ſame. Being alſo examined anent the excommunication at Torwood, he declined to anſwer, as being an eccleſiaſtical matter, and they a civil judicatory. He owned the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms, in caſes of neceſſity, and denied that thoſe who roſe at Bothwell, &c. were rebels; and being interrogated anent the Sanquhar declaration, he declined to give his judgement until he had more time to conſider the contents thereof. He further

declared, he could not give his ſenſe of the killing of the Biſhop; but that the ſcriptures ſay, upon the Lord's giving a call to a private man to kill, he might do it lawfully; and gave the inſtances of Jael and Phinehas. Theſe were the moſt material points on which he was examined *.

While he was in priſon, a gentlewoman who came to viſit him, told him, weeping, "That theſe Heaven-daring enemies were contriving a moſt violent death for him; ſome, a barrel with pikes to roll him in; others, an iron chair, red-hot, to roaſt him in," &c. But he ſaid, "Let you, nor none of the Lord's people be troubled for theſe things, for all that they will get liberty to do to me, will be to knit me up, cut me down, and chop off my old head, and then fare them well; they have done with me, and I with them for ever."

He was again before the Council on the 19th, but refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, except anent the excommunication. There was ſome motion made to ſpare him, as he was an old man, and ſend him priſoner to the Baſs during life; which motion being put to a vote, was, by the caſting vote of the Earl of Rothes, rejected; who doomed him to the gallows, there to die like a traitor.

Upon the 26th he was brought before the Juſticiary, and indicted in common form. His confeſſion being produced in evidence againſt him, he was brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned, with the reſt, to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Nether Bow. When they came to theſe words in his indictment, viz. *having caſt off all fear of God*, &c. he cauſed the clerk to ſtop, and, pointing to the Advocate, Sir George M'Kenzie, ſaid, "The man that hath cauſed that paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conſcience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from mine infancy; but that man, I ſay, who took the Holy Bible in his hand, and ſaid, It would never be well with the land, until that book was deſtroyed, &c. I ſay, he is the man that hath caſt off all fear of God." The Advocate ſtormed at this, but could not deny the truth thereof.

When they got their ſentence announced by ſound of trumpet, he ſaid, "That is a weary ſound, but the ſound of the laſt trumpet will be a joyful ſound to me, and all that will be found having on Chriſt's righteouſneſs.

Being come to the ſcaffold, he ſtood with his back to the ladder, and deſired the attention of the numerous ſpectators; and after ſinging from the 16th verſe of the 118th pſalm, he began to ſpeak to three ſorts of people; but being interrupted

* See his examination, &c. at large in Wodrow's Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 184.

by the drums, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, "Ye ſee we have not liberty to ſpeak, or ſpeak what we would, but God knoweth our hearts." As he proceeded, he was again interrupted. Then, after a little pauſe or ſilence, he began to exhort the people; and to ſhew his own comfort in laying down his life, in the aſſurance of a bleſſed eternity, expreſſing himſelf in theſe words: "Now, I am as ſure of my intereſt in Chriſt, and peace with God, as all within this Bible and the Spirit of God can make me; and I am fully perſuaded, that this is the very way for which I ſuffer, and that he will return glorioufly to Scotland; but it will be terrifying to many; therefore I intreat you, be not diſcouraged at the way of Chriſt, and the cauſe for which I am to lay down my life, and ſtep into eternity, where my ſoul ſhall be as full of him as it can deſire to be; and now this is the ſweeteſt and moſt glorious day that ever mine eyes did ſee. Enemies are now enraged againſt the way and people of God, but ere long they ſhall be enraged one againſt another, to their own confuſion." Here the drums did beat a third time. Then, ſetting his foot on the ladder, he ſaid, "The Lord knows I go on this ladder with leſs fear and perturbation of mind, than ever I entered the pulpit to preach."—When up, he ſat down, and ſaid, "Now I am near the getting of the crown, which ſhall be ſure, for which I bleſs the Lord, and deſire all of you to bleſs him, that he hath brought me here, and made me triumph over devils, men, and ſin: They ſhall wound me no more. I forgive all men the wrongs they have done me; and I pray the ſufferers may be kept from ſin, and helped to know their duty." Then having prayed a little within himſelf, he lifted up the napkin, and ſaid, "Farewell all relations and friends in Chriſt; farewell acquaintances and earthly enjoyments; farewell reading and preaching, praying and believing, wanderings, reproach, and ſufferings. Welcome Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; into thy hands I commit my ſpirit." Then he prayed a little, and the executioner turned him over as he was praying; and ſo he finiſhed his courſe, and the miniſtry that he had received of the Lord.

Take his character from Sir Robert Hamilton of Preſton, who was his contemporary. He was affectionate, affable, and tender hearted, to all ſuch as he thought had any thing of the image of God in them; ſober and temperate in his diet, ſaying commonly, It was well won that was won off the fleſh; generous, liberal, and moſt charitable to the poor; a great hater of covetouſneſs; a frequent viſiter of the ſick; much alone, loving to be retired; but when about his Maſter's public work, laying hold of every opportunity to edify; in converſation,

verſation, ſtill dropping what might miniſter grace to the hearers; his countenance was edifying to beholders; often ſighing with deep groans; preaching in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, upon all hazards; ever the ſame in judgement and practice. From his youth, he was much given to the duty of ſecret prayer, for whole nights together; wherein it was obſerved, that, both in ſecret and in families, he always ſat ſtraight up upon his knees, with his hands lifted up; and in this poſture (as ſome took notice) he died with the rope about his neck.

Beſides his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony, and ſeveral other religious letters, with the lecture, ſermon, and ſentence of excommunication at Torwood, which are all publiſhed, there are alſo ſeveral other ſermons, and notes of ſermons, interſperſed among ſome peoples hands, in print and manuſcript, ſome of which have been publiſhed. Yet if we may believe Walker, in his Remarkable Paſſages, &c. who heard ſeverals of them preached, they are nothing to what they were when delivered; and however pathetical, yet doubtleſs far inferior to what they would have been, had they been corrected and publiſhed by the worthy author himſelf.

An Acrostic *on his Name.*

Moſt ſweet and ſavoury is thy fame,
And more renowned is thy name,
Surely than any can record,
Thou highly favoured of the Lord.
Exalted thou on earth didſt live;
Rich grace to thee the Lord did give.

During the time thou dwelt below,
On in a courſe to heaven didſt go.
Not caſten down with doubts and fears,
Aſſur'd of heaven near thirty years.
Labour thou didſt in Chriſt's vineyard;
Diligent waſt, no time thou ſpar'd.

Chriſt's ſtandard thou didſt bear alone,
After others from it were gone.
Right zeal for truth was found in thee,
Great ſinners cenſur'dſt faithfully.
In holding truth didſt conſtant prove,
Laidſt down thy life out of true love.

June 21. 1741. W. W.

Mr WALTER SMITH.

WALTER SMITH was ſon to Walter Smith in the pariſh of St Ninian's, near Airth in Stirlingſhire. He was an eminent Chriſtian and a good ſcholar. He went over to Holland, where he ſtudied ſome time under the famous Leuſden, who had a great eſteem and value for him, as being one both of high attainments and great experience in the ſerious exerciſe and ſolid practice of Chriſtianity.

In 1679, we find that he made no mean figure among that little handful of the Lord's ſuffering remnant, who roſe in their own defence at Bothwell Bridge. For he was both choſen clerk to the council of war, and alſo a commanding-officer among the honeſt party; and had the honour, not only to witneſs and proteſt againſt the ſinful compliance of that corrupt Eraſtian party, that then foiſted themſelves in amongſt them, but was alſo one of thoſe three who were then appointed to draw up the Cauſes of the Lord's wrath againſt the land, and the Hamilton declaration was to be one of the laſt cauſes thereof, with a new declaration which they intended to have publiſhed at that time; and although both of theſe were undertaken, yet the Lord did not honour them to publiſh the ſame, as ſome of them, with great regret, unto their dying day, did acknowledge *.

After the overthrow and diſſipation of the covenanters at Bothwell, wherein the Eraſtian party among them had no little hand, it appears that Mr Smith went over for ſome time to Holland, but did not ſtay long; for we meet with him again with Mr Cargill at Torwood, in September 1680; after which, he was very helpful to him in his converſation, and advice in difficult caſes, and praying in families when he was fatigued with ſore travel, being an old man, and going then often on foot, and many times in public preaching days precenting for him.

He had a longing deſire to preach Chriſt, and him crucified unto the world, and the word of ſalvation through his name. Mr Cargill had the ſame deſire; and for that end, it is ſaid, had written to two miniſters to meet him at Cummerhead in Liſmehago in Clydeſdale; but ere that day came, the door was cloſed, for they were in the enemies hands. However, Mr Smith followed the example of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, in going about doing good, in many places and to many perſons, in ſpiritual edifying converſation, and was

* See a more full account of this, in Wilſon's Relation of Bothwell Bridge, p. 13.

was a ſingular example of true piety and zeal; which had more influence upon many than moſt part of the miniſters of that day.

A little before his death, he drew up twenty-two rules for fellowſhip or ſociety meetings, which at that time greatly increaſed, from the river Tay to Newcaſtle, in which he was very inſtrumental, which afterwards ſettled into a general and quarterly correſpondence, four times yearly, that ſo they might ſpeak one with another, when they wanted the public preaching of the goſpel; and to appoint general faſting days through the whole community, wherein their own ſins, and the prevailing ſins and defections of the times, were the principal cauſes thereof; and that each ſociety was to meet and ſpend ſome time of the Lord's day together, when deprived of the public ordinances *. Mr Cargill ſaid, that theſe ſociety-meetings would increaſe more and more for a time; but when the judgements came upon theſe ſinful lands, there would be few ſtanding ſociety-meetings, when there would be moſt need, few mourners, prayers, pleaders, &c. what through carnality, ſecurity, darkneſs, deadneſs, and diviſions.

But he was now well nigh the evening of his life, and his labours both. For having been with Mr Cargill when he preached his laſt ſermon on Dunſyre common, betwixt Clydeſdale and Lothian, he was next morning, by wicked Bonſhaw, (who had formerly traded in fine horſes betwixt the two kingdoms), apprehended at Covington mill. He was, with the reſt of the priſoners, carried from Lanark to Glaſgow, and from thence taken to Edinburgh, where, upon the 15th of July, he was brought before the Council, and there examined, If he owned the King, and his authority as lawful? He anſwered, "He cannot acknowledge the preſent authority the King is now inveſted with, and the exerciſe thereof, being now clothed with a ſupremacy over the church." Being interrogate, If the King's falling from the covenant looſes him from his obedience, and if the King thereby loſes his authority? he anſwered, "He thinks he is obliged to perform all the duties of the covenant, conform to the word of God; and the King is only to be obeyed in terms of the covenant. Being further interrogate anent the Torwood excommunication, he declared, "He thought their reaſons were juſt."

On the 19th, he was again brought before them, and interrogate, If he owned the Sanquhar declaration? It was then read to him, and he owned the ſame in all its articles, except that

* The reader will find an account of theſe their tranſactions in their own regiſter, now publiſhed of late, under the title of Faithful Contendings Diſplayed.

that he looked not upon theſe perſons as the formal repreſentatives of the Preſbyterian church, as they called themſelves. And as to that expreſſion, The King ſhould have been denuded many years ago, he did not like the word *denuded*; but ſaid, What the King has done juſtifies the peoples revolting againſt him. As to theſe words, where the King is called an uſurper and a tyrant, he ſaid, Certainly the King is an uſurper, and wiſhed he was not a tyrant.

Upon the 26th, he was with the reſt brought before the Juſticiary, where, being indicted in common form, their confeſſions were produced as evidences againſt them, and they all brought in guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh, upon the 27th, and their heads to be ſevered from their bodies, and thoſe of Meſſ. Cargill, Smith, and Boig, to be placed on the Nether Bow, and the heads of the others on the Weſt Port; all which was done accordingly.

After Mr Cargill was executed, Mr Smith was brought upon the ſcaffold, where he adhered to the very ſame cauſe with Mr Cargill, and declared the ſame uſurpation of Chriſt's crown and dignity, and died with great aſſurance of his intereſt in Chriſt, declaring his abhorrence of Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, and all other ſteps of defection. He went up the ladder with all ſigns of cheerfulneſs; and when the executioner was to untie his cravat, he would not ſuffer him, but untied it himſelf, and, calling to his brother, he threw it down, ſaying, This is the laſt token you ſhall get from me. After the napkin was drawn over his face, he uncovered it again, and ſaid, I have one word more to ſay, and that is, to all who have any love to God and his righteous cauſe, that they would ſet time apart, and ſing a ſong of praiſe to the Lord, for what he has done for my ſoul, and my ſoul ſaith, To him be praiſe. Then the napkin being let down, he was turned over praying, and died in the Lord, with his face bending upon Mr Cargill's breaſt. Theſe two cleaved to one another, in love and unity, in their life; and between them, in their death, there was no diſparity. *Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleaſant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided*, &c.

The now glorified Mr Walter Smith, was a man no leſs learned than pious, faithful, and religious. His old maſter, the profeſſor of divinity at Utrecht in Holland, when he heard of his public violent bloody death of martyrdom, gave him this teſtimony, weeping, ſaying, in broken Engliſh, "O Smith! the great, brave Smith! who exceeded all that I ever taught. He was capable to teach many, but few to inſtruct him." Be-

ſides ſome letters, and the forementioned twenty-two rules for fellowſhip-meetings, he wrote alſo twenty-two ſteps of national defection; all which are now publiſhed; and if theſe, with his laſt teſtimony, be rightly conſidered, it will appear that his writings were inferior to few of the contendings of that time.

Mr ROBERT GARNOCK.

[What relates to this Worthy, is extracted from the account of his life wrote by himſelf when in priſon, yet in manuſcript; what concerns his trial and martyrdom, has been collected from hiſtory and other writings.]

ROBERT GARNOCK was born in Stirling, and baptiſed by faithful Mr James Guthrie. In his younger years, his parents took much pains to train him up in the way of duty; but ſoon after the Reſtoration, the faithful miniſters being turned out, curates were put in their place, and with them came ignorance, profanity, and perſecution. —Some time after this, Mr Law preached at his own houſe in Monteith, and one Mr Hutchiſon ſometimes at Kippen. Being one Saturday's evening gone out to his grandmother's houſe in the country, and having an uncle who frequented theſe meetings, he went along with him to a place called Shield-brae.—And next Sabbath he went with him through great difficulty, being then but young, through froſt and ſnow, and heard Mr Law at Monteith: which ſermon, through a divine bleſſing, wrought much upon his mind.—Thus he continued for a conſiderable time, to go out in the end of the week for an opportunity of hearing the goſpel, and to return in the beginning of next week to Stirling; but did not let his parents know any thing of the matter.

But one time hearing a proclamation read at the croſs, exhibiting, that all who did not hear, or receive privileges from the curates, were to be ſeverely puniſhed; which much troubled his mind, making him heſitate whether to go to a field-preaching that he heard was to be next Sabbath, or not. But at laſt he came to this reſolution; ſays he, "The Lord inclined my heart to go, and put that word to me, Go for once, go for all, if they take thee for that which is to come. So I went there, and the Lord did me good: for I got at that ſermon, that which, although they had rent me in a thouſand pieces, I would not have ſaid what I had ſaid before.

fore. So the Lord made me follow the goſpel for a long time; and though I knew little then what I meant, yet he put it in my heart ſtill to keep by the honeſt ſide, and not to comply or join with enemies of one kind or another; yea, not to watch, ward, or ſtrengthen their hands any manner of way. When I was aſked, why I would not keep watch (or ſtand centry) on the town, as it was commanded duty? I told them, I would not lift arms againſt the work of God. If ever I carried arms, it ſhould be for the defence of the goſpel."

Now he became a perſecuted man, and was obliged to leave the town. His father being a blackſmith, he had learned the ſame trade, and ſo he went ſome time to Glaſgow, and followed his occupation. From Glaſgow he returned home; and from thence went again to Borrowſtounneſs, where he had great debate, as himſelf expreſſes it,—"about that woful indulgence: I did not know the dreadful hazard of hearing them, until I ſaw they preached at the hazard of men's lives. This made me examine the matter, until I found out that they were directly wrong, and contrary to ſcripture, had changed their head, had quitted Jeſus Chriſt as their head, and had taken their commiſſion from men, owning that perjured adulterous wretch as head of the church; receiving their commiſſion to preach in ſuch and ſuch places from him, and thoſe bloody thieves under him."

From Borrowſtounneſs he returned back to Falkirk, and thence home to Stirling, where he remained for ſome time under a ſeries of difficulties; for after he got off when taken with others at the Shield-brae, while he was making bold to viſit Mr Skeen, he was taken in the caſtle, and kept all night, and uſed very barbarouſly by the ſoldiers; and at eight o'clock next morning taken before the provoſt, who not being then at leiſure, he was impriſoned till the afternoon. But by the interceſſion of one Colin M'Kenzie, to whom his father was ſmith, he was got out, and without ſo much as paying the jailor's fee. "I had much of the Lord's kindneſs at that time, (ſays he), although I did not then know what it meant; and ſo I was thruſt forth unto my wandering again."

About this time he intended to go to Ireland; but being diſappointed, he returned back to Stirling, where he was toſſed to and fro for ſome time; and yet, he remarks, he had ſome ſweet times in this condition; particularly one night, when he was down in the Carſe with one Baron Hendry *; after which, heavy trials enſued unto him from profeſſors

* This night, he ſays, they ſaw a remarkable flaſh of fire, the elements ſeeming as it were to open and then to cloſe again.

ſeſſors; becauſe he teſtified againſt every kind of their compliance with the current of the times. Upon this account, he and the ſociety-meeting he was in could not agree. This made him leave them, and go to one in the country; which, he ſays, "were more ſound in judgement, and of an undaunted courage and zeal for God and his cauſe; for the life of religion was in that ſociety."

At this time he fell into ſuch a degree of temptation, by the devices of the enemy of man's ſalvation, that he was made to ſupplicate the Lord ſeveral times, that he might not be permitted to affright him in ſome viſible ſhape; which he then apprehended he was attempting to do. But from theſe dreadful oppreſſions he was at laſt, through the goodneſs of God, happily delivered; although, as yet, he knew but little of experimental religion. And, ſays he, "The world thought I had religion: but to know the hidden things of godlineſs was yet a myſtery to me. I did not know any thing as yet of the new birth, or what it was ſpiritually to take the kingdom of heaven by violence," &c. Which ſerves to ſhew, that one may do and ſuffer many things for Chriſt and religion, and yet at the ſame time be a ſtranger to the life and power thereof.

But anon he falls into another difficulty; for a proclamation being iſſued, that all betwixt thirteen and ſixty were to pay poll-money, word was ſent his father, that if he would pay it, he ſhould have his liberty; which was no ſmall temptation. But this he abſolutely refuſed, and alſo told his father plainly, when urged by him to do it, that if one plack (or four pennies) would do it, he would not give it. His father ſaid, he would give it for him; to whom he anſwered, if he did, he needed never expect it, or any conſideration for it, from him. And for the reſult of the matter, hear his own words: "And, O! but the Lord was kind to me then; and his love was better than life. I was toſſed in my wanderings and baniſhment with many ups and downs, till I came to Edinburgh, where I heard of a communion to be on the borders of England; and then I went to it. O! let me bleſs the Lord, that ever tryſted me with ſuch a lot as that was: for the 20th, 21ſt, and 22d of April 1677, were the three moſt wonderful days with the Lord's preſence that ever I ſaw on earth. O! but his power was wonderfully ſeen, and great to all the aſſembly, eſpecially to me. O! the three wonderful days of the Lord's preſence at Eaſt-Niſbet in the Merſe. That was the greateſt communion, I ſuppoſe, theſe twenty years. I got there, what I will never forget while I live. Glory to his ſweet name, that ever there was ſuch a day in

Scotland. His work was wonderful to me, both in ſpirituals and temporals. O! that I could get him praiſed and magnified for it. He was ſeen that day ſitting at the head of his table, and his ſpikenard *ſending forth a pleaſant ſmell.* Both good and bad were made to cry out, and ſome to ſay, with the diſciples, *It is good for us to be here.* They would have been content to have ſtaid there; and I thought it was a begun heaven to be in that place."

After this, he returned home to Stirling, and got liberty to follow his employment for ſome time.—But, lo! another difficulty occured; for while the Highland hoſt was commanded weſt, in the beginning of 1678, all Stirling being commanded to be in arms, which all, excepting a very few, obeyed, he refuſed, and went out of town with theſe few, and kept a meeting. When he returned, his father told him, he was paſt for the firſt time, but it behoved him to mount guard to-morrow. He refuſed: his father was angry, and urged him with the practices of others. He told his father, he would hang his faith upon no man's belt, &c. On the morrow, when the drums beat to mount the guard, being the day of his ſocial meeting, he went out of the town under a heavy load of reproach, and even from profeſſors, who made no bones to ſay, that it was not principles of conſcience he heſitated upon, but that he might have liberty to ſtroll through the country, becauſe he attended theſe meetings; which was no eaſy matter to bear. Orders were given to apprehend him; but at that time he eſcaped their hand, and wandered from one place to another, until the beginning of Auguſt 1678, that he came to Carrick communion at Maybole; and what his exerciſe was there, himſelf thus expreſſes: "I was wonderfully tryſted there; but not ſo as at the other. I went to the firſt table, and then went and heard worthy Meſſ. Kid and Cameron preach at a little diſtance from the meeting, who never left the fields till they ſealed and crowned it with their blood. I cannot ſay but the Lord was kind to me there, on the day after, and on the faſt-day in the middle of the week after that, near the borders of Kilmarnock pariſh, where a diviſion aroſe about the indulgence, which to this day is never yet done away. After my return home, I was made to enter into covenant with him, upon his own terms, againſt the indulgence and all other compliances: and becauſe, through the Lord's ſtrength I had reſolved to keep my bargain, and not to join with them, it was ſaid, I had got new light, and I was much reproached; yet I got much of the Lord's kindneſs when attending the preached goſpel in the fields, to which I would ſometimes go twenty miles."

And

And having thus wandered to and fro for ſome time, he went to Edinburgh to ſee the priſoners, and then returned home to Stirling in the end of the week. Late on Saturday night, he heard of a field-preaching; and ſeeing the ſoldiers and troopers marching out of the town to attack the people at that meeting, he made himſelf ready, and, with a few others, went towards the meeting: and, being armed, they ſoon arrived near the place; but the ſoldiers coming forward, the people ſtill, as they approached, ſeeing the enemy, turned off. So he, a few armed men, and the miniſter, ſeeing this, took a hill above Fintry, beſide the craigs of Ballglaſs. So the enemy came forward. This little handful drew up in the beſt poſture the time and place would allow, and ſung a pſalm; at which the ſoldiers were ſo affrighted, that they told afterwards, that the very matches had almoſt fallen out of their hands. At laſt a trooper coming up, commanded them to diſmiſs: but this they refuſed. This was repeated ſeveral times, till the captain of the foot came forward, and gave them the ſame charge; which they alſo refuſed. Upon this, he commanded a party of his men to advance, and fire upon them: which they did once or twice: which was by this little company returned with much courage and agility, until the whole party, and the commanding officer, conſiſting of fourty-eight men and ſixteen horſemen, fired upon this little handful, which he thinks amounted to not above eighteen that had arms, with a few women. After ſeveral fires were returned on both ſides, one of the ſufferers ſtepped forward, and ſhot one ſide of the captain's perriwig off, at which the foot fled; but the horſemen, taking advantage of the riſing ground, ſurrounded this ſmall party. They then fired on a young man, but miſſed him. However, they took him and ſome others priſoners. The reſt fled. Robert Garnock was hindermoſt, being the laſt on the place of action, and ſays, he intended not to have been taken but rather killed. At laſt one of the enemy came after him, on which he reſolved either to kill or be killed before he ſurrendered,—catching a piſtol from one for that purpoſe. But another coming in for aſſiſtance, the trooper fled off, and ſo they eſcaped unto the other ſide of a precipice, where they ſtaid until the enemy were gone, who marched directly with their priſoners to Stirling.

After the fray was over, Robert ſtaid till evening, and ſpoke with ſome friends and the miniſter, who diſſuaded him all they could from going into Stirling. But being now approaching toward the eve of his pilgrimage ſtate, with Paul in another caſe, when going up to Jeruſalem, he could not be prevailed upon; and ſo went to town: and entering it about one

in the morning, he got into a houſe at the foot of the Caſtlehill, and there got his arms left with much difficulty: but, as he was near the head of the Caſtlehill, he was, by two ſoldiers, who were lying in wait for thoſe who had been at that meeting, apprehended and brought to the guard; and then brought before Lord Linlithgow's ſon: who aſked him, if he was at that preaching? he told him he was at no preaching. Linlithgow's ſon ſaid, he was a liar. Robert ſaid he was no liar; and ſeeing ye will not believe me, I will tell no more: prove the reſt. Linlithgow ſaid, he would make him do it. But he anſwered, he ſhould not. Then he aſked his name, trade, and his father's name, and where they dwelt? all which he anſwered. Then he bade keep him faſt. At night, he was much abuſed by the ſoldiers; ſome of them who had been wounded in the ſkirmiſh, threatening him with torture, gagging in the mouth, &c. all which he bore with much patience. In the morning, a ſerjeant came to examine him; but he refuſed him as a judge to anſwer to. At laſt, the commanding officer came and examined him, If he was at that ſkirmiſh? He anſwered, That for being there he was taken; and whether I was there or not, I am not bound to give you an account. So he went out, and in a little returned with the provoſt, who thought to ſurplant him by aſking, Who of Stirling folk was there? he anſwered, That they were both your neighbours and mine; and though he had been there, he might account him very impudent to tell: for though he thought it his duty to aſk, yet it was not his to tell or anſwer: and he thought he ſhould rather commend him for ſo doing. After ſeveral other things anent that affair, he was commanded to cloſe priſon; and none, not ſo much as his father, allowed to ſpeak to him; but he did not want company at that time; for, ſays he, "O but I had a ſweet time of it! the Lord's countenance was better unto me than all the company in the world."

The forementioned ſkirmiſh had fallen out May 8. 1679; and upon the 19th of the ſame month, he was put into the common priſon, amongſt malefactors; where he got ſome more liberty, having ſome others of the ſufferers with him. However, they were very much diſturbed by a notorious murderer, who, being drunk one time, thought to have killed him with a large plank or form. But happily the ſtroke did not hurt him, though he ſtruck with all his force twice, whereby another was almoſt killed. This made him and other five to lie ſometimes upon the ſtairs; for they could have no other place; though they deſired the thieves-hole, they could not obtain it. And thus they paſſed the time

with

with much pain and trouble, until June 10. that the Fifemen were broke at Bewly *, and numbers taken, which were brought in priſoners on the 11th; whereby they were very much thronged. Here he continued till the break at Bothwell on the 22d, after which, there was no ſmall confuſion by tendering and preſſing of a bond of conformity, againſt offenſive arms, wherein he got his ſhare during that time.

Upon the 13th of July, he was brought forth, and in company with about 100 more priſoners, under a ſtrong guard of red coats, taken from Stirling to Edinburgh, and put into the Grayfriars church-yard, amongſt the Bothwell priſoners: there he was more vexed, both by the enemy and his fellow-ſufferers, than ever. A ſpecimen of which is here given in his own words: "Some of my neighbours deſired the bond, ſo they put it to me; but I refuſed. However, the moſt part of them took it. Nay, there were ſome of them ſupplicated for any bond. This made ſome of us conclude it was our duty to teſtify againſt it; which piece of employment was put upon me, againſt which ſome of the priſoners obteſted. So I was rendered odious; but many a day the Lord was kind to me in that yard, and kept me from many a fear and ſnare; his love was ſweet unto me. The men complained of us to the commanders, who ſent for me and examined me, on the bond and other things: they ſaid, I ſhould be gagged, and every day I was vexed with them, until almoſt the whole priſoners petitioned for it.—And there was as good as ſeventy miniſters ſent into the yard to take it; and they ſaid, it was not a head to ſuffer upon: when they had done, they ſent in two gentlewomen with the commiſſion; and they ſet upon me: I told them, if every one of them had as much of it as I had, they would not be ſo buſy to preſs it: for before this, the bloody crew came to the yard, and called on me, and aſked, if I would take the bond. I ſaid, No. They ſaid, I would get no other ſentence.—So I was ſore put to it: I would often have been at the doing of ſomething; but the Lord would not ſuffer me. So, in his ſtrength, I fought on againſt my own heart and them all, and overcame. But, O! the croſs was ſweet and eaſy unto me. There needs none fear to venture on ſuffering in his way and ſtrength. O happy days, that ever I was tryſted with ſuch a thing! My bargaining with lovely Jeſus was ſweet unto me. It is true, affliction, for the preſent, ſeems not joyous but grievous; but afterwards

* This ſeems to have been the ſkirmiſh at Bewly-bog only mentioned in hiſtory.

afterwards *it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteouſneſs to thoſe who are exerciſed thereby.* I never knew the treachery of miniſters, and their dreadful hypocriſy and double dealing in the matters of God, before that time, and I could never love them after that; for they made many one rack their conſcience in taking that bond. I was brought out of the yard, October 25. with a guard of ſoldiers; when coming out, one Mr White aſked, if I would take the bond? I, ſmiling, ſaid, No. He, in way of jeer, ſaid, I had a face to glorify God in the Graſsmarket. So I bade farewell to all my neighbours, who were ſorry; and White bade me take goodnight with them, for I ſhould never ſee them more. But I ſaid, Lads, take good heart; for we may meet again for all this. So I was brought before their Council-court. They aſked, if I would take the bond? I ſaid, No. Some of them ſaid, May be he does not know it; but Hatton ſaid, He knows it well enough. So one of them read it. I aſked, if they would have me ſubſcribe a lie to take away my life; for I never was in rebellion, nor intended to be ſo. They ſaid, they would make another bond for me. I anſwered, they needed not trouble themſelves; for I was not deſigned to ſubſcribe any bond at this time.

Q. "Will you riſe in rebellion againſt the King?"

A. "I was not riſing in rebellion againſt the King."

Q. "Will you take the bond, never to riſe againſt the King and his authority?"

A. "What is the thing ye call authority? They ſaid, If they, the ſoldiers or any other ſubject, ſhould kill me, I was bound not to reſiſt. I anſwered, That I will never do."

Q. "Is the Biſhop's death murder?"

A. "I am a priſoner; and ſo no judge."

Q. "Is Bothwell Bridge rebellion?"

A. "I am not bound to give my judgement in that."

"Then one of them ſaid, I told you what the rebel raſcal would ſay: you will be hanged, Sir. I anſwered, you muſt firſt convict me of a crime. They ſaid, You did excommunicate priſoners for taking the bond. I ſaid, That was not in my power; and moreover, I was now before them, and prove it if they were able. They ſaid, They would hang me for rebellion. I ſaid, You cannot: for if you walk according to your own laws, I ſhould have my liberty. They ſaid, Should we give a rebellious knave, like you, your liberty? you ſhould be hanged immediately. I anſwered, That lies not yet in your power: ſo they cauſed quickly to take me away, and put me in the iron-houſe tolbooth. Much more paſſed that I muſt not ſpend time to notice."

So

So they brought me to the iron-houſe, to fifteen of my dear companions in tribulation; and there we were a ſweet company, being all of one judgement. There ſerving the Lord, day and night, in ſingleneſs of heart, his bleſſing was ſeen amongſt us; for his love was better than life. We were all with one accord tryſted ſweetly together: and O it was ſweet to be in this company, and pleaſant to thoſe who came in to ſee us, until the indictments came in amongſt us. There were ten got their indictments. Six came off, and four got their ſentence, to die at Magus muir. There were fifteen brought out of the yard, and ſome of them got their liberty offered, if they would witneſs againſt me. But they refuſed; ſo they got all their indictments; but all complied, ſave one, who was ſentenced to die with the other four at Magus muir."

In this ſituation he continued till November 13. that he was, by the interceſſion of ſome friends, brought to the weſt galleries on the other ſide of the tolbooth, where he continued ſome time, till called again before ſome of the Council; after which, he was again committed to cloſe priſon for a time, till one night, being called forth by one of the keepers, one Mr John Blair, being preſent, accoſted him thus, Wherefore do ye refuſe the bond? He anſwered, I have no time now for that matter. But out of that place, ſaid Blair, you ſhall not go, for the covenants and the 13th of the Romans bind you to it. I anſwered, No; they juſt bound me to the contrary. What if Popery ſhould come to the land, ſhould we bind ourſelves never to defend the true religion? He ſaid, We were looſed then. I ſaid, No; Preſbyterians are taken by their word, and they ſhould abide by it: and ere all were done, it ſhould be a dear bond unto them: as for my part, I would rather go to the Graſsmarket, and ſeal it with my blood, &c. After he came down, the keeper of the tolbooth abuſed him in a very indiſcreet manner, ſaying, that if there were no more men, he ſhould be hanged; and that he was an ignorant fool; miniſters nor men could not convince him; and bade take him off again to cloſe priſon, where he was again as much vexed with a company of bonders as ever: for they were not only become lax in principle, but in duty alſo; ſo he roundly told them, "You are far from what you were in the iron-houſe, before you took the bond: then you would have been up at duty by two or three in the morning; now you lie in bed till eight or nine in the day. They ſaid, It was true enough; but ſaid no more."

After theſe got their liberty, he was accompanied with ſome other priſoners, ſome of whom were kept in for debt. And then, he ſays, he would have been up by four in the morn-

ing, and made exerciſe amongſt them three times a-day; and the Lord was kind to him during that time; and he reſolved never to make any compliance; and in this he was made to *eat meat out of the eater, and ſweet out of the ſtrong.* But ſome gentlemen, priſoners for religion, where he was before, prevailed with the keeper of the tolbooth, to have him back to them about the beginning of 1680. But here the old temptation to compliance, and tampering with the enemy, was afreſh renewed; for the miniſters coming in to viſit theſe, when they could do no more, they brought miniſters to the rooms to preach, and make him hear them; which he poſitively refuſed. At laſt, they brought a miniſter, one of his acquaintance; him that ſhould have preached that day he was taken *. But hearing that he had made ſome compliance with the enemy, he would not go to the next room to hear him make exerciſe, till he knew the certainty of the matter. After which, he came to another room, where they had ſome conference. A ſhort hint of it is here ſubjoined. "He aſked after my welfare; and if I was going out of priſon? I told him, I bleſſed the Lord for it, I was well, and was not going out yet." After ſome converſation anent field-preachings, particularly one by worthy Mr Cameron at Monkland, which he condemned, "he aſked, Why I did not hear miniſters? I anſwered, I deſired to hear none but what are faithful; for I am a priſoner, and would gladly be in the right way, not to wrong myſelf. He ſaid, Wherein are they unfaithful? I ſaid, In changing their head, quitting the Lord's way, and taking on with covenant-breakers, murderers of his people, &c. He ſaid, How could you prove that? I ſaid, Their practice proves it. He ſaid, Theſe were but failings, and theſe would not perjure a man; and it is not for you to caſt off miniſters: you know not what you are doing. *A.* I do not caſt them off: they caſt off themſelves, by quitting the holding of their miniſtry of Chriſt. *Q.* How prove you that? *A.* The 10th of John proves it; for they come not in by the door. You may put me wrong; but I think, that in Gal. i. 6. *I marvel, that ye are ſo ſoon removed from him that called you*, &c. you may read that at your leiſure, how Paul had not his goſpel from men, nor by the will of men. He ſaid, Lay by theſe: but what is the reaſon you will not hear others? I ſaid, I deſire to hear none of theſe gaping for the indulgence, and not faithful in preaching againſt it."

After ſome conference anent Meſſ. Cameron and Cargill, in which he ſaid, Mr Cameron was no miniſter, and Mr Cargill

* Whether this was Mr Law, after the revolution miniſter at Edinburgh, Mr Hutcheſon, or another, is not aſcertained.

Cargill was once one, and had quitted it; that they received their doctrines from men, their hearers, who ſaid, You muſt preach ſuch and ſuch doctrines, and we will hear you. To all which the martyr gave pertinent anſwers. He ſaid, "Robert, do not think I am angry that you come not to hear me; for I deſire not you, nor any of your faction, to come and hear me, for I cannot preach to all your humours." I ſaid, it was all the worſe for that. He ſaid, none of theſe faults would caſt off a miniſter: They were but failings, not principles. I ſaid, I could not debate; but I ſhould let any Chriſtian judge, if it was no principle for a miniſter to hold Chriſt head of the church. I told him, that there was once a day I would have ventured my life at his back for the defence of Chriſt's goſpel; but not now: And I was more willing to lay down my life now, for his ſweet and dear truths, than ever I was. He ſaid, the Lord pity and help me. I ſaid, I had much need of it. And ſo he went away, and rendered me odious. This, amongſt other things, made me go to God, and to engage in covenant with his Son never to hear any of thoſe who betrayed his cauſe, till I ſaw evidences of their repentance. And I would have been willing to have quitted all for that chiefeſt among ten thouſands."

Thus he continued, till, he ſays, he got bad counſel from ſome of his friends to ſupplicate for his liberty; and they prevailed ſo far as to draw up a ſupplication, and brought him to ſubſcribe. But when they had got him to take the pen in his hand, "The Lord bade me hold," ſays he; "and one came and bade me take heed. So I did it not; for which I bleſs his holy name. But this lets me ſee, there is no ſtanding in me. Had it not been his free love, I had gone the blackeſt way ever one did," &c.

The night before gallant Hackſton was executed, being down ſtairs; and hearing of the way and manner he was to be executed, he went up ſtairs, (though it was treaſon to ſpeak to him), and told him of it; which he could ſcarcely believe. But the keepers hearing, came up to perſuade him to the contrary, and to put Robert in the irons. However, they got eight grey coats who watched Mr Hackſton all night, perſuading him to the contrary; ſo that he did not know till at the place of execution.

It would appear, he was not put in the irons then until ſome time after, that a young woman, who was taken at the Ferry when Hallhead was killed, who having liberty to come into the Lady Gilkercleugh, then in priſon, was conveyed out in a gentleman's habit; of which he and another got the blame, though entirely innocent; for which they were laid in

irons; the other got his liberty; but Robert continued alone ſome time, till they intended to ſend him off with ſome ſoldiers to Tanquirs. But the Lord having otherwiſe determined, they could not get as many of the Council convened as to get an order made out; and ſo he was continued in priſon; during which time, he endured a ſore conflict with thoſe his fellow-priſoners who ſtill complied, and got off, and others came in their place, who ſet upon him afreſh; ſo that he, and any one who was of his opinion, could ſcarcely get liberty to worſhip God in the room without diſturbance, calling him a devil, &c. And thoſe who were faithful, and a comfort to him, were ſtill taken from him, and executed, while he was retained (his time not being yet come) in priſon, where he was ſome time with one John Scarlet, who, he ſays, was one of the baſeſt of creatures.

To relate all the trials and difficulties he underwent, during the time of his impriſonment, near the ſpace of two years and a half, with his various exerciſes, with the remarkable goodneſs of God towards him all that time, would be more than can conveniently be accompliſhed at preſent. I ſhall only notice one or two very ſtrange occurrences of divine providence towards him; which he obſerves, with a few of his own expreſſions concerning himſelf and exerciſe, and his condition toward the end of his narrative and life alſo: which follows in his own words.

"I have no reaſon, "ſays he, "but to go through with cheerfulneſs, whatever he puts me to for owning of his cauſe: for if it had not been his ſweet love to me, I might have been a ſufferer for the worſt of crimes: for there is in me what is in the worſt of creatures; a remarkable inſtance of which I was tryſted with long ſince, which, while I live, I will not forget. Being at home working with my father, and having mended a cheſt-lock to an honeſt woman, I went home with it to put it on. The woman not being at leiſure, there was a gun ſtanding beſide me; and I oft times having guns amongſt my hands to dreſs, took it up, and, not adverting that it was loaded, thinking the gun not good, tried to fire it; whereupon it went off, and the ball went up through a loft above, and had almoſt killed a woman and a child; and had not Providence directed that ſhot, I had ſuffered as a murderer: And am I not obliged to follow and ſuffer for the *chiefeſt among ten thouſands*, that has ſo honoured me a poor wretch? for many other things have eſcaped me; but I may not ſtay to mention what the Lord has done for me, both at field-preachings and other places.

"I have had a continued warfare, and my predominants grew

grew mightily on my hand, which made my life ſometimes heavy; but among the many ſweet nights and days I have had, was that 23d in the evening, and 24th in the morning, of Auguſt 1681. The Lord was kind to me. That was the beginning of mornings indeed, whereon I got ſome of the Lord's love, and whereon I got an open door, and got a little within the court, and there was allowed to give in what I had to ſay, either as to my own ſoul's caſe, or the caſe of the church, which is low at this day. I have indeed had ſome ſweet days ſince; but I have miſguided them, and could not keep in with him: for my corruptions are ſo mighty, that ſometimes I have been made to cry out, Woes me that ever I was born a man of ſtrife and contention to many. *O wretched man that I am! who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* But the Lord maketh up all again with his love; ſo that I have many ups and downs in my caſe. I have forgotten ſome things particularly worthy remark; ſuch as, one night I was ſet upon by a French captain, when out of town; but the Lord remarkably delivered me, and brought me back again. So the Lord has let me ſee, I might have ſuffered for worſe actions. So that I have no ground but to be for God while I live, and bleſs his name that ever honoured me with this dignity of ſuffering for his name and honourable cauſe.

"What will become of me, is yet uncertain; but upon ſome conſiderations what the land was doing in bringing in of Popery, the love I bear to the Lord, and his righteous cauſe, made me give in my proteſtation againſt the parliament, which this preſent year, 1681, has made laws for the ſtrengthening of Popery: and I could do no leſs; for the glory of God was dearer to me than my life.

"And now, for any thing I know, I will be tortured, and my life taken, and ſo will get no more written. As to any that read it, I beg of them to ſhun all that is evil in my life, as they wiſh to ſhun hell; and if there be any thing in it that is for uſe, I requeſt the Lord that he may bring it home upon them when I am gone, and make it uſeful for them that read it.—So I bid you all farewell, deſiring none of you may ſlight your time or duty as I have done; but ſhun the appearances of evil, cleave to that which is good, and ſpend much of your time with God. Be not idle night nor day; and give not ever much ſleep unto yourſelves.—O! Sirs, if you would be prevailed with to ſpend time for God, it would be the ſweeteſt and moſt deſirable ſervice ever you took in hand. O be perſuaded to fall in love with him, who is, without compare, *the chiefeſt among ten thouſands, yea, altogether lovely.*—Take

him for your all, and bind yourſelves hand and foot to his obedience. Let your ears be nailed to the poſts of his doors, and be his ſervants for ever.

" And now, ſeeing I get no more time allowed me here on earth, I cloſe with my hearty farewell to all friends; and pray the Lord may guide them in all truth, and keep them from dreadful ſnares that are coming through this covenanted land of Scotland. So I bid you all farewell, and be faithful to the death. I know not certainly what may become of me after this; but I look and expect, that my time in this world is now near an end, and ſo deſire to welcome all that the Lord ſends. Thinking preſently to be called in before God's enemies, I ſubſcribe it, ROBERT GARNOCK."

Sept. 28. 1781.

And having now with pleaſure heard ſomewhat of the life and exerciſes of Robert Garnock, we come now to notice ſomewhat anent his trial, death, or martyrdom, which now haſtens apace. So, according to his own expectation above narrated, he was brought before the Council, October 1. where he diſowned the King's authority, refuſed them as his judges, and on the 7th was brought before the Juſticiary, and indicted, " That he did before the Council, on the 1ſt of October, decline the authority of the King and Council, and called the King and Council tyrants, murderers, perjured, and manſworn; declaring it was lawful to riſe in arms againſt them: And gave in a moſt treaſonable paper, termed, *A Proteſtation and Teſtimony againſt Parliamenters;* wherein he terms the members of parliament idolaters, uſurpers of the Lord's inheritance; and proteſts againſt their procedure in their hell hatched acts: which paper is ſigned by his hand, whereby he is guilty of treaſon. And further gave in a declaration to the Council, wherein the ſaid Robert Garnock diſowns the King's authority and government, and proteſts againſt the Council as tyrants. Therefore," &c. By ſuch an explicit confeſſion, his own papers being turned to an indictment, without any matters of fact againſt him, there was no difficulty of probation, his own proteſt and declinature being produced before the Juſticiary, and aſſize to whom he was remitted. But before the aſſize were incloſed, Robert Garnock, and other five who were indicted with him, delivered a paper to the inqueſt, containing a proteſtation and warning, wherein " they adviſe them to conſider what they are doing, and upon what grounds they paſs a ſentence upon them. They declare they are no rebels; they diſown no authority that is according to the word of God, and the covenants the land is bound by. They charge them to conſider how deep a guilt

covenant-

covenant-breaking is; and put them in mind they are to be anſwerable to the great Judge of all for what they do in this matter; and ſay they do this, ſince they are in hazard of their lives, and againſt them. It is a dangerous thing to paſs a ſentence on men merely becauſe of their conſcience and judgement, only becauſe they cannot in conſcience yield to the iniquitous laws of men: That they are free ſubjects, never taken in any action contrary to the preſent laws. Adding, that theſe whom they once thought ſhould or would rule for God, have turned their authority for tyranny and inhumanity; and employ it both in deſtroying the laws of God, and murdering his people againſt and without law, as we ourſelves can prove and witneſs when brought in before them. After two years impriſonment, one of them moſt cruelly and tyrant-like roſe from the place of judgement, and drew a ſword, and would have killed one of us *; but Providence ordered it otherwiſe; however, the wound is yet to be ſhown. The like action was never heard or read of. After reminding them of David Finlay murdered at Newmills, Mr Mitchell's caſe, and James Lermond, who was murdered after he was three times freed by the aſſize, they add, that after ſuch murders as deſerve death, they cannot ſee how they can own them as judges, charging them to notice what they do; aſſuring them their blood will be heavy upon them: Concluding with Jer. xxvi. 15.; and charging them not to take innocent blood on their heads." Subſcribed at Edinburgh, October 7. 1681.

ROBERT GARNOCK, D. FARRIE, JA. STEWART, ALEX. RUSSELL, PAT. FORMAN, and G. LAPSLY.

Notwithſtanding all this, they were brought in guilty, and ſentenced to be executed at the Gallow-lee, betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, upon the 10th inſtant; Forman's hand to be cut off before, and the heads and hands of the reſt after death, and to be ſet upon the Pleaſance port.

What his deportment and exerciſes were at the place of execution, we are at a loſs to deſcribe; but, from what is already related, we may ſafely conclude, that, through divine grace, his demeanour was truly noble and Chriſtian. But, that the reader may gueſs ſomewhat of his exerciſes, temper, and diſpoſition, about that time, I ſhall extract a few ſentences of his own words from his laſt ſpeech and dying teſtimony.

"I bleſs the Lord, that ever he honoured the like of me with a bloody gibbet and bloody winding-ſheet for his noble, honourable,

* Probably this was R. Garnock, who, though a private man, was honoured of the Lord to be a public witneſs, which was moſt galling to them.

honourable, and ſweet cauſe. O will ye love him, Sirs? O he is well worth the loving, and quitting all for. O for many lives to ſeal the ſweet cauſe with: if I had as many lives as there are hairs on my head, I would think them all little to be martyrs for truth. I bleſs the Lord, I do not ſuffer unwillingly nor by conſtraint, but heartily and cheerfully. I have been a long time priſoner, and have been altered of my priſon. I was amongſt and in the company of the moſt part who ſuffered ſince Bothwell, and was in company with many enſnaring perſons; though I do not queſtion their being godly folk; and yet the Lord kept me from hearkening to their counſel. Glory, glory to his holy and ſweet name. It is many times my wonder how I have done ſuch and ſuch things; but it is he that has done it: he hath done all things in me and for me: holy is his name. I bleſs the Lord I am this day to ſtep out of time into eternity, and I am no more troubled, than if I were to take a match by marriage on earth, and not ſo much. I bleſs the Lord I have much peace of conſcience in what I have done. O but I think it a very weighty piece of buſineſs to be within twelve hours of eternity, and not troubled. Indeed the Lord is kind, and has trained me up for this day, and now I can want him no longer. I ſhall be filled with his love this night; for I will be with him in paradiſe, and get a new ſong put in my mouth, the ſong of Moſes and the Lamb: I will be in amongſt the general aſſembly of the firſt-born, and enjoy the ſweet preſence of God and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect: I am ſure of it.

"Now my Lord is bringing me to conformity with himſelf, and honouring me with my worthy paſtor Mr James Guthrie: although I knew nothing when he was alive, yet the Lord hath honoured me to proteſt againſt Popery, and to ſeal it with my blood: and he hath honoured me to proteſt againſt Prelacy, and to ſeal it with my blood. The Lord has kept me in priſon to this day for that end. Mr Guthrie's head is on one port of Edinburgh, and mine muſt go on another. Glory, glory to the Lord's ſweet name, for what he hath done for me.

"Now I bleſs the Lord, I am not, as many ſuſpect me, thinking to won heaven by my ſuffering. No, there is no attaining of it but through the precious blood of the Son of God. Now, ye that are the true ſeekers of God, and the butt of the world's malice, O be diligent, and run faſt. Time is precious; O make uſe of it, and act for God; contend for truth; ſtand for God againſt all his enemies; fear not the wrath of man; love one another; wreſtle with God; mutually, in ſocieties, *confeſs your faults one to another; pray one with another; reprove,*

reprove, exhort, and rebuke one another in love. Slight no commanded duty: Be faithful in your ſtations, as you will be anſwerable at the great day; ſeek not counſel from men; follow none further than they hold by truth.

"Now, farewell, ſweet reproaches for my lovely Lord Jeſus, though once they were not joyous but grievous, yet now they are ſweet. And I bleſs the Lord for it, I heartily forgive all men for any thing they have ſaid of me; and I pray it may not be laid unto their charge in the day of accounts: and for what they have done to God and his cauſe, I leave that to God and their own conſcience. Farewell, all Chriſtian acquaintance, father, mother, &c. Farewell, ſweet priſon for my royal Lord Jeſus Chriſt, now at an end. Farewell, all croſſes of one ſort or another: and ſo farewell, every thing in time, reading, praying, and believing. Welcome, eternal life, and the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect: Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: into thy hands I commit my ſpirit.——*Sic ſubſcribitur,*

"ROBERT GARNOCK."

Accordingly, the foregoing ſentence in all its parts was executed upon them all, except Lapſly, who got off. And ſo they had their paſſage from the valley of miſery into the celeſtial country above, to inhabit the land *where the inhabitants ſay not, I am ſick, and the people that dwell therein are forgiven their iniquities.*

Thus ended Robert Garnock in the flower of his youth; a young man, but old in experimental religion. His faithfulneſs was as remarkable as his piety, and his courage and conſtancy as both. He was inured into tribulations almoſt from his youth, wherein he was ſo far from being diſcouraged at the croſs of Chriſt, that he, in imitation of the primitive martyrs, ſeemed rather ambitious of ſuffering. He always aimed at honeſty; and, notwithſtanding all oppoſition from pretended friends and profeſſed foes, he was, by the Lord's ſtrength, enabled to remain unſhaken to the laſt: for, though he was nigh tripped, yet with the faithful man he was ſeldom foiled, never vanquiſhed. May the Lord enable many in this apoſtate, inſidious, and lukewarm generation, to emulate the martyr, in imitation of him who now inherits the promiſe, *Be thou faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life.*

N. B. The faithful and pious Mr Renwick was preſent, and was much affected at the above execution: after which, he aſſembled ſome friends, and lifted their bodies in the night, and buried them in the Weſt Kirk. They alſo got their heads

heads down; but, day approaching, they could not make the ſame place, but were obliged to turn aſide to Laurieſton's yards, in whom one Alexander Tweedie, then in company with them, was gardener, where they in a box interred them. The ſaid gardener, it is ſaid, planted a white-roſe buſh above them, and a red one below them a little; which proved more fruitful than any buſhes in all the garden. This place being uncultivated for a conſiderable time, they lay till October 7. 1728, that another gardener, trenching the ground, found them. They were lifted, and by direction were laid on a table in the ſummer-houſe of the proprietor; and a fair linen cloth cut out and laid upon them, where all had acceſs to come and ſee them; where they beheld a hole in each head, which the hangman broke with his hammer, when he drove them on the pikes. On the 19th, they were put in a full coffin, covered with black, and by ſome friends carried into Gray friars church-yard, and interred near the martyrs tomb, being near forty-five years ſince their ſeparation from their bodies, they were reburied on the ſame day, Wedneſday, and about four o'clock afternoon, the ſame time that at firſt they went to their reſting-place: and attended, ſays one preſent, "with the greateſt multitude of people, old and young men and women, miniſters and others, that ever I ſaw together." And there they lie, awaiting a glorious reſurrection on the morning of the laſt day, when they ſhall be raiſed up with more honour, than at their death they were treated with reproach and ignominy.

MR ROBERT M'WARD.

MR ROBERT M'WARD was born in Glenluce. After he had gone through his courſes of learning at the univerſity, he was ordained miniſter of the goſpel at Glaſgow, where he continued for ſome time, in the faithful diſcharge of his duty, until the year 1661, that this good man and affectionate preacher began to obſerve the deſign of the then managers to overturn the whole covenanted-work of reformation. In the month of February that year, he gave a moſt faithful and ſeaſonable teſtimony againſt the glaring defections of that time, in an excellent ſermon in the Trone Church of Glaſgow, upon a week-day; which ſermon was afterwards the ground of a moſt ſevere proſecution. His text was in Amos iii. 2. *You have I known of all the families of the*

earth, &c. He had preached upon it for ſome time upon the week-days; and, after he had run through perſonal abounding ſins, and thoſe of the city, he came to the general and national ſins that were then abounding. And, having enlarged upon theſe things in ſcriptural eloquence, in a moſt moving way, he gives a good many pertinent directions to mourn, conſider, repent, and return, to wreſtle and pour out their ſouls before the Lord, and encourageth them to theſe duties from this, "That God will look upon theſe duties as their diſſent from what is done, prejudicial to his work and intereſt, aud mark them among the mourners of Zion." But what was moſt noticed, was that with which he cloſeth this ſermon, "As for my part, (ſaith he), as a poor member of this church of Scotland, and an unworthy miniſter in it, I do this day call you who are the people of God to witneſs, that I humbly offer my diſſent to all acts which are or ſhall be paſſed againſt the covenants and the work of reformation in Scotland. And, 2*dly*, I proteſt that I am deſirous to be free of the guilt thereof; and pray that God may put it upon record in heaven."

The noiſe of this ſermon quickly flew abroad, and Mr M'Ward was brought to Edinburgh under a guard, and impriſoned. Very ſoon after, he had an indictment given him by the King's Advocate, for treaſonable preaching and ſedition. What the nature of his indictment was, we may eaſily gueſs from the ſcope of his excellent ſermon. He was allowed lawyers, whereby his proceſs became pretty long and tedious. Upon the 6th of June, he was brought before the parliament, where he had a very public opportunity to give a proof of his eminent parts and ſolid judgement. His charming eloquence was owned here by his very adverſaries; and he defended, by ſcripture and reaſon, his expreſſions in his ſermon before the bar of the Houſe.

And although his excellent ſpeech had not the influence that might have been expected, yet doubtleſs it had ſome, for the Houſe delayed coming to an iſſue at this time. He indeed expected a ſentence of death, which no way damped him; but his Maſter had more, and very conſiderable work too, for him elſewhere. Whether it was from orders from Court to ſhed no more blood, or for other certain reaſons, it is not known; but his affair was delayed for ſome time, and upon ſome encouragement given him of ſucceſs, he, upon the Monday following, gave in a ſupplication to the parliament, wherein he exchanges the words proteſt and diſſent, which he had uſed in his ſermon, with thoſe of teſtifying, ſolemnly declaring, and bearing witneſs; and yet at the ſame

time declares, he is not brought to this alteration, ſo much for fear of his perſon, &c. as from an earneſt deſire to remove out of the way any or the leaſt occaſion of ſtumbling, that there may be the more ready and eaſy acceſs, without prejudice of words, to ponder and give judgement of the matter, &c.; and withal, humbly proſtrates himſelf at their Honours feet, to be diſpoſed of as they ſhall think meet.

This ſupplication, with what went before, might have ſoftened the perſecutors (as the forecited hiſtorians obſerve), and yet it had no effect; for Mr Sharp and his friends reſolved now to be rid, as much as they could, of the moſt eminent of the Preſbyterian miniſters; and therefore he behoved to be baniſhed, which was the higheſt thing they could go to, unleſs they had taken his life. Upon the 5th or 6th of July, the parliament gave him for anſwer, "That they paſs ſentence of baniſhment upon the ſupplicant, allowing him ſix months to tarry in the nation; one of which only in Glaſgow, with power to him to receive the following year's ſtipend, at departure."

His Maſter having work for him elſewhere, he ſubmitted to the ſentence, and tranſported himſelf and his family to Rotterdam, where for a while, upon the death of the Rev. Mr Alexander Petrie, (author of the compendious Church Hiſtory), he was employed as miniſter of the Scots congregation there, to the no ſmall edification of many; and that not only to ſuch as were fled hither from the rage and fury of the bloody perſecutors, but alſo to thoſe who reſorted to him and Mr Brown, for their advice in difficult caſes, in carrying on and bearing up a faithful teſtimony againſt both right and left hand extremes, with every other prevailing corruption and defection in that day, it being a day of *treading down in the valley of viſion*.

Thither the rage of his perſecutors followed him, even in a ſtrange land; for about the end of the year 1676, the King, by the influence of Primate Sharp, wrote to the States-General to cauſe remove James Wallace, Robert M'Ward, and John Brown, out of their provinces. But the States, conſidering that Meſſ. M'Ward and Brown had already ſubmitted unto the Scots law, and received the ſentence of baniſhment, during life, out of the King's dominion, and having come under their protection, could not be impoſed on to remove them out of theſe provinces, or be any further diſquieted; and for this end, ſent a letter to their ambaſſador at the Court of England, to ſignify the ſame to his Majeſty.

After this, this famous man was concerned in ordaining worthy and faithful Mr Richard Cameron, when in Holland,

in

in the year 1679, and afterwards ſent him home, with poſitive inſtructions to lift and bear up a free and faithful ſtandard againſt every defection and encroachment made upon the church of Chriſt in theſe lands, and particularly the indulgences, againſt which Mr M'Ward never failed to give a free and faithful teſtimony, as is evident from ſeveral of his writings, particularly that in anſwer to Mr Fleming.

He remained at Rotterdam, until ſome time about the year 1681, or 1682, that he died. It is ſaid, that when in his laſt ſickneſs, he deſired Mr Shields and ſome other friends to carry him out to ſee a comet or blazing-ſtar, that then appeared; and when he ſaw it, he bleſſed the Lord that now he was about to cloſe his eyes, and was not to ſee the woful days that were coming on Britain and Ireland, but eſpecially upon ſinful Scotland. After which he died, and entered into his Maſter's joy, after he had been for twenty years abſent from his native country.

It were altogether ſuperfluous here to inſiſt upon the character of this faithful miniſter and witneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing that his own writings do fully evidence him to have been a man of admirable eloquence, (not to ſpeak of his learning), and ſingular zeal and faithfulneſs. While remaining in Holland, he wrote ſeveral pieces, which are ſaid to be the following: The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, miniſtered to the Saints and Sufferers for Chriſt in Scotland, publiſhed about 1679; Earneſt Contendings, &c. publiſhed in 1723; Banders Diſbanded; with ſeveral Prefatory Epiſtles to ſome of Mr Brown's Works. He wrote alſo many other papers and letters, but eſpecially, a Hiſtory of the Defections of the Church of Scotland, which has never hitherto been publiſhed. Some accounts ſay that Naphthali was wrote by him.

Capt. JOHN PATON.

JOHN PATON was born at Meadow-head, in the pariſh of Fenwick, and ſhire of Ayr. He was brought up in the art and occupation of huſbandry till near the ſtate of manhood. But of the way and manner in which he went at firſt to a military life, there are various accounts. Some ſay, that he inliſted at firſt a volunteer, and went abroad to the wars in Germany, where, for ſome heroic atchievement, at the taking of a certain city, (probably by Guſtavus Adolphus King of Sweden), he was advanced to Captain's poſt; and that when he returned home, he was ſo far changed, that his

parents ſcarcely knew him. Other accounts bear, that he was with the Scots army (or militia) who went to England in January 1643-4, and was at the battle of Marſton-muir; at which place, it is ſaid, that by ſome bad drink an aſthmatical diſorder was contracted in his breaſt, which continued ever after.

But whatever of the ways, or if both ways were certain, he behoved to return very ſuddenly home; for it is ſaid, that in 1645, when the ſeveral miniſters in the weſtern ſhires were called out upon the head of their own pariſh-militia, to oppoſe Montroſe's inſurrection, he was called out by Mr William Guthrie, or, as ſome ſay, taken by him from the plough, and, under the character of a captain, behaved with much gallantry, about that time, among the covenanters, particularly upon their defeat by Montroſe at Kilſyth, which fell out in the following manner.

Montroſe, having upon July 2d obtained a victory over the covenanters, advanced over the Forth; upon the 14th, he encamped at Kilſyth near Stirling, and upon the 15th, encountered the covenanters army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Baillie. At the firſt onſet, ſome of Montroſe's Highlanders, going too far up the hill, were environed by the covenanters, and like to have been worſted; but the old Lord Airly being ſent from Montroſe with freſh ſupplies of men, the covenanters were obliged to give way, and were by the enemy turned over into a ſtanding marſh or bog, where there was no probability either of fighting or eſcaping. In this hurry, one of the Captain's acquaintance, when ſinking, cried out to him, for God's ſake to help; but when he got time to look that way, he could not ſee him, for he was gone through the ſurface of the marſh, and could never be found afterwards. Upon this diſaſter, the ſwifteſt of the covenanters horſe got to Stirling: the foot were moſtly killed on the ſpot, and in the chace, which, according to ſome hiſtorians, continued for the ſpace of fourteen miles, whereby the greater part of the covenanters army was either drowned, or by theſe cruel ſavages cut off and killed.

In this extremity, the Captain, as ſoon as he could get free of the bog, with ſword in hand made the beſt of his way through the enemy, till he had got ſafe to the two Colonels Hacket and Strahan, who all three rode off together; but had not gone far till they were encountered by about fifteen of the enemy, all of whom they killed, except two who eſcaped. When they had gone a little farther, they were again attacked by about thirteen more, and of theſe they kllied ten, ſo that only three of them could make their eſcape. But, upon the

the approach of about eleven Highlanders more, one of the Colonels ſaid, in a familiar dialect, Johny, if thou doſt not ſomewhat now, we are all dead men. To whom the Captain anſwered, Fear not; for we will do what we can before we either yield or flee before them. They killed nine of them, and put the reſt to flight.

About this time the Lord began to look upon the affliction of his people. For Montroſe, having defeated the covenanters at five or ſix different times, the Committee of Eſtates began to bethink themſelves, and for that end ſaw cauſe to recal General Leſlie, with 4000 foot and 1000 dragoons, from England. To oppoſe him, Montroſe marched ſouthward; but was ſhamefully routed by Leſlie at Philiphaugh, upon the 13th of September. Many of his forces were killed and taken priſoners, and he himſelf eſcaped with much difficulty*. After which Mr William Guthrie and Captain Paton returned home again to Fenwick.

Thus matters went on till the year 1648, that there aroſe two factions in Scotland, which were headed by Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyle. The one party aimed at bringing down the King to Scotland; but the other oppoſed the ſame. However, the levies went on, whereby Duke Hamilton, with a potent army, marched to England. In the meanwhile, Major-General Middleton came upon a certain handful of the covenanters, aſſembled at the celebration of the Lord's ſupper at Mauchline, a ſmall village in the ſhire of Ayr. At which place were Meſſ. William Ardair, William Guthrie, and John Nevay, miniſters, and the Earl of Loudon, who ſolicited Middleton to let the people diſmiſs in a peaceable manner; which he promiſed to do. But, in a moſt perfidious way, he fell upon them on the Monday after, which occaſioned ſome bloodſhed on both ſides; for Captain Paton, being ſtill aware of theſe malignants, notwithſtanding all their fair promiſes, cauſed his people from Fenwick to take arms with them; which accordingly they did; whereby they only made reſiſtance; yea, it is ſaid, that the Captain that day killed eighteen of the enemy with his own hand.

But

* Although Montroſe got off at this time, yet when he made another inſurrection, in 1650, he was fought and routed by a few troops, under the command of the forementioned Colonels Strahan, Hacket, and Ker, and he himſelf taken afterwards in the Laird of Aſſen's, bound and brought to Edinburgh, where he was by the parliament condemned to be hanged, May 21. on a gallows thirty feet high, three hours ſpace; his head to be cut off, and placed on the tolbooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom; which was executed accordingly. See the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 30. Montroſe's Memoirs, p. 517. &c.

But Duke Hamilton and his army being defeated, and he himſelf afterwards beheaded, the Engliſh purſuing the victory, Cromwell and his men entered Scotland, by which means the engagers were not only made to yield, but quite diſperſed. Whereupon ſome of the ſtragglers came weſt plundering, and took up their reſidence, for ſome time, in the muirs of Loudon, Egleſham, and Fenwick, which made the Captain again beſtir himſelf; and taking a party of Fenwick men, he went in queſt of them, and found ſome of them at a certain houſe in the pariſh of Lochgoin, and there gave them ſuch a fright, though without any bloodſhed, as made them give their promiſe never to moleſt or trouble that houſe, or any other place in the bounds again, under pain of death. And they went off without any further moleſtation.

Charles I. having been beheaded, January 30. 1648-9, and Charles II. called home from Breda, 1650, upon notice of an invaſion from the Engliſh, the Scotch Parliament appointed a levy of 10,000 foot and 3000 horſe, to be inſtantly raiſed for the defence of the King and kingdom; among whom it behoved the Captain again to take the field, for he was now become too popular to be hid in obſcurity,

Accordingly Cromwell and his army entered Scotland in July 1650; After which ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued betwixt the Engliſh and the Scots army, till the Scots were, by Cromwell and his army, upon the 3d of September, totally routed at Dunbar. After which, the act of claſſes being repealed, both church and ſtate began to act in different capacities, and to look as ſuſpiciouſly on one another as on the common enemy. There were in the army, on the proteſtor's ſide, Colonels Ker, Hacket, and Strahan, and of inferior officers, Major Stuart, Captain Arnot, brother to the Laird of Lochridge, Captain Paton, and others. The contention came to ſuch a criſis, that the Colonels Ker and Strahan left the King's army, and came to the weſt with ſome other officers; and many of them were eſteemed the moſt religious and beſt affected in the army. They proceeded ſo far as to give battle to the Engliſh at Hamilton, but were worſted; the Lord's wrath having gone forth againſt the whole land, becauſe Achan was in the camp of our Scottiſh Iſrael.

The King and the Scotch army, being no longer able to hold out againſt the Engliſh, ſhifted about, and went for England; and about the end of Auguſt 1651, had Worceſter ſurrendered to them. But the Engliſh army following hard upon their heels, they were by them totally routed upon the 3d of September, which made the King fly out of the king-

dom.

dom. After this the Captain returned home, when he ſaw how fruitleſs and unſucceſsful this expedition had been.

About this time, he took up the farm of Meadow-head, where he was born, and married one Janet Lindſay, who lived with him but a very ſhort time. And here he no leſs excelled in the duties of the true Chriſtian life, in a private ſtation, than he exceeded others while a ſoldier in the camp; and being under the miniſtry of that faithful man Mr William Guthrie, by whom he was made a member of his ſeſſion; and continued ſo till that bright and ſhining light in the church was turned out by Charles II. who was again reſtored; and the yoke of ſupremacy and tyranny was by him wreathed about the neck of both church and ſtate, whereby matters grew ſtill worſe, till 1660, that upon ſome inſolencies committed in the ſouth and weſt by Sir James Turner, ſome people roſe, under the command of Barſcob, and other gentlemen from Galloway, for their own defence. Several parties from the ſhire of Ayr joined them, commanded by Colonel James Wallace from Aghans: Captain Arnot came with a party from Mauchline; Lockart of Wicketſhaw, with a party from Carluke; Major Learmount, with a party from above Galſton; Neilſon of Corſack with, a party from Galloway; and Captain Paton, who now behoved to take the field again, commanded a party of horſe from Loudon, Fenwick, and other places. And being aſſembled, they went eaſtward, renewed the covenants at Lanark; and from thence went to Bathgate, then to Collington, and ſo on till they came to Rullion, near Pentland hills, where they were upon that fatal day, November 28. attacked by General Dalziel and the King's forces. At their firſt onſet, Captain Arnot, with a party of horſe, fought a party of Dalziel's men with good ſucceſs; and after him, another party made the General's men fly; but, upon their laſt rencounter, about ſun-ſetting, Dalziel, being repulſed ſo often, advanced the whole left wing of his army upon Colonel Wallace's right, where he had ſcarce three weak horſe to receive them, and were obliged to give way. Here Captain Paton, who was all along with Captain Arnot in the firſt encounter, behaved with great courage and gallantry. Dalziel, knowing him in the former wars, advanced upon him himſelf, thinking to take him priſoner. Upon his approach, each preſented their piſtols. Upon their firſt diſcharge, Captain Paton perceiving the piſtol-ball to hoop down upon Dalziel's boots, and knowing what was the cauſe, (he having proof), put his hand to his pocket for ſome ſmall pieces of ſilver he had there for the purpoſe, and put one of them into his other piſtol. But Dalziel, having his eye on

him in the meanwhile, retreated behind his own man, who by that means was ſlain. The Colonel's men, being flanked in on all hands by Dalziel's men, were broke and overpowered in all their ranks; ſo that the Captain and other two horſemen from Fenwick were ſurrounded, five men deep, by the General, through whom he and the two men at his back had to make their way, when there was almoſt no other on the field of battle, having, in this encounter, ſtood nearly an hour.

Whenever Dalziel perceived him go off, he commanded three of his men to follow hard after him, giving them marks whereby they ſhould know him. Immediately they came up with the Captain, before whom was a great ſlough or ſtank in the way, out of which three Galloway men had juſt drawn their horſes. They cried to the Captain, What would they do now? He anſwered them, What was the fray—he ſaw but three men coming upon them; and then cauſed his horſe jump the ditch, and faced about, with his ſword drawn in his hand, ſtood ſtill, till the firſt, coming up, endeavoured to make his horſe jump over alſo. Upon which, he with his ſword * clave his head in two; and his horſe being marred, fell into the bog, with the other two men and horſe. He told them to take his compliments to their maſter, and tell him he was not coming this night; and came off, and got ſafe home at laſt.

After this, Chriſt's followers and witneſſes were reduced to many hardſhips, particularly ſuch as had been any way acceſſory to the riſing at Pentland, ſo that they were obliged to reſort unto the wilderneſſes, and other deſolate and ſolitary places. The winter following, he and about twenty perſons had a very remarkable deliverance from the enemy.—Being aſſembled at Lochgoin, upon a certain night, for fellowſhip and godly converſation, they were miraculouſly anticipated or prevented by a repeated dream of the enemy's approaching, by the old man of the houſe, who was gone to bed for ſome reſt on account of his infirmity, and that juſt with as much time as they could make their eſcape, the enemy being within forty falls of the houſe. After they got off, the old man roſe up quickly, and met them with an apology for the circumſtance the houſe was then in, (it being but a little after day-break): and nothing at that time was diſcovered.

About this time, the Captain ſometimes remained at home, and ſometimes in ſuch remote places wherein he could beſt be

* Their ſword or ſhort ſhabble yet remains. It was then, by his progenitors, counted to have twenty eight gaps in its edge, which made them afterwards obſerve, that there were juſt as many years of the perſecution as there were ſteps or broken pieces in its edge.

be concealed from the fury of his perſecutors. He married a ſecond wife, one Janet Millar from Egleſham, (whoſe father fell at Bothwell-bridge); by whom he had ſix children, who continued ſtill to poſſeſs the farm of Meadowhead, and Artnock in tack, until the day of his death.

He was alſo one who frequented the pure preached goſpel wherever he could obtain it; and was a great encourager of the practice of carrying arms for the defence thereof, which he took to be a proper mean in part to reſtrain the enemy from violence. But things growing ſtill worſe and worſe, new troops of horſe and companies of foot being poured in upon the weſtern ſhires, on purpoſe to ſuppreſs and ſearch out theſe field-meetings, which occaſioned their riſing again in 1679. While, by theſe unparalleled ſeverities, they were, with thoſe of whom the apoſtle ſpeaks, *deſtitute, afflicted, and tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; and they wandered in deſerts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth*, Heb. xi. 37. 38.

For that ſuffering remnant, under the command of Mr Robert Hamilton, having got the victory over Claverhouſe on the 1ſt of June 1676, at Drumclog in Evandale, in which ſkirmiſh there was about thirty-ſix or forty of that bloody crew killed, they went on the next day for Glaſgow, in purſuit of the enemy: But that proving unſucceſsful, they returned back; and on June 3. formed themſelves into a camp, and held a council of war. On the 4th they rendezvouſed at Kyperidge, &c.; and on the 5th they went to Commiſſary Fleming's park, in the pariſh of Kilbride; by which time, Captain Paton, who all this time had not been idle, came to them with a body of horſemen from Fenwick and Galſton; and many others joined them, ſo that they were greatly increaſed.

They had hitherto been of one heart and one mind; but a certain party of horſe from Carrick came to them, with whom were Mr Welch, and ſome other miniſters who favoured the indulgence; after which they never had a day to do well, until they were defeated at Bothwell-bridge, upon the 22d of June following.

The proteſting party were not for joining with thoſe of the Eraſtian ſide, till they ſhould declare themſelves fully for God and his cauſe, againſt all and every defection whatever; but Mr Welch, and his party, found out a way to get rid of ſuch officers as they feared moſt oppoſition from; for orders were given to Rathillet, Haugh-head, Carmichael, and Mr Smith, to go to Glaſgow, to meet with Mr King and Captain Paton; and they obeyed. When at Glaſgow, Mr King and Captain Paton led them out of the town, as they apprehended, to

preach ſomewhere without the town; but at laſt, upon inquiry where they were going, it was anſwered, according to orders ſent privately to Mr King and Captain Paton, that they were to go and diſperſe a meeting of the enemy at Campſie; but upon going there, they found no ſuch thing; which made them believe it was only a ſtratagem to get free of Mr King and the reſt of the faithful officers. Upon which they returned.

The faithful officers were Mr Hamilton, General Hackſton of Rathillet, Hall of Haugh-head, Captain Paton in Meadowhead, John Balfour of Kinloch, Mr Walter Smith, William Carmichael, William Cleland, James Henderſon, and Robert Fleming. Their miniſters were Meſſ. Donald Cargill, Thomas Douglas, John Kid, and John King; for Mr Richard Cameron was then in Holland. Henry Hall of Haugh-head, John Paton in Meadowhead, William Carmichael, and Andrew Turnbull, were ruling elders of the church of Scotland.

Thus the proteſting party continued to ſtruggle with the Eraſtian party, in which contendings Captain Paton had no ſmall ſhare, until that fatal day, June 22. when they were broke, and made to flee before the enemy. The Captain at this time was made a Major; and ſome accounts bear, that the day preceding he was made a Colonel. Mr Wilſon, when writing upon that affair, ſays, that he ſuppoſes John Paton, Robert Fleming, James Henderſon, and William Cleland, were choſen to be Colonels of regiments; however, as he did not enjoy this place long, we find him ſtill afterwards continued in the character of Captain John Paton.

After the defeat at Bothwell-bridge, Captain Paton made the beſt of his way homeward; and having had a fine horſe, with all manner of furniture, from the ſheriff of Ayr, upon the way he gave him to one to take home to his maſter; but being robbed of all its fine mounting, by an old intelligencer (of the ſame name, as was ſuppoſed), which very much ſurpriſed the ſheriff when he received the horſe, and the Captain when he got notice thereof. This was a moſt baſe and ſhameful action, deſigning to ſtain the character of this honeſt and good man.

The ſufferers were now expoſed to new hardſhips; and none more than Captain Paton, who was not only declared rebel by order of proclamation, but alſo a round ſum offered for his head, which made him be more hotly purſued, and that even in his moſt ſecret lurking places. In which time, a little after Bothwell, he had another moſt remarkable eſcape and deliverance from his blood-thirſty enemies; which fell out in this manner.

The

The Captain, with a few more, being one night quartered in the forementioned houſe of Lochgoin *, with James Howie, who was one of his fellow-ſufferers; at which time one Captain Ingles, with a party, lay at the Dean of Kilmarnock's, who ſent out parties on all hands to ſee what they could apprehend; and that night, a party, being out in queſt of ſome of the ſufferers, came to Meadowhead, and from thence went to another remote place in the muirs of Fenwick, called Croilburn; but finding nothing there, they went next to Lochgoin, as apprehending they would not miſs their deſign there; and that they might come upon this place more ſecurely, they ſent about five men, with one Serjeant Rae, by another way, whereby the main body could not come ſo well up undiſcovered.

The ſufferers had watched all night, which was very ſtormy, by turns; and about day-break, the Captain, on account of his aſthmatical diſorder, went to the far-end of the houſe for ſome reſt. In the mean while, one George Woodburn went out to ſee if he could obſerve any, (but it ſeems he looked not very ſurely); and going to ſecret duty inſtead of this, from which he was but a little time returned, until, on a ſudden, ere they were aware, Serjeant Rae came to the inner door of the houſe, and cried out, Dogs! I have found you now. The four men took to the ſpence—James and John Howie happened to be then in the byre, among the cattle. The wife of the houſe, one Iſabel Howie, ſeeing none but the ſerjeant, cried to them to take to the hills, and not be killed in the houſe. She took hold of Rae, as he was coming boldly forward to the door of the place in which they were, and ran him backward out of the outer door of the houſe, giving him ſuch a haſty turn as made him lie on the ground. In the mean while, the Captain, being alarmed, got up, put on his

* This houſe and family was always a harbour and ſuccour to our late ſufferers, both gentlemen, miniſters, and private Chriſtians; for which, after this, and their non-conformity to Prelacy, they were not only haraſſed, pillaged and plundered, to the number of ten or twelve times during that period, but alſo both the ſaid James Howie the poſſeſſor, and John Howie his ſon, was, by virtue of a proclamation, May 5. 1685, declared rebels, their names inſerted in the fugitive-roll, and put up on the pariſh church-doors, whereby they were expoſed to cloſe hiding, in which they eſcaped many imminent dangers; and yet were ſo happy as to ſurvive the Revolution at laſt, yet never acceded to the Revolution church, &c. But the ſaid James Howie, when dying, November 1691, emitted a latter-will or teſtimony, wherein he not only gave good and ſatisfying evidence of his own well-being, and ſaving intereſt in Jeſus Chriſt, but alſo gave a moſt faithful teſtimony to Scotland's covenanted work of reformation, and that in all the parts and periods thereof.

ſhoes, though not very haſtily, and they got all out; by which time the reſt of the party was up. The ſerjeant fired his gun at them; which one John Kirkland anſwered by the like with his. The bullet paſſed ſo near the ſerjeant, that it took off the knot of hair on the ſide of his head. The whole crew being now alarmed, the Captain and the reſt took the way for Egleſham muirs, and they followed. Two of the men ran with the Captain, and other two ſtay by turns, and fired back on the enemy, the enemy firing on them likewiſe; but by reaſon of ſome wetneſs their guns had got in coming through the water, they were not ſo ready to fire, which helped the others to eſcape.

After they had purſued them ſome time, John Kirkland turned about, and ſtooped down on his knee, and aimed ſo well, that he ſhot a Highland ſerjeant through the thigh, which made the front ſtill ſtoop as they came forward, till they were again commanded to run. By this time the ſufferers had gained ſome ground; and being come to the muirs of Egleſham, the four men went to the heights, in view of the enemy, and cauſed the Captain, who was old and not able to run, take another way by himſelf. At laſt he got a mare upon the field, and took the liberty to mount her a little, that he might be more ſuddenly out of their reach. But ere he was aware, a party of dragoons going for Newmills was at hand; and what was more obſervable, he wanted his ſhoes, having caſt them off before, and was riding on the beaſt's bare back; but he paſſed by them very ſlowly, and got off undiſcovered; and at length gave the mare her liberty, which returned home, and went unto another of his lurking-places. All this happened on a Monday morning; and on the morrow theſe perſecutors returned, and plundered the houſe, drove off their cattle, and left almoſt nothing remaining *.

About this time the Captain met with another deliverance. For he having a child removed by death, the incumbent of the pariſh, knowing the time when the corpſe was to be interred, gave notice to a party of ſoldiers at Kilmarnock, to come up and take him at the burial of his child. But ſome perſons preſent at the burial, perſuaded him to return back, in caſe the enemy ſhould come upon them at the church-yard; which he accordingly did, when he was but a little diſtant from the church.

He was alſo a great ſuccourer of thoſe ſufferers himſelf, in ſo far as his circumſtances could admit, ſeveral of his fellow-companions in the tribulation and patience of Jeſus Chriſt reſorting

* In the time of this, or another plunder ſhortly after this, ſome of the ſoldiers burnt the Bible in the fire, in a moſt audacious manner.

ſorting at certain times to him: ſuch as worthy David Hackſton of Rathillet, Balfour of Kinloch, and Mr Donald Cargill; and it is ſaid, that Mr Cargill diſpenſed the ſacrament of baptiſm to twenty-two children in his barn at Meadowhead, ſome time after the engagement at Bothwell-bridge *.

But, being now near the end of his race and weary pilgrimage, about the beginning of Auguſt 1684, he came to the houſe of one Robert Howie in Floack, in the pariſh of Mearns, (formerly one of his hiding-places), where he was, by five ſoldiers, apprehended before ever he or any in the houſe were aware. He had no arms, yet the indwellers there offered him their aſſiſtance, if he wanted it. Indeed they were in a condition to have reſcued him, yea, he himſelf, once in a day, was in caſe to have extricated himſelf from double that number. But he ſaid, it would bring them to further trouble, &c.; and as for himſelf, he was now become weary of his life, being ſo hunted from place to place, and being now well ſtricken in years, his hidings became the more irkſome; and he was not afraid to die, for he knew well, that whenever he fell into their hands, this would be the caſe, and he had got time to think thereon for many years; and for his intereſt in Chriſt, of that he was ſure. They took him to Kilmarnock, but knew not who he was (taking him for ſome old miniſter or other), till they came to a place on the highway, called Moor-yeat, where the goodman of that place, ſeeing him in theſe circumſtances, ſaid, Alas! Captain Paton, are you there! And then to their joy, they knew who they had got into their hands. He was carried from Kilmarnock, (where his eldeſt daughter, being about fourteen years of age, got acceſs to ſee him) to Ayr, and then back to Glaſgow, and ſoon after to Edinburgh.

It is reported as a fact, that General Dalziel met him here, and took him in his arms, ſaying, "John, I am both glad and ſorry to ſee you. If I had met you on the way, before you came hither, I ſhould have ſet you at liberty; but now it is too late. But be not afraid, I will write to his Majeſty for your life." The Captain replied, "You will not be heard." Dalziel ſaid, "Will I not! If he does not grant me the life of one man, I ſhall never draw a ſword for him again." And it is ſaid, that, having ſpoken ſome time together, a man came and ſaid to the Captain, You are a rebel to the King. To whom he replied, Friend, I have done more for the King than perhaps thou haſt done. Dalziel ſaid, Yes, John, that is

* This ſeems to have been when he made a tour through Ayrſhire to Galloway. A little after, they were ſurpriſed by the enemy on a faſt day, near Loudon hill, upon May 5. 1681.

is true, (perhaps he meant at Worceſter). And he ſtruck the man on the head with his cane, till he ſtaggered, ſaying, He would learn him other manners than to uſe ſuch a priſoner ſo. After this and more reaſoning, the Captain thanked him for his courteſy, and they parted.

His trial was not long delayed. Mr Wodrow ſays, that April 16. the Council ordered a reward of L. 20 Sterling, to Cornet Lewis Lauder, for apprehending John Paton, who had been a notorious rebel theſe eighteen years. He was brought before the Juſticiary, and indicted for being with the rebels at Glaſgow, Bothwell, &c. The Advocate, *ex ſuperabundanti*, paſſed his being at Pentland, and inſiſted on his being at Bothwell. The Lords found his libel relevant; and for probation, they refer to his own confeſſion before the Council: John Paton, in Meadowhead in Fenwick, that he was taken in the pariſh of Mearns, in the houſe of Robert Howie in Floack, and that he haunted ordinarily in the fields and muirs, confeſſes that he was moved by the country-people to go out in the year 1666, commanded a party at Pentland; confeſſes that he joined with the rebels at Glaſgow, about eight days before the engagement, commanded a party at Bothwell, &c. The aſſize had no more to cognize upon, but his own confeſſion, yet brought him in guilty. The Lords condemned him to be hanged at the Graſsmarket of Edinburgh, on Wedneſday, the 23d of April. But, by other accounts, he was charged before the Council for being a rebel ſince the year 1640; his being an oppoſer of Montroſe; his being at Mauchline muir, &c.

He was prevailed on to petition the Council, upon which he was reſpited to the 30th, and from that to May 9. when he ſuffered according to his ſentence. And no doubt Dalziel was as good as his word: For it is ſaid, that he obtained a reprieve for him from the King; but that coming to the hands of Biſhop Paterſon, was kept up by him, till he was executed; which enraged the General not a little. It ſeems that they had a mind to ſpare him; but as he obſerved, in his laſt ſpeech, the prelates put an effectual ſtop to that. In the laſt eight days that he lived, he got a room by himſelf, that he might more conveniently prepare for death; which was a favour at that time granted him above many others.

What his conduct or deportment at the place of execution was, we are now at a loſs to know; only it is believed it was ſuch as well became ſuch a valiant ſervant and ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, an evidence of which we have in his laſt ſpeech and dying teſtimony, wherein, among other things, he ſays, "You are come here to look on me a dying man, and you need

need not expect that I ſhall ſay much, for I was never a great orator or eloquent of tongue, though I may ſay as much to the commendation of God in Chriſt Jeſus, as ever a poor ſinner had to ſay, &c. I bleſs the Lord I am not come here as a thief or murderer, and I am free of the blood of all men, and hate bloodſhed, directly or indirectly; and now I am a poor ſinner, and never could merit any thing but wrath: and I have no righteouſneſs of my own, all is Jeſus Chriſt's, and his alone. Now, as to my interrogations, I was not clear to deny Pentland or Bothwell. The Council aſked me, If I acknowledged authority? I ſaid, All authority according to the word of God. They charged me with many things, as if I had been a rebel ſince the year 1640, at Montroſe's taking, and at Mauchline muir. Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do." In the next place, he adheres to the ſcriptures, the covenants, and the whole work of reformation; and then ſays, "Now, I leave my teſtimony as a dying man againſt that horrid uſurpation of our Lord's prerogative and crown-rights; I mean that ſupremacy eſtabliſhed by law in theſe lands, which is a manifeſt uſurpation of his crown, for he is given by the Father to be Head to the church," Col. i. 18. &c. And further, he addreſſed himſelf in a few words to two or three ſorts of people, exhorting them to be diligent in the exerciſe of duty; and then, in the laſt place, comes to ſalute all his friends in Chriſt, whether priſoned, baniſhed, widows, the fatherleſs, wandering and caſt out for Chriſt's ſake and the goſpel's. He forgave all his enemies, in the following words: "Now, as to my perſecutors, I forgive all of them, inſtigators, reproachers, ſoldiers, private council, juſticiaries, apprehenders, in what they have done to me; but what they have done in deſpite againſt the image of God in me, who am a poor thing without that, it is not mine to forgive them, but I wiſh they may ſeek forgiveneſs of him who hath it to give, and would do no more wickedly." Then he leaves his wife and ſix ſmall children on the Lord, takes his leave of wordly enjoyments, and concludes, ſaying, "Farewell, ſweet ſcriptures, preaching, praying, reading, ſinging, and all duties. Welcome, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I deſire to commit my ſoul to thee in well-doing. Lord, receive my ſpirit *."

Thus another gallant ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt came to his end, the actions of whoſe life, and demeanour at death, do fully indicate that he was of no rugged diſpoſition, as has been by ſome aſſerted of theſe our late ſufferers, but rather of

* The reader may conſult his laſt ſpeech, which is at full length in the Cloud of Witneſſes.

of a meek, judicious, and Chriſtian converſation, tempered with true zeal and faithfulneſs for the cauſe and intereſt of Zion's King and Lord. He was of a middle ſtature, (as accounts bear), ſtrong and robuſt, ſomewhat fair of complexion, with large eye-brows. But what enhanced him more, was courage and magnanimity of mind, which accompanied him upon every emergent occaſion; and though his extraction was but mean, it might be truly ſaid of him, That he lived a hero, and died a martyr.

JOHN NISBET OF HARDHILL.

JOHN NISBET, born about the year 1627, was ſon to James Niſbet, and lineally deſcended from one Murdoch Niſbet in Hardhill, who, about 1500, joined thoſe called the Lollards of Kyle; but a perſecution being raiſed againſt them, he fled over ſeas, and took a copy of the New Teſtament in writing. Some time after, he returned home, digged a vault in the bottom of his own houſe, unto which he retired, ſerving God, reading his new book, and inſtructing ſuch as had acceſs to him. But to return:

John Niſbet being ſomewhat advanced in years, and one who had the advantage of a tall, ſtrong, well-built body, and of a bold, daring, public ſpirit, went abroad, and joined in the military, which was of great uſe to him afterwards. Having ſpent ſome time in foreign countries, he returned to Scotland, and ſwore the covenants when King Charles, at his coronation, ſwore them at Scoone in 1650. Then, having left the military, he came home and married one Margaret Law, who proved an equal, true, and kind yoke-fellow to him all the days of her life, and by whom he had ſeveral children, three of whom ſurvived himſelf, viz. Hugh, James, and Alexander.

In the month of December 1683, ſhe died on the eighth day of her ſickneſs, and was buried in Stone-houſe churchyard. This behoved to be done in the night, becauſe it might not be known, neither would any do it, but ſuch as might not appear in the day-time. The curate having knowledge of it, threatened to take the corpſe up, burn it, or caſt it to the dogs; but ſome of the perſecuted party ſent him a letter, aſſuring him, that if he touched theſe graves, they would burn him and his family, and all he had; ſo he forbare.

He early applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, which, through the grace of God, was ſo effectual, that he not only became well acquainted with the moſt intereſting parts of practical religion, but alſo he attained no ſmall degree of knowledge in points of principle, which proved of unſpeakable advantage to him in all that occurred to him in the after-part of his life, in maintaining the teſtimony of that day.

He married, and took up the Hardhill in the pariſh of Loudon, in which ſtation he behaved with much diſcretion and prudence. For no ſooner did Prelacy and Eraſtianiſm appear on the field, in oppoſition to our ancient and laudable form of church-government, at the reſtoration of Charles II. than he took part with the Preſbyterian ſide. And having, in 1664, got a child baptiſed by one of the ejected miniſters, (as they were then called), the incumbent or curate of the pariſh was ſo enraged, that he declared his reſolution from the pulpit, to excommunicate him the next Lord's day. But, behold, the Lord's hand interpoſed here; for before that day came the curate was landed in eternity.

This gentleman, being always active for religion, and a great encourager of field-meetings, was, with the reſt of Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, obliged to go without the camp bearing his reproach. When that faithful remnant aſſembled together, and renewed the covenant at Lanark, 1666, his conſcience ſummoned him out to join them in that particular circumſtance; which being known, and he threatened for ſuch an action, he reſolved to follow theſe perſecuted people, and ſo kept with them in arms till their defeat, upon the 28th of November, at Pentland hills, at which fight he behaved with great courage and reſolution. He fought till he was ſo wounded, that he was ſtript for dead among the ſlain; and yet ſuch was the providence of God, that, having more work for him to accompliſh, he was preſerved.

He had eſpouſed Chriſt's cauſe by deliberate choice, and was indeed of an excellent ſpirit; and, as Solomon ſays, *more excellent than his neighbour*. His natural temper was likewiſe noble and generous: As he was travelling through a muir, on a ſnowy day, one of his old neighbours, who was ſeeking ſheep, met him, and cried out, "O Hardhill, are you yet alive? I was told, you was going in a pilgrim's habit, and that your bairns were begging, and yet I ſee you look as well as ever." Then taking out a rix-dollar, he offered it to him. John ſeeing this, took out a ducat, and offered it to him, ſaying, "I will have none of yours, but will give you if you pleaſe; for you may ſee that nothing is wanting to him that

fears the Lord, and I would never have thought that you (calling him by his name) would have gone ſo far with the enemies of God, as to ſell your conſcience to ſave your gear, &c. Take warning, H. go home and mourn for that, and all your other ſins, before God; for, if mercy do not prevent, you will certainly periſh." The poor man thanked him, put up his money, and went home.

After this remarkable eſcape, he returned home, where probably he continued (not without enduring many hardſhips) till the 1679, that by his fame for courage, wiſdom, and reſolution among the ſufferers, when that party who were aſſembled near Loudon hill to hear the goſpel, June 1. came in view of an engagement with Claverhouſe, who attacked them that day at Drumclog, Hardhill, not being preſent, was ſent for by one Woodburn, in the Mains of Loudon, to come in all haſte to their aſſiſtance. But before they got half-way, they heard the platoons of the engagement, and yet they rode with ſuch alacrity, that they juſt came up as the firing was over. Upon their approach, Hardhill (for ſo he was commonly called) cried to them to jump the ditch, and get over upon the enemy, ſword in hand. Which they did with ſo great reſolution and ſucceſs, that in a little they obtained a complete victory over the enemy, wherein Hardhill had a ſhare, by his vigorous activity in the latter end of that ſkirmiſh.

The ſuffering party, knowing now that they were fully expoſed to the rage and reſentment of their bloody perſecuting foes, reſolved to abide together. And for that purpoſe, ſent a party to Glaſgow in purſuit of the enemy, among whom Hardhill was one. After which, he continued with them, and was of no ſmall advantage to the honeſt party, till that fatal day, June 22. that they fled and fell before the enemy at Bothwell Bridge. Here, ſays Wodrow, he was a Captain, if I miſtake not. And being ſent with his party, along with thoſe who defended the bridge, he fought with great gallantry, and ſtood as along as any man would ſtand by him, and then made his retreat juſt in time, and, through the goodneſs of God, he eſcaped from their hands at this time alſo.

After Bothwell, he was denounced a rebel, and a large reward offered to ſuch as would apprehend him. At which time the enemy ſeized all that he had, ſtripped his wife and four children of all, turniug them out of doors, whereby he was reduced as one of thoſe mentioned Heb. xi. 38. *They wandered about in deſarts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth*, &c. Thus he lived for near the ſpace of five years, ſuffering all manner of hardſhips, not accepting deliverance, that he might preſerve to himſelf the free enjoyment of the goſpel,

goſpel, faithfully preached in the fields. And being a man of a public ſpirit, a great obſerver of fellowſhip-meetings, (alas! a duty too much neglected), and very ſtaunch upon points of teſtimony, and became very popular among the more faithful part of our ſufferers, and was by them often employed as one of their commiſſioners to their general meetings, which they had erected ſome years before this, that they might the better underſtand the mind of one another in carrying on a teſtimony in that broken ſtate.

One thing very remarkable was—The Sabbath night (being that eight days before he was taken), as he and four more were travelling, it being very dark, no wind, but a thick ſmall rain; no moon, for that was not her ſeaſon; behold, ſuddenly the clouds clave aſunder, toward eaſt and weſt, over their heads, and a light ſprang out beyond that of the ſun, which laſted above the ſpace of two minutes. They heard a noiſe, and were much amazed, ſaying one to another, What may that mean? but he ſpoke none, only uttering three deep groans. One of them aſked him, What it might mean? He ſaid, "We know not well at preſent, but within a little we ſhall know better: yet we have a *more ſure word of prophecy*, unto which we would do well to take heed:" And then he groaned again, ſaying, "As for me, I am ready to live or to die for him, as he in his providence ſhall call me to it, and bear me through in it; and although I have ſuffered much from prelates and falſe friends, theſe twenty-one years, yet now, I would not for a thouſand worlds I had done otherwiſe; and if the Lord ſpares me, I will be more zealous for his precious truths; and if not, I am ready to ſeal his cauſe with my blood; for I have longed for it theſe ſixteen years, and it may be I will ere long get it to do. Welcome be his will, and if he will help me through with it, I ſhall praiſe him to all eternity." Which made them all wonder, he being a very reſerved man; for although he was a ſtrict obſerver of the Sabbath, a great examiner of the ſcripture, and a great wreſtler in prayer, yet he was ſo reſerved as to his own caſe and ſoul's concernment, that few knew how it was with him as to that, until he came to priſon.

All this and more could not eſcape the knowledge of the managers, as is evident from Earlſton's anſwers before the Council, 1683; and we find, that one of the articles that John Richmond ſuffered for, at the croſs of Glaſgow, March 19. 1684, was his being in company with John Niſbet. This made the ſearch after him and other ſufferers more deſperate. Whereupon, in the month of November 1683, having retired, amongſt other of his lurking-places, unto a certain houſe

called Midland, in the parish of Fenwick, where were assembled for prayer and other religious exercises, on a Saturday's night, other three of his faithful brethren, viz. Peter Gemmel, a younger brother of the house of Horsehill, in the same parish; George Woodburn, a brother of the Woodburns, in the muirs of Loudon; and one John Fergushill from Tarbolton. Upon notice that Lieutenant Nisbet, and a party of Colonel Buchan's dragoons, were out in quest of the wanderers (as they were sometimes called), they resolved on the Sabbath-morning to depart. But old John Fergushill, not being able to go by reason of some infirmities, they were obliged to return back with him, after they had gone a little way from the house; and were the same day apprehended. The way and manner of which, with his answers, both at Ayr and before the Council at Edinburgh, as they stand in an old manuscript given under his own hand, while he was their prisoner, is as follows.

"First when the enemy came within sight of the house, we seeing no way of escape, John Fergushill went to the far-end of the house, and the other two and I followed. And ere we were well at the far-end of the house, some of the enemy were in the house. And then, in a little after, they came and put in their horses, and went to and fro in the house for more than an hour; and we four still at the far-end of the house: And we resolved with one another to keep close till they should come just on us; and if it should have pleased the Lord to have hid us there, we resolved not to have owned them; but if they found us out, we thought to fight, saying one to another, it was death at length. They got all out of the house, and had their horses drawn forth; but in a little time came back*, tittling one to another; and at last cried for a candle to search the house with; and came within a yard of us, with a light burning in their hand. According to our former resolution, we did resist them, having only three shot, and one of them misgiving, and they fired above twenty-four shot at us; and when we had nothing else, we clubbed our guns, till two of them were quite broke, and then went in

grips

* Here it was commonly said, that after the enemy went off at the first, they met with two persons, one of whom told them, they were good seekers, but ill finders, or somewhat to that purpose; which made them return. It has also been said, that one of these men confessed this at his death. However this be, people could not help observing, that not many years ago, three of the offspring of the other person blamed, lost their lives by fire, near the same place where these three gallant martyrs were killed. Whether it had any reference to that, God knoweth, we cannot determine. Only we may say, *The Lord is known by the judgement he executeth*, Psal. ix. 16.

grips with ſome of them; and when they ſaw they could not prevail, they all cried, to go out and fire the houſe. Upon which we went out after them, and I received ſix wounds in the going out. After which, they getting notice what I was, ſome of themſelves cried out to ſpare my life, for the Council had offered 3000 merks for me. So they brought me towards the end of the yard, and tied my hands behind my back, having ſhot the other three to death. He that commanded them ſcoffingly aſked me, What I thought of myſelf now? I ſmiled, and ſaid, I had full contentment with my lot; but thought that I was at a loſs, that I was yet in time, and my brethren in eternity. At which he ſwore, he had reſerved my life for a farther judgement to me. When we were going towards Kilmarnock, the Lieutenant, who was a couſin of his own, called for me; and he and I went before the reſt, and diſcourſed ſoberly about ſeveral things. I was free in telling him what I held to be ſin, and what I held to be duty; and when we came to Kilmarnock tolbooth, he cauſed ſlack my arms a little, and inquired if I deſired my wounds dreſſed; and, at the deſire of ſome friends in the town, he cauſed bring in ſtraw and ſome clothes for my brother John Gemmel* and me to lie upon, but would not ſuffer us to caſt off our clothes. On Monday, on the way to Ayr, he raged againſt me, and ſaid that I had the blood of the three men on my head that were killed yeſterday; and that I was guilty of all, and the cauſe of all the troubles that were come on the poor barony of Cunningham, firſt and laſt. But when we came near

* This John Gemmel was brother to the martyr; and being lying of a fever in a houſe in the ſame pariſh, called Derwholling, he was that day apprehended by ſome of the ſame party, together with the goodman of the houſe, Thomas Wylie, and his ſon William Wylie, for reſet. They were all taken to Ayr, where the ſaid Thomas Wylie died. While in Ayr, it is ſaid, this John Gemmel dreamed one night that he ſhould be baniſhed, and his fellow-ſufferer Hardhill ſhould be hanged: which accordingly came to paſs.—— They were taken to Edinburgh, and examined, and the foreſaid William Wylie was required to take the oath of allegiance, but refuſed. They ordered him to take the teſt. This he refuſed alſo. They aſked his reaſons. He ſaid, he had taken more oaths already than he had well kept, and, if there ſhould come a change of government, where ſtood he then? Biſhop Paterſon's brother came, and clapping his hands on his ſhoulder, ſaid, Thomas, as ſure as God is in the heavens, you'll never ſee a change of government. But in this he proved a falſe prophet. However, he and John Gemmel were, with eleven more, baniſhed to Barbadoes, and ſold for ſlaves there: where they continued for about three years, and at laſt purchaſed their liberty, and returned home at the Revolution. The firſt known perſon they ſaw, after their landing at Irvine, was Lieutenant Niſbet, by whom they had been apprehended; and of whom ſee more in the Appendix.

near the town, he called me out from the reſt, and ſoberly aſked me, What he ſhould ſay to the ſuperior officers in my behalf? I told him, that if the Lord would keep me from wronging truth, I was at a point already in what he put me to, as to ſuffering. When we firſt entered the tolbooth of Ayr, there came two, and aſked ſome things at me, but they were to little purpoſe. Then I was taken out with a guard, and brought before Buchan. He aſked me, *1ſt*, If I was at that conventicle? I told him, I looked upon it as my duty. *2dly*, How many armed were there? I told him, I went to hear the goſpel preached, and not to take up the account of what men were there. *3dly*, Where away went they? &c. I told him, It was more than I could tell. *4thly*, Do you own the King? I told him, while he owned the way and work of God, I thought myſelf bound both to own and fight for him; but when he quitted the way of God, I thought I was obliged to quit him. *5thly*, Will you own the Duke of York as King? I told him, I would not, for it was both againſt my principles and the laws of the nation. *6thly*, Was you clear to join with Argyle? I ſaid, No. He held me long, and ſpake of many things. We had the muſters through hands, Popery, Prelacy, Preſbyterianiſm, malignants, defenſive and offenſive arms, there being none in the room but he and I. I thought it remarkable, that all the time from Sabbath and to this preſent, I had and have as much peace and quietneſs of my mind as ever in my life. O help me to praiſe him! for he alone did it. Now, my dear friends and acquaintance, ceaſe not to pray for me while I am in the body, for I may ſay I fear nothing, but that, through weakneſs, I wrong truth. And my laſt advice is, that ye be more diligent in following Chriſtian duties. Alas! that I was not more ſincere, zealous, and forward for his work and cauſe in my day. Ceaſe to be jealous one of another, and only let ſelf-examination be more ſtudied; and this, through his bleſſing, ſhall open a door to more of a Chriſtian ſoul-exerciſe; and more of a ſoul-exerciſe, through his bleſſing, would keep away vain jangling, that does no way profit, but gives way to Satan and his temptations, &c.

" When I came to Edinburgh, I was the firſt night kept in the guard. The next night I was brought into their council-houſe, where were preſent Drummond, (viz. Perth), Lin-lithgow, and one Paterſon, together with ſome others. They firſt ſaid to me, that they looked upon me as one acquainted with all that was done amongſt theſe rebellious perſons; therefore the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council would take it as a great favour, that I would be free in telling them what I knew

knew that might moſt conduce to the peace and ſecurity of the nation. I told them, that when I came to particulars, I ſhould ſpeak nothing but truth, for I was more afraid to lie than to die; but I hoped they would be ſo much Chriſtians as not to bid me tell any thing that would burden my conſcience. Then they began thus: (1.) What did ye in your meetings? I told them, we only ſung a part of a pſalm, read a part of the ſcripture, and prayed time about. (2.) Why call ye them fellowſhip and ſociety meetings? *A.* I wonder why you aſk ſuch queſtions, for theſe meetings were called ſo when our church was in her power. (3.) Were there any ſuch meetings at that time? *A.* There were in ſome places of the land. (4.) Did the miniſters of the place meet with them in theſe? *A.* Sometimes they did, and ſometimes they did not. (5.) What mean you by your general meeting, and what do you do at them? While I was thinking what to anſwer, one of themſelves told them more diſtinctly than I could have done, and jeeringly ſaid, looking to me, When they have done, then they diſtribute their collections. I held my peace all the time. (6.) Where keep ye theſe meetings? *A.* In the wildeſt muirs we can think of. (7.) Will you own the King's authority? No. (8.) What is your reaſon? you own the ſcriptures and your own Confeſſion of Faith? *A.* That I do with all my heart. (9.) Why do you not own the King's authority? (naming ſeveral paſſages of ſcripture, and that in the 23d chapter of the confeſſion.) *A.* There is a vaſt difference; for he being a Roman Catholic, and I being not only brought up in the Preſbyterian principles from my youth, but alſo ſworn againſt Popery. (10.) What is that to you, though he be Popiſh, he is not bidding you be a Papiſt, nor hindering you to live in your own religion? *A.* The contrary does appear; for we have not liberty to hear a goſpel-preaching, but we are taken, killed, and put to the hardeſt of ſufferings. They ſaid, it was not ſo, for we might have the goſpel, if our wild principles would ſuffer us to hear it. I ſaid, they might ſay ſo, but the contrary was well known through the land; for ye baniſhed away our faithful miniſters, and thruſt in ſuch as live rather like profligates than like miniſters, ſo that poor things neither can nor dare join with them. (11.) Are ye clear to join with Argyle? No. Then one of them ſaid, Ye will have no King but Mr James Renwick; and aſked, if I converſed with any other miniſter upon the field than Mr Renwick: I told them, I converſed wich no other.—And a number of other things paſſed that were to little purpoſe.

"Sirs, this is a true hint of any material thing that paſſed betwixt them and me. As for their drinking of healths, never one

one of them ſpoke of it to me; neither did ever any of them bid me pray for their King; but they ſaid, that they knew I was that much of a Chriſtian that I would pray for all men. I told them, I was bound to pray for all; but prayer being inſtituted by a holy God, who was the hearer of prayer, no Chriſtian could pray when every profligate did bid him; and it was no advantage to their cauſe to ſuffer ſuch a thing.

"How it may be afterwards with me, I cannot poſitively ſay, for he is a free Sovereign, and may come and go as he pleaſeth. But this I ſay, and can affirm, that he has not quarrelled with me ſince I was priſoner, but has always waited on to ſupply me with all conſolation and ſtrength, as my neceſſity required; and now, when I cannot lay down my own head, nor lift it without help; yet of all the caſes I ever was in, I had never more contentment. I can now give the croſs of Chriſt a noble commendation. It was always ſweet and pleaſant, but never ſo ſweet and pleaſant as now. Under all my wanderings, and all my toilings, a priſon was ſtill ſo terrifying to me, that I could never have been ſo ſure as I would have been. But immediately at my taking, he ſo ſhined on me, and ever ſince that, he and his croſs are to me far beyond whatever he was before. Therefore let none ſcare or ſtand at a diſtance from their duty for fear of the croſs, for now I can ſay from experience, that it is as eaſy, yea, and more ſweet, to lie in priſon in irons, than it is to be at liberty. But I muſt forbear at preſent."

Upon the 26th, he was ordered by the Council to be proſecuted before the Juſticiary. Accordingly on the 30th he was before the Juſticiary, and arraigned, his own confeſſion being the only proof againſt him, which runs thus: "John Niſbet of Hardhill, priſoner, confeſſes, when examined before the Council, that he was at Drumclog, had arms, and made uſe of them againſt the King's forces; and that he was at Glaſgow; and that he was at a field-meeting within theſe two months, betwixt Egleſham and Kilbride," &c. The which being read, he adhered to, but refuſed to ſubſcribe it. The aſſize brought him in guilty; and the Lords ſentenced him to be hanged at the Graſsmarket, December 4. betwixt two and four in the afternoon, and his lands, goods, and gear, to be forfeited to the King's uſe.

It was inſerted by the Council in his confeſſion, that the reaſon why he could not join with Argyle was, that one Cleland told him, that Argyle and his party were againſt all kingly government. Mr Wodrow thinks this falſe, and that it was only foiſted in by the clerk of the Council, it not being the firſt time that things of this nature had been done by

them. But he behoves to have been in a miſtake here; for in one of Hardhill's papers, in manuſcript, left behind him in way of teſtimony, he gives this as the firſt reaſon for his not joining with Argyle; and the ſecond was to the ſame purpoſe with what Mr Wodrow has obſerved, viz. becauſe the ſocieties could not eſpouſe his declaration, as the ſtate of the quarrel was not concerted according to the ancient plea of the Scottiſh covenanters, and becauſe it opened a door to a ſinful confederacy.

His ſentence was accordingly executed; and he appeared upon the ſcaffold with a great deal of courage and Chriſtian compoſure, and died in much aſſurance, and with a joy which none of his perſecutors could intermeddle with. It was affirmed by ſome who were preſent at his execution, that the ſcaffold or gibbet gave way and came down, which made ſome preſent flatter themſelves, that by ſome laws in being he had ſaved his life, as they uſed to ſay in ſuch caſes. But behold a diſappointment here, for he behoved not to eſcape ſo, for to this end he was born. Immediately all was reared up, and the martyr executed.

In his laſt teſtimony, which is inſerted in the Cloud of Witneſſes, after a recital of many choice ſcripture-texts, which had been comforting and ſtrengthening to him in the houſe of his pilgrimage, he comes, among other things in point of teſtimony, to ſay, "Now, my dear friends in Chriſt, I have always, ſince the public reſolutioners were for bringing in the malignants and their intereſt, thought it my duty to join with the Lord's people, in witneſſing againſt theſe ſinful courſes, and now ſee clearly, that it has ended in nothing leſs than the making us captains, that we may return to Egypt by the open doors, that are made wide to bring in Popery, and ſet up idolatry in the Lord's covenanted land, to defile it. Wherefore it is the unqueſtionable and indiſpenſable duty of all who have any love to God, and to his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to witneſs faithfully, conſtantly, and conſcientiouſly, againſt all that the enemies have done, or are doing, to the overthrow of the glorious work of reformation, and baniſhing Chriſt out of theſe lands, by robbing him of his crown-rights. And however it be, that many, both miniſters and profeſſors, are turning their back upon Chriſt and his cauſe, reproaching and caſting dirt upon you and the teſtimony of the day; yet let not this weaken your hands; for I aſſure you it will not be long to the fourth watch, and then he will come in garments dyed in blood, to raiſe up ſaviours in mount Zion, and to judge the mount of Eſau; and then the cauſe of Jacob and Joſeph ſhall be for fire, and the malignants, Prelates, and Papiſts,

ſhall be for ſtubble; the flame thereof ſhall be great. But my generation-work being done with my time, I go to him who loved me, and waſhed me from all my ſins."

Then he goes on déclaring, that he adhered to the ſcripture, Confeſſion of Faith, Catechiſms Larger and Shorter, and all the pieces of reformation attained to in Scotland from 1638 to 1649, with all the proteſtations, declarations, &c. given by the faithful ſince that time; owns all their appearances in arms at Pentland, Drumclog, Bothwell, Airſmoſs, &c. againſt God's ſtated enemies, and the enemies of the goſpel, and kingly government, as appointed and emitted in the word of God, they entering covenant-ways, and with covenant-qualifications. And withal adds, "But I am perſuaded, Scotland's covenanted God will cut off the name of Stuart, becauſe they have ſtated themſelves againſt religion, reformation, and the thriving of Chriſt's kingdom and kingly government in theſe lands: and although men idolize them ſo much now, yet, ere long, there ſhall be none of them to tyrannize in covenanted Britain any more."

Then he proceeds in proteſting againſt Popery, Prelacy, the granters and acceptors of the indulgence; and exhorting the people of God to forbear contention, and cenſuring one another; to keep up their ſweet fellowſhip and ſociety-meetings, with which he had been much comforted. And concludes, bidding farewell to his dear fellow-ſufferers, to his dear children, Chriſtian friends, ſweet Bible, and to his wanderings and contendings for truth: welcomes death, the city of his God, the bleſſed company of angels, and the ſpirits of juſt men; but above all, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, into whoſe hands he commits his ſpirit. Amen.

After he wrote his laſt ſpeech, he was taken out immediately to the Council, and from that to the place of execution. All the way thither he had his eyes lifted up to heaven. He ſeemed to rejoice, and his face ſhined viſibly. He ſpoke but little till he came to the ſcaffold. When he came there, he jumped upon it, and cried out, "My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, my ſoul doth magnify the Lord. I have longed theſe ſixteen years to ſeal the precious cauſe and intereſt of precious Chriſt with my blood, who hath anſwered and granted my requeſt, and has left me no more to do but to come here and pour out my laſt prayer, ſing forth my laſt praiſes of him in time on this ſweet and deſirable ſcaffold, mount that ladder, and then I ſhall get home to my Father's houſe, ſee, enjoy, ſerve, and ſing forth the praiſes of my glorious Redeemer for ever, world without end." Then he reſumed the heads of his laſt teſtimony to the truth, and enlarged on what he owned

owned and diſowned; but the drums being beat, little could be heard; only with difficulty he was heard to ſay, "The covenanted God of Scotland hath a dreadful ſtorm of wrath provided, which he will ſurely pour out ſuddenly and unexpectedly, like a thunderbolt, upon theſe covenanted lands, for their perfidy, treachery, and apoſtacy; and then men ſhall ſay, they have got well away that got a ſcaffold for Chriſt." He exhorted all to make uſe of Chriſt for a hiding place; "for blood, blood, ſhall be the judgement of theſe lands." He ſang the firſt ſix verſes of the 34th pſalm, and read the 8th chapter of the Romans, and prayed divinely with great preſence of mind, and very loud. Then went up the ladder, rejoicing and praiſing the Lord, which all evidently ſaw. And ſo ended the race which he had run, with faith and patience, upon the 4th of December 1685, in the 58th year of his age.

He was a man of ſtrong memory, good judgement, and much given to ſelf-denial. It is ſaid of him, that under his hidings in a cave, near or about his own houſe, he wrote out all the New Teſtament; which probably, according to ſome accounts, might be a tranſcription of an old copy, which one of his anceſtors is ſaid to have copied out in the time of Popery, when the ſcriptures were not permitted to be read in the vulgar language.

Hardhill was always a man very particular upon the teſtimony of the day, which made ſome compliers cenſure him as one too harſh and rugged in point of principle. But this muſt be altogether groundleſs: for in one of the forementioned manuſcripts, he lets fall theſe words: "Now, as for miſreports, that were ſo much ſpread of me, I declare, as a dying perſon going out of time to eternity, that the Lord never ſuffered me in the leaſt to incline to follow any one of thoſe perſons who were drawn away to follow erroneous principles. Only I thought it ſtill my duty to be tender of them, as they had ſouls, wondering always wherefore I was right in any meaſure, and they got leave to fall in ſuch a manner. I could never endure to hear one creature rail and cry out againſt another, knowing we are all alike by nature." And afterwards, when ſpeaking of Argyle's declaration, he farther ſays, "Let all beware of refuſing to join with miniſters or profeſſors upon account of perſonal infirmities, which is ready to raiſe prejudice among perſons. But it ſhall be found a walking contrary to the word of God, and ſo contrary to God himſelf, to join either with miniſters or profeſſors, that hold it lawful to meddle with ſinful things; for the holy ſcriptures allow of no ſuch thing. He is a holy God; and all that name the name of God muſt depart from evil."

There were alſo twenty-ſix ſteps of defection drawn up by him, (yet in manuſcript), wherein he is moſt explicit in proving, from clear ſcripture-proofs, the ſinfulneſs of the land's apoſtacy from God, both nationally and perſonally, from the public reſolutions to the time of his death in 1685. He was by ſome thought too ſevere in his deſign of killing the priſoners at Drumclog. But in this he was not altogether to blame; for the enemy's word was, No quarters, and the ſufferers were the ſame; and we find it grieved Mr Hamilton very much, when he beheld ſome of them ſpared, after the Lord had delivered them into their hand. *Happy ſhall he be that rewardeth thee as thou haſt ſerved us*, Pſal. cxxxvii. 8. Yea, Hardhill himſelf ſeems to have had clear grounds and motives for this, in one of the above-mentioned ſteps of defection, with which we ſhall conclude this narrative.

" 15*thly*, As there has been raſh, envious, and carnal executing of juſtice on his and the church's enemies, ſo he has alſo been provoked to reject, caſt off, and take the power out of his people's hand, for being ſo ſparing of them, when he brought forth and gave a commiſſion to execute on them that vengeance due unto them, as it is, Pſal. cxlix. 9. For as juſtice ought to be executed in ſuch and ſuch a way and manner as aforeſaid, ſo it ought to be fully executed without ſparing, as is clear from Joſhua vii. 24. &c. For ſparing the life of the enemy, and fleeing upon the ſpoil, 1 Sam. xv. 18. Saul is ſharply rebuked; and though he excuſed himſelf, yet for that very thing he is rejected from being King. Let the practice of Drumclog be remembered and mourned for. If there was not a deep ignorance, reaſon might teach this; for what maſter, having ſervants, and putting them to do his work, would take ſuch a ſlight at his ſervant's hands as to do a part of his work, and come and ſay to the maſter, that it is not neceſſary to do the reſt; when the not doing of it would be diſhonourable to the maſter, and hurtful to the whole family. Therefore was the wrath of the Lord againſt his people, inſomuch, that he abhorred his inheritance, and hiding his face from his people, making them afraid at the ſhaking of a leaf, and to flee when none purſueth, being a ſcorn and hiſſing to enemies, and fear to ſome who deſire to befriend his cauſe. And, O! lay to heart and mourn for what has been done to provoke him to anger, in not ſeeking the truth to execute judgement, and therefore he has not pardoned. *Behold! for your iniquities have you ſold yourſelves, and for your tranſgreſſions is your mother put away*, Iſ. l. 1. &c."

Mr

Mr ALEXANDER PEDEN.

MR ALEXANDER PEDEN was born in the pariſh of Sorn, in the ſhire of Ayr. After he had paſſed his courſes of learning at the univerſity, he was, for ſome time, employed to be ſchoolmaſter, precentor, and ſeſſion-clerk, to Mr John Guthrie miniſter of the goſpel, then at Tarbolton *. When he was about to enter into the miniſtry, he was accuſed by a young woman, as being the father of a child, which ſhe was with. But of this aſperſion he was fully cleared, by the confeſſion of the real father. The woman, after ſuffering many calamities, put an end to her own life, in the very ſame place where Mr Peden had ſpent twenty-four hours, ſeeking the divine direction, while he was embarraſſed with that affair.

A little before the Reſtoration, he was ſettled miniſter at New Glenluce in Galloway, where he continued for about the ſpace of three years, until he was, among others, thruſt out by the violence and tyranny of theſe times. When he was about to depart from that pariſh, he lectured upon Acts xx. from the ſeventh verſe to the end, and preached in the forenoon from theſe words, in the 31ſt verſe, *Therefore watch, and remember, that for the ſpace of three years I ceaſed not to warn every man*, &c. aſſerting that he had declared unto them the whole counſel of God, and had kept back nothing, profeſſing he was free from the blood of all ſouls. In the afternoon, he preached from the 32d verſe, *And now, brethren, I commend you to the word of his grace*, &c. which occaſioned a weeping day in that church. He many times requeſted them to be ſilent; but they ſorrowed moſt of all, when he told them, they ſhould never ſee his face in that pulpit again. He continued till night, and when he cloſed the pulpit-door, he knocked three times very hard on it, with his Bible, ſaying three times over, I arreſt thee, in my Maſter's name, that none ever enter thee, but ſuch as come in by the door, as I have done. Accordingly, never did curate or indulged enter that pulpit, until the Revolution, that one of the Preſbyterian perſuaſion opened it.

About the beginning of the year 1666, a proclamation was emitted by the Council againſt him, and ſeveral of the ejected miniſters; wherein he was charged with holding conventicles, preaching and baptiſing children at Ralſtoun in Kilmarnock pariſh, in October laſt, and another in Caſtlehill in Craigy

* According to Mr Wodrow, he was ſome time alſo precentor at Fenwick. See his Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 443.

pariſh, where he baptiſed twenty-five children. But upon his non-appearance at this citation, he was next year declared a rebel, and forfeited in both life and fortune *.

After this, he joined with that faithful party, which, in the ſame year, was broke at Pentland hills; and with them he came the length of Clyde, where he had a melancholy view of their end, and parted with them there. Afterwards, when one of his friends ſaid to him, Sir, you did well that left them, ſeeing you was perſuaded that they would fall and flee before the enemy, he was offended, and ſaid, Glory, glory to God, that he ſent me not to hell immediately, for I ſhould have ſtaid with them, though I ſhould have been all cut in pieces.

In the ſame year, he met with a very remarkable deliverance. For he, Mr Welch, and the Laird of Glerover, riding together, they met a party of the enemy's horſe, whom there was no eviting. The Laird fainted, fearing they ſhould be taken. Mr Peden, ſeeing this, ſaid, Keep up your courage and confidence, for God hath laid an arreſt on theſe men, that they ſhall do us no harm. When they met, they were courteous, and aſked the way. Mr Peden went off the way, and ſhewed them the ford of the water of Titt. When he returned, the Laird ſaid, Why did you go? you might have let the lad go with them. No, ſaid he, they might have aſked queſtions of the lad, which might have diſcovered us; but as for me, I knew they would be like Egyptian dogs; they could not move a tongue againſt me, my time not being yet come, &c.

He paſſed his time ſometimes in Scotland, and ſometimes in Ireland †, until June 1673, that he was, by Major Cockburn, taken in the houſe of Hugh Ferguſon of Knockdew, in Carrick, who conſtrained him to ſtay all night. Mr Peden told them, it would be a dear night's quarters to them both: accordingly they were both carried priſoners to Edinburgh. There the ſaid Hugh was fined in 1000 merks for reſet, harbour, and converſe with him. Some time after his examination, he was ſent priſoner to the Baſs. One Sabbath-morning, being about the public worſhip of God, a young girl, about the age of fourteen years, came to the chamber-door, mocking with loud laughter, he ſaid, Poor thing, thou laugheſt and mockeſt at the worſhip of God, but ere long God ſhall write ſuch a ſudden and ſurpriſing judgement on thee, that ſhall ſtay thy laughing, &c. Very ſhortly after that, as ſhe was walking

* Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 235.

† Walker, in his Eighth Additional Paſſage, &c. ſays, that he was in Ireland, in the year 1670; but of this we have no farther account.

walking on the rock, a blaſt of wind ſwept her off to the ſea, where ſhe was loſt.

Another day, as he was walking on the rock, ſome ſoldiers were paſſing by, and one of them cried, The devil take him. He ſaid, Fy, fy! poor man, thou knoweſt not what thou art ſaying; but thou ſhalt repent that. At which he ſtood aſtoniſhed, and went to the guard diſtracted, crying out for Mr Peden, ſaying, The devil would immediately come and take him away. Mr Peden came, and ſpoke to and prayed for him, and next morning came to him again, and found him in his right mind, under deep convictions of great guilt. The guard being to change, they commanded him to his arms, but he refuſed; and ſaid, He would lift no arms againſt Jeſus Chriſt, his cauſe, and his people; I have done that too long. The Governor threatened him with death to-morrow by ten o'clock. He confidently ſaid, three times over, That though he ſhould tear him in pieces, he ſhould never lift arms that way. About three days after, the Governor put him forth of the garriſon, ſetting him aſhore. And he, having a wife and children, took a houſe in Eaſt Lothian, where he became a ſingular Chriſtian.

Mr Peden was brought from the Baſs to Edinburgh, and ſentence of baniſhment paſſed upon him in December 1678, with other ſixty priſoners for the ſame cauſe, to go to America, never to be ſeen again in Scotland, under pain of death. After this ſentence was paſſed, he often ſaid, That that ſhip was not yet built, that ſhould take him or theſe priſoners to Virginia, or any other of the Engliſh plantations in America.—When they were on ſhip-board in the roads of Leith, there was a report, that the enemies were to ſend down thumbkins to keep them in order; on which they were much diſcouraged. He went above deck, and ſaid, Why are you ſo diſcouraged? you need not fear, there will neither thumbkins nor bootkins come here; lift up your hearts, for the day of your redemption draweth near: If we were once at London, we will all be ſet at liberty, &c. In their voyage thither, they had the opportunity of commanding the ſhip, and eſcaping, but would not adventure upon it without his advice. He ſaid, Let all alone, for the Lord will ſet all at liberty, in a way more conducive to his own glory and our own ſafety. Accordingly, when they arrived, the ſkipper who received them at Leith, being to carry them no farther, delivered them to another, to carry them to Virginia, to whom they were repreſented as thieves and robbers. But when he came to ſee them, and found they were all grave ſober Chriſtians, baniſhed for Preſbyterian principles, he ſaid, he would ſail the

ſea

ſea with none ſuch. In this confuſion, that the one ſkipper would not receive them, and the other would keep them no longer for being expenſive to him, they were ſet at liberty. Some ſays the ſkipper got compliments from friends in London. Others aſſure us, that they got off through the means of the Lord Shafteſbury, who was always friendly to the Preſbyterians. However, it is certain they were all liberated at Graveſend, without any bond or impoſition whatever. And in their way homeward, the Engliſh ſhewed them no ſmall degree of kindneſs.

After they were ſet at liberty, Mr Peden ſtaid at London, and other places of England, until June 1679, that he came to Scotland; and that diſmal day, the 22d of that month, when the Lord's people fell and fled before their enemies at Bothwell-bridge, he was forty miles diſtant, being near the border, where he kept himſelf retired until the middle of the day, that ſome friends ſaid to him, Sir, the people are waiting for ſermon, it being the Lord's day. To whom he ſaid, Let the people go to their prayers; for me, I neither can nor will preach any this day; for our friends are fallen and fled before the enemy at Hamilton, and they are haſhing and hagging them down, and their blood is running down like water.

Shortly after this ſtroke at Bothwell-bridge, he went to Ireland, but did not ſtay long at that time. For in the year 1680, being near Mauchline, in the ſhire of Ayr, one Robert Brown, in Corſehouſe, in Loudon pariſh, and one Hugh Pinaneve, factor to the Earl of Loudon, ſtabling their horſes in that houſe where he was, went to a fair in Mauchline, and in the afternoon, when they came to take their horſes, they got ſome drink; in the taking of which, the ſaid Hugh broke out into railing againſt our ſufferers, particularly againſt Mr Cameron, who was lately, before that, ſlain at Airſmoſs. Mr Peden, being in another room, overhearing all, was ſo grieved, that he came to the chamber-door, and ſaid to him, Sir, hold your peace; ere twelve o'clock you ſhall know what for a man Mr Cameron was: God ſhall puniſh that blaſphemous mouth of yours in ſuch a manner, that you ſhall be ſet up for a beacon to all ſuch railing Rabſhakehs. Robert Brown, knowing Mr Peden, haſtened to his horſe, being perſuaded that his word would not fall to the ground; and fearing alſo that ſome miſchief might befal him in the ſaid Hugh's company, he haſtened home to his own houſe, and the ſaid Hugh to the Earl's; and caſting off his boots, he was ſtruck with a ſudden ſickneſs, and pain through his body, with his mouth wide open, and his tongue hanging out in a fearful

manner,

manner. They ſent for the ſaid Robert to take ſome blood from him, but all in vain; for he died before midnight.

After this, in the year 1682, he married that ſingular Chriſtian, John Brown, at his houſe in Prieſthall, in the pariſh of Moorkirk in Kyle, to one Iſabel Weir. After marriage, he ſaid to the bride, Iſabel, you have got a good man to be your huſband, but you will not enjoy him long; prize his company, and keep linen by you to be his winding-ſheet, for ye will need it when ye are not looking for it, and it will be a bloody one. Which ſadly came to paſs, in the beginning of May 1685.

In the ſame year, 1682, he went to Ireland again, and coming to the houſe of William Steel in Glenwhary, in the county of Antrim, he inquired at Mrs Steel, if ſhe wanted a ſervant for threſhing of victual. She ſaid, they did, and aſked what his wages were a-day and a-week. He ſaid, the common rate was a common rule. To which ſhe aſſented. At night he was put to bed in the barn with the ſervant-lad, and that night he ſpent in prayer and groaning. To-morrow, he threſhed with the lad, and the next night he ſpent in the ſame way. The ſecond day, the lad ſaid to his miſtreſs, This man ſleeps none, but groans and prays all night; I can get no ſleep with him; he threſhes very well, and not ſparing himſelf, though I think he hath not been uſed to it, &c.; and when I put the barn in order, he goes to ſuch a place, and prays for the afflicted church of Scotland, and names ſo many people in the furnace, &c. He wrought the ſecond day; his miſtreſs watched and overheard him praying, as the lad had ſaid. At night ſhe deſired her huſband to inquire if he was a miniſter: which he did, and deſired him to be free with him, and he ſhould not only be no enemy to him, but a friend. Mr Peden ſaid, he was not aſhamed of his office, and gave an account of his circumſtances. But he was no more ſet to work, or to lie with the lad. He ſtaid ſome conſiderable time in that place, and was a bleſſed inſtrument in the converſion of ſome, and the civiliſing of others, &c. There was a ſervant-laſs in that houſe, whom he could not look upon but with frowns; and at laſt he ſaid to the ſaid William Steel and his wife, Put her away, for ſhe will be a ſtain to your family; ſhe is with child, and will murder it, and will be puniſhed for the ſame. Which accordingly came to paſs; for which ſhe was burnt at Carrickfergus; the uſual puniſhment of malefactors in that country.

In the year 1684, being in the houſe of John Slowan, in the pariſh of Conert, in the ſame county of Antrim, about ten o'clock at night, ſitting by the fireſide, diſcourſing with ſome

honeſt people, he ſtarted to his feet, and ſaid, Flee off, Sandy, and hide yourſelf, for Colonel —— is coming to this houſe to apprehend you, and I adviſe you all to do the like, for they will be here within an hour. Which came to paſs. When they had made a moſt inquiſitive ſearch, without and within the houſe, and went round the thorn-buſh, where he was lying praying, they went off without their prey, he came in and ſaid, And has this gentleman given poor Sandy ſuch a fright, and other poor things; for this night's work, God ſhall give him ſuch a blow within a few days, that all the phyſicians on earth ſhall not be able to cure. Which likewiſe came to paſs; for he ſoon died in great miſery, vermin iſſuing from all the pores of his body, with ſuch a nauſeous ſmell that none could enter the room where he lay.

At another time, when he was in the ſame pariſh, one David Cunningham, miniſter in the meeting-houſe there, one Sabbath-day broke out into very bitter reflections againſt Mr Peden. One Mr Vernon, one of Mr Cunningham's elders, being much offended thereat, told Mr Peden on Monday what he had ſaid. Mr Peden, taking a turn in his garden, came back, and charged him to go tell Mr Cunningham from him, that before Saturday's night, he ſhould be as free of a meeting-houſe as he was. Which accordingly came to paſs; for he got a charge that ſame week, not to enter his meeting-houſe, under pain of death.

One time, travelling alone in Ireland, being a dark miſt, and night approaching, he was obliged to go to a houſe belonging to a Quaker, where he begged the favour of his roof all night. The Quaker ſaid, Thou art a ſtranger, thou art very welcome, and ſhalt be kindly entertained, but I cannot wait upon thee, for I am going to the meeting. Mr Peden ſaid, I will go along with you. The Quaker ſaid, Thou mayeſt if thou pleaſeſt, but thou muſt not trouble us. He ſaid, I ſhall be civil. When they came to the meeting, as their cuſtom was, they ſat for ſome time ſilent, ſome with their faces to the wall, and ſome covered; and, their being a void in the loft above, there came down the appearance of a raven, and ſat on one man's head, who roſe up and ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that the foam flew from his mouth. It went to a ſecond, and he did ſo likewiſe. Mr Peden, ſitting next the landlord, ſaid, Do you not ſee? You will not deny yon afterwards. He anſwered, Thou promiſed to be ſilent. From a ſecond it went to a third man's head, who did as the former two. When they diſmiſſed, on the way home, Mr Peden ſaid to his landlord, I always thought there was devilry amongſt you, but I never thought that he had appeared viſibly, till now I have ſeen it. O! for the Lord's ſake, quit this way, and

flee

flee to the Lord Jeſus, in whom there is redemption through his blood, even the forgiveneſs of all your iniquities. The poor man fell a-weeping, and ſaid, I perceive that God hath ſent you to my houſe, and put it in your heart to go along with me, and permitted the devil to appear viſibly among us this night. I never ſaw the like before; let me have the help of your prayers, for I reſolve, through the Lord's grace, to follow this way no longer. After this, he became a ſingular Chriſtian; and when dying, bleſſed the Lord that in mercy he ſent the man of God to his houſe.

Before he left Ireland, he preached in ſeveral places, particularly one time near the forementioned Mr Vernon's houſe, in 1685, where he had made a moſt clear diſcovery of the many hardſhips his fellow-ſufferers were then undergoing in Scotland; and of the death of King Charles, the news of which came not to Ireland till twenty-four hours thereafter.

After this he longed to be out of Ireland; what through the fearful apprehenſion of that diſmal rebellion that broke out there about four years after, and what from a deſire he had to take part with the ſufferings of Scotland. And before his departure from thence, he baptiſed a child to one John Maxwell, a Glaſgow man, who had fled over from the perſecution, which was all the drink-money (as he expreſſed it) that he had to leave in Ireland.

After he and twenty Scots ſufferers came aboard, he went on deck, and prayed, (there not being then the leaſt wind), where he made a rehearſal of times and places when and where the Lord had heard and helped them in the day of their diſtreſs, and now they were in a great ſtrait. Waving his hand to the weſt, from whence he deſired the wind, he ſaid, Lord, give us a loof-ful of wind; fill the ſails, Lord, and give us a freſh gale, and let us have a ſwift and ſafe paſſage over to the bloody land, come of us what will. When he began to pray, the ſails were hanging all ſtraight down, but ere he ended, they were all blown full, and they got a very ſwift and ſafe paſſage over. In the morning, after they landed, he lectured ere they parted, on a brae-ſide; in which he had ſome awful threatenings againſt Scotland, ſaying, The time was coming, that they might travel many miles in Galloway, Nithſdale, Ayr, and Clydeſdale, and not ſee a reeking houſe, or hear a cock crow; and further added, My ſoul trembles to think what will become of the indulged, backſlidden, and upſitten miniſters of Scotland; as the Lord lives, none of them ſhall ever be honoured to put a right pin in the Lord's tabernacle, nor aſſert Chriſt's kingly prerogative as Head and King of his church.

After his arrival in Scotland, in the beginning of the year 1685, he met with ſeveral remarkable deliverances from the enemy. One time, fleeing from them on horſeback, he was obliged to ride a water, where he was in imminent danger. After he got out, he cried, Lads, do not follow me, for I aſſure you, ye want my boat, and ſo will drown; and conſider where your landing will be, &c.; which affrighted them from entering the water. At another time, being alſo hard purſued, he was forced to take a bog and a moſs before him. One of the dragoons, being more forward than the reſt, run himſelf into that dangerous bog, where he and the horſe were never ſeen more.

About this time, he preached one Sabbath-night in a ſheep-houſe, the hazard of the time affording no better. That night he lectured upon Amos vii. 8. *And I will ſet a plumb-line in the midſt of my people, the houſe of Iſrael,* &c. In this lecture he ſaid, I'll tell you good news. Our Lord will take a feather out of Antichriſt's wing, which ſhall bring down the Duke of York, and baniſh him out of theſe kingdoms. And there ſhall never a man of the houſe of Stuart ſit upon the throne of Britain after the Duke of York, whoſe reign is now ſhort; for their lechery, treachery, tyranny, and ſhedding the precious blood of the Lord's people. But, oh! black, black, will the days be that will come upon Ireland! ſo that they ſhall travel forty miles, and not ſee a reeking houſe or hear a cock crow, &c. When ended, he and thoſe with him lay down in the ſheep-houſe, and got ſome ſleep; and early next morning went up a burn-ſide, and ſtaid long. When he came back, he ſung the 32d pſalm, from the 7th verſe to the end; and then repeated that verſe,

Thou art my hiding-place, thou ſhalt
from trouble keep me free;
Thou with ſongs of deliverance
about ſhalt compaſs me:

Saying, Theſe and the following are ſweet lines, which I got at the burn-ſide this morning, and will get more to-morrow; and ſo will get daily proviſion. He was never behind any who put there truſt in him, and we will go on in his ſtrength, making mention of his righteouſneſs, and of his only. He met with another remarkable deliverance, for the enemy coming upon him, and ſome others, they were purſued by both horſe and foot a conſiderable way. At laſt, getting ſome little height between them and the enemy, he ſtood ſtill, and ſaid, Let us pray here; for if the Lord hear not our prayers, and ſave us, we are all dead men, &c. Then he began, ſaying,

Lord,

Lord, it is thy enemy's day, hour, and power, they may not be idle: But haſt thou no other work for them, but to ſend them after us? ſend them after them to whom thou wilt give ſtrength to flee, for our ſtrength is gone. Twine them about the hill, Lord, and caſt the lap of thy cloke over old Sandy, and thir poor things, and ſave us this one time; and we'll keep it in remembrance, and tell it to the commendation of thy goodneſs, pity, and compaſſion, what thou didſt for us at ſuch a time. And in this he was heard; for a cloud of miſt intervened immediately betwixt them; and in the mean time, a poſt came to the enemy, to go in queſt of Mr Renwick, and a great company with him.

At this time it was ſeldom that Mr Peden could be prevailed on to preach; frequently anſwering and adviſing people to pray much, ſaying, It was praying folk that would get through the ſtorm; they would yet get preaching, both meikle and good, but not much good of it, until judgement was poured out to lay the land deſolate, &c.

In the ſame year, 1685, being in Carrick, John Clark of Moorbrook, being with him, ſaid, Sir, what think you of this time? Is it not a dark and melancholy day? Can there be a more diſcouraging time than this? He ſaid, Yes, John, this is a dark diſcouraging time; but there will be a darker time than this; theſe ſilly graceleſs creatures, the curates, ſhall go down; and after them ſhall ariſe a party called Preſbyterians, but having little more but the name; and theſe ſhall, as really as Chriſt was crucified without the gates of Jeruſalem on Mount Calvary bodily, I ſay, they ſhall as really crucify Chriſt, in his cauſe and intereſt in Scotland, and ſhall lay him in his grave, and his friends ſhall give him his winding-ſheet, and he ſhall lie as one buried for a conſiderable time: O! then, John, there ſhall be darkneſs and dark days, ſuch as the poor church of Scotland never ſaw the like, nor ever ſhall ſee, if once they were over; yea, John, they ſhall be ſo dark, that if a poor thing would go between the eaſt ſea-bank and the weſt ſea-bank, ſeeking a miniſter to whom they would communicate their caſe, or tell them the mind of the Lord concerning the time, he ſhall not find one. John aſked, where the teſtimony ſhould be then? He anſwered, * In the hands of

* In an old copy there are theſe words: "In the hands of a few, who ſhall have neither magiſtrate nor miniſter among them, who ſhall be ſore deſpiſed and undervalued of all," &c. Whether this alteration proceeds from different informations, or from partiality, is hard to determine: Only it is affirmed, that the author of theſe paſſages was then amongſt that party who had neither magiſtrate nor miniſter at that time, or at leaſt was not in full communion with any party, if it was not thoſe adhering to Mr Hepburn.

of a few, who ſhould be deſpiſed and undervalued of all, but eſpecially by theſe miniſters who buried Chriſt; but after that he ſhall get up upon them; and at the crack of his winding-ſheet, as many of them as are alive, who were at his burial, ſhall be diſtracted and mad with fear, not knowing what to do: Then, John, there ſhall be brave days, ſuch as the church of Scotland never ſaw the like; but I ſhall not ſee them, but you may.

About this time, as he was preaching in the day-time in the pariſh of Girvan, and being in the fields, one David Maſon, then a profeſſor, came in haſte, trampling upon the people to be near him. At which he ſaid, There comes the devil's rattle-bag; we do not want him here. After this, the ſaid David became officer and informer in that bounds, running through, rattling, and ſummoning the people to their unhappy courts for non-conformity; at which he and his got the name of the devil's rattle-bag. Since the Revolution, he complained to his miniſter, that he and his family got that name. The miniſter ſaid, Ye well deſerved it; and he was an honeſt man that gave you it: you and yours muſt enjoy it; there is no help for that.

It is very remarkable, that being ſick, and the landlord where he ſtaid, being afraid to keep him in his houſe, (the enemy being then in ſearch of hiding people), made him a bed among the ſtanding corn; at which time a great rain fell out, inſomuch that the waters were raiſed, and yet not one drop to be obſerved within ten feet of his bed, while he lay in that field.

Much about the ſame time, he came to Garfield, in the pariſh of Mauchline, to the houſe of one Matthew Hog, a ſmith by trade. He went to his barn, but thought himſelf not ſafe there, foot and horſe of the enemy ſearching for wanderers, as they were then called. He deſired the favour of his loft, being an old waſte houſe two ſtory high. This he refuſed. He then ſaid, Weel, weel, poor man, you will not let me have the ſhelter of your roof; but that ſame houſe will be your judgement and ruin yet. Some time after this, the gable of that houſe fell, and killed both him and his ſon.

His laſt ſermon was preached in the Collimwood, at the water of Ayr, a ſhort time before his death. In the preface before this ſermon, he ſaid, There are four or five things I have to tell you this night; and the *1ſt* is, A bloody ſword, a bloody ſword, a bloody ſword, for thee, O Scotland, that ſhall pierce the hearts of many. *2dly*, Many miles ſhall ye travel and ſee nothing but deſolation and ruinous waſtes in thee, O Scotland. *3dly*, The moſt fertile places in thee ſhall be as waſte

as the mountains. 4*thly*, The women with child ſhall be ript up and daſhed in pieces. And, 5*thly*, Many a conventicle has God had in thee, O Scotland; but, ere long, God will make a conventicle that will make Scotland tremble. Many a preaching has God beſtowed on thee; but, ere long, God's judgements ſhall be as frequent as theſe precious meetings were, wherein he ſent forth his faithful ſervants to give faithful warning of the hazard of thy apoſtacy from God, in breaking, burning, and burying his covenant, perſecuting, ſlighting, and contemning the goſpel, ſhedding the precious blood of his ſaints and ſervants. God ſent forth a Welwood, a Kid, a King, a Cameron, a Cargill, and others to preach to thee; but, ere long, God ſhall preach to thee by fire and a bloody ſword. God will let none of theſe men's words fall to the ground, that he ſent forth with a commiſſion to preach theſe things in his name, &c. In the ſermon, he further ſaid, that a few years after his death, there would be a wonderful alteration of affairs in Britain and Ireland, and Scotland's perſecution ſhould ceaſe; upon which every one would believe the deliverance was come, and conſequently would fall fatally ſecure; but you will be all very far miſtaken, for both Scotland and England will be ſcourged by foreigners, and a ſet of unhappy men in theſe lands taking part with them, before any of you can pretend to be happy, or get a thorough deliverance; which will be more ſevere chaſtiſement than any other they have met with, or can come under, if once that were over.

After much wandering from place to place, through Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway, his death drawing near, he came to his brother's houſe, in the pariſh of Sorn, where he was born, where he cauſed dig a cave, with a willow-buſh covering the mouth thereof, near to his brother's houſe. The enemy got notice, and ſearched the houſe narrowly ſeveral times, but him they found not. While in this cave, he ſaid to ſome friends *, 1*ſt*, That God would make Scotland a deſolation. 2*dly*, There would be a remnant in the land whom God would ſpare and hide. 3*dly*, They would be in holes and caves of the earth, and be ſupplied with meat and drink; and when they came out of their holes, they would not have freedom to walk for ſtumbling on dead corpſes. And, 4*thly*, A ſtone cut out of the mountain would come down; and God would be avenged on the great ones of the earth, and the inhabitants of the land, for their wickedneſs; and then the church would come forth with a bonny bairn-time at her back of young ones: And he wiſhed that the Lord's people might be

* The foreſaid old copy ſays, this was within two hours of his death.

be hid in their caves, as if they were not in the world; for nothing would do until God appeared with his judgements, &c. And withal gave them this ſign, That if he be but once buried, they might be in doubt, but if oftener than once, they might be perſuaded that all he had ſaid would come to paſs; and earneſtly deſired them to take his corpſe out to Ainſmoſs, and bury him beſide Ritchie, (meaning Mr Richard Cameron), that he might have reſt in his grave, for he had got little during his life. But he ſaid, bury him where they would, he would be lifted again; but the man that would firſt put hands to his corpſe, four things would befal him: 1*ſt*, He would get a great fall from a houſe. 2*dly*, He would fall in adultery. 3*dly*, In theft; and for that he ſhould leave the land. 4*thly*, Make a melancholy end abroad for murder. All which came to paſs. This man was one Murdoch, a maſon by trade, but then in the military ſervice, being the firſt man who put hands to his corpſe.

Mr Peden had for ſome time been too credulous in believing the obliquous miſrepreſentations of ſome falſe brethren concerning Mr James Renwick, whereby he was much alienated from him; which exceedingly grieved Mr Renwick, ſtumbled ſome of his followers, and confirmed ſome of his adverſaries, who boaſted that now Mr Peden was turned his enemy. But now, when dying, he ſent for him, who came to him in all haſte, and found him lying in very low circumſtances. When Mr Renwick came in, he raiſed himſelf upon his elbow, with his head on his hand, and ſaid, Are you the Mr James Renwick there is ſo much noiſe about? He anſwered, Father, my name is James Renwick; but I have given the world no ground to make any noiſe about me, for I have eſpouſed no new principles or practices, but what our reformers and covenanters maintained, &c. He cauſed him ſit down, and give him an account of his converſion, principles, and call to the miniſtry. All which Mr Renwick did, in a moſt diſtinct manner. When ended, Mr Peden ſaid, Sir, you have anſwered me to ſoul's ſatisfaction; I am very ſorry that I ſhould have believed any ſuch evil reports of you, which not only quenched my love to, and marred my ſympathy with you, but made me expreſs myſelf ſo bitterly againſt you, for which I have ſadly ſmarted. But, Sir, ere you go, you muſt pray for me, for I am old, and going to leave the world: which he did with more than ordinary enlargement. When he ended, he took him by the hand, and drew him to him, and kiſſed him, ſaying, Sir, I find you a faithful ſervant to your Maſter; go on in a ſingle dependence upon the Lord, and ye will get honeſtly through, and clear off the ſtage, when many

others

others who hold their heads high, will lie in the mire, and make foul hands and garments. And then he prayed, that the Lord might ſpirit, ſtrengthen, ſupport, and comfort him in all duties and difficulties *.

A little before his death, he ſaid, Ye will all be diſpleaſed where I will be buried at laſt; but I diſcharge you all to lift my corpſe again. At laſt, one morning early he left the cave, and came to his brother's door. His brother's wife ſaid, Where are you going? the enemy will be here. He ſaid, I know that. Alas! Sir, ſaid ſhe, what will become of you? you muſt go back to the cave again. He ſaid, I have done with that, for it is diſcovered; but there is no matter; for within forty-eight hours, I will be beyond the reach of all the devil's temptations, and his inſtruments in hell and on earth, and they ſhall trouble me no more. About three hours after that, he entered the houſe; the enemy came, found him not in the cave, ſearched the barn narrowly, caſting the unthreſhen corn, ſearched the houſe, ſtabbing the beds, but entered not into the place where he lay. After a weary pilgrimage, within forty-eight hours after this, he became an inhabitant of that land, where the weary are at reſt, being then paſt ſixty years of age.

He was buried in the Laird of Auchinleck's iſle; but a troop of dragoons came and lifted his corpſe, and carried it † two miles, to Cumnock gallows-foot, after he had been forty days in the grave, where he lies buried beſide other martyrs.

Thus died Mr Alexander Peden, ſo much famed for his ſingular piety, zeal, and faithfulneſs, and indefatigableneſs in the duty of prayer; but eſpecially who exceeded all we have heard of in latter times, for that gift of foreſeeing and foretelling future events, both with reſpect to the church and nation of Scotland and Ireland, and particular perſons and families, ſeveral of which are already accompliſhed. A gentleman of late, when ſpeaking in his writings of Mr Peden, ſays, Abundance of this good man's predictions are well known to be already come to paſs ‡. And although theſe things are now

* Some have doubted of the certainty of this interview: however, there is no ſeeming improbability in it; nor does it make any thing to the diſparagement of either Mr Peden or Mr Renwick.

† After this (ſays Patrick Walker) that troop of dragoons came to quarter in Cambuſnethen, two of them were quartered in the houſe of James Gray, one of his acquaintance; and being frighted in their ſleep, they ſtarted up, and clapped their hands, crying, Peden, Peden! Theſe two dragoons affirmed that out of their curioſity they opened his coffin to ſee his corpſe, and yet they had no ſmell, though he had been forty days dead.

‡ John Ker of Kerſland, in his Memoirs, page 8. where he adds, that

now made to ſtoop or yield to the force of ridicule, and the ſarcaſms of the profane, and the faſhions of an atheiſtical age and generation; yet we muſt believe and conclude with the Spirit of God, that the ſecrets of the Lord both have been, are, and will be, with them who fear his name.

There are ſome few of Mr Peden's ſermons in print, eſpecially two preached at Glenluce in 1682, the one from Matth. xxi. 38. and the other from Luke xxiv. 21.; which prophetical ſermons, though in a homely ſtyle, are of a moſt zealous and ſpiritual ſtrain; now reprinted in a late collection of ſermons. As for thoſe papers handed about under Mr Peden's name, anent Mr James Renwick and his followers, they are, with good reaſon, looked upon as altogether ſpurious.

MR JOHN BLACKADDER.

MR JOHN BLACKADDER was a lineal deſcendant, and the only repreſentative of the houſe of Tulliallan. After he had undergone his courſes of claſſical learning, he was ordained miniſter of the goſpel at Traquair, near Dumfries, where he continued faithfully to diſcharge the truſt committed unto his charge, until he was with many others of his faithful brethren, thruſt out by that act, commonly called the drunken act of Glaſgow, in the year 1662. At that time, a party came from Dumfries to ſeize him; but he was gone out of the way. But his wife and children, to whom the ſoldiers were extremely rude, were forced to retire to Barndennoch, in Glencairn pariſh. But there he and his numerous family * met with further troubles: for in the year 1665, a party of Sir James Turner's men came in queſt of him; but happily he and his wife were at Edinburgh. However, with great

that when ſome people were going to join Argyle in 1685, Mr Peden, after a ſhort ejaculation, bid them ſtop, for Argyle was fallen a ſacrifice that minute. Some taking out their watches, marked the time, which accordingly anſwered to his being taken.

* Amongſt the branches of this numerous family, were Mr Adam Blackadder, who was firſt impriſoned in Stirling at ſeventeen years of age, and afterwards in Blackneſs, in the year 1684, for waiting on his father, John Blackadder, who came over with Argyle in 1685, and was apprehended, but afterwards ſet at liberty; and that religious gentleman, Colonel Blackadder, ſome time governor of Stirling caſtle ſince the Revolution. Whether that Dr William Blackadder mentioned in hiſtory was that Mr Blackadder who was at Bothwell, or if he was ſon to Mr John Blackadder, and brother to the above-mentioned, I cannot ſay at preſent.

great fury, and terrible oaths and execrations, in the middle of the night, they turned out the children from their beds, cauſed one of them to hold the candle till they ſearched his books and papers, and took what they liſted. They ſtabbed the beds with their ſwords, and threatened to roaſt the children on the fire, and cauſed one of them to run near half a mile in a dark night in his ſhirt.

After this, he went and preached in the fields, where he had numerous meetings, particularly at the hill of Beith in Fife, in the year 1670. He had been, before this, by the Council's letter, put to the horn; and, after this, came weſt about the year 1675, and preached in the pariſh of Kilbride and other places. The ſame year being in the Cow-hill, in Livingſtone pariſh, he went out in the evening, being in the month of Auguſt, unto a retired place. When he came in again, he ſeemed ſomewhat melancholy. Being aſked by ſome friends, what was the reaſon? He ſaid, he was afraid of a contagious miſt that ſhould go through the land in many places that night, which might have ſad effects, and death to follow; and, as a mean, he deſired them to keep doors and windows as cloſe as poſſible, and notice where it ſtood thickeſt and longeſt: which they did; and it was upon a little town called the Craigs, wherein was but a few families; and within four months after that, thirty corpſes went out of that place: great dearth and ſcarcity followed for three years ſpace after. Mr Blackadder was in his judgement againſt the indulgence, and preached ſometimes with Mr John Dickſon, they being both of one ſentiment. He continued under ſeveral hardſhips until the year 1678, that he went over to Mr M'Ward in Holland. Having continued ſome time there, and then returned home, he was about Edinburgh in the time of Bothwell*; and, after that, was of no ſmall uſe to the priſoners, in diſſuading them from taking the bond, and other compliances; which he did by letters.

After he had endured a ſeries of hardſhips, and ſurmounted a number of difficulties, he came to diſcharge his laſt public work at a muir ſide, at the new houſe in the pariſh of Livingſtone, March 28. 1681. He lectured upon Micah, chapter iv. from the 9th verſe; where he aſſerted, "That the nearer the delivery, our pains and ſhowers would come thicker and ſorer upon us, and that we had been in the fields; but ere we were delivered, we would go down to Babylon; that either Popery would overſpread the land, or elſe would be at the breaking in upon us, like an inundation of water." He preached upon 1 Theſſ. iii. 3. And, amongſt other things, deſired people to take good heed what miniſters they heard, and what

* It was one Mr William Blackadder that was at Bothwell.

advice they followed: and, praying, he ſaid, he was as clear and willing to hold up the bleſſed ſtandard of the goſpel as ever; and bleſſed the Lord he was free of every bond and impoſition; and ſaid, "The Lord rebuke, give repentance and forgiveneſs to theſe miniſters who perſuaded the poor priſoners to take the bond; for their periſhing at ſea was more ſhaking to him than ſome thouſands of them that had been ſlain in the fields." He went in to Edinburgh, and being got notice of by Major Johnſton, he was by him apprehended upon the 6th of April following, and brought firſt to General Dalziel, then to the guard, and then before a Committee of Council, conſiſting of the Chancellor, General, Advocate, and Biſhop Paterſon. The Chancellor aſked, if he had excommunicated the King, or was at Torwood? He anſwered, he was not there theſe four years. Chan. But do ye approve of what was done there? Anſ. I am not free to declare my inward ſentiments of things and perſons; and therefore I humbly beg to be excuſed *. You may form a libel againſt me, and I ſhall endeavour to anſwer it as I can. Chan. But we hear you keep conventicles ſince the indemnity. Anſ. I am a miniſter of the goſpel, though unworthy, and under the ſtricteſt obligation to exerciſe my miniſtry, as I ſhall be anſwerable at the great day. I did, and do ſtill, count it my duty to exerciſe my miniſtry as I am called thereunto. Chan. But you have preached in the fields, that is to ſay, on muirs and hill-ſides; I ſhall not aſk you, if you have preached in houſes, though there is no liberty even for that. Anſ. I place no caſe of conſcience, nor make any difference between preaching in houſes and in the fields, but as it may beſt ſerve the conveniency of the hearers; nor know I any reſtriction as to either in the word. My commiſſion reaches to houſes and fields, within and without doors. Chan. We doubt you know and have ſeen the laws diſcharging ſuch preaching. Anſ. I have, and I am ſorry that ever any laws were made againſt preaching the goſpel. Chan. Not againſt the goſpel, but againſt preaching rebellion. The Chancellor aſked, if he kept conventicles in Fife? which he did not deny. He was then carried to the guard. The Council ſat in the afternoon; but he was not again called before them; but without a farther hearing, was ſentenced

* A hiſtorian ſays, that Mr Blackadder was as free to have declared his diſapprobation of what was done there, as he was of his not being there.—But whether it be not a ſlur thrown upon the memory of this worthy man, to inſinuate that he ſhould ſuffer ſuch hardſhips and ſo many years impriſonment merely out of ill nature, when he was free to have declared what would have ſatisfied them, muſt be left with the reader.

ſentenced to go to the Baſs. Accordingly, April 7. he was carried thither; when on the way, at Fiſher-row, there happened to be a gathering of people: the Captain, apprehending it might be for his reſcue, told Mr Blackadder, if they attempted any thing of this kind, he would inſtantly ſhoot him through the head. He told the Captain, he knew nothing of any ſuch deſign.

He continued there till the end of this year, 1685, when he contracted a rheumatiſm from the air of the place. A motion was made for his liberation on bail, on this account; but it never took effect: and ſo he entered into the joy of his Lord, about the beginning of the year 1686: And as the intereſt of Chriſt always lay near his heart through his life, ſo amongſt his laſt words he ſaid, "The Lord would yet ariſe, and defend his own cauſe, in ſpite of all his enemies."—Thus died Mr John Blackadder, a pious man, and a powerful preacher. There are ſeveral well-vouched inſtances of the Lord's countenancing his miniſtry, while in the fields, and of the remarkable ſucceſs of his ſermons, which were not ſo low and flat, but the pious learned might admire them; nor ſo learned, but the plaineſt capacity might underſtand them. In a word, he was poſſeſſed of many ſingular virtues. His going through ſo many eminent dangers with ſuch undaunted courage was remarkable, and his love to God and his church exemplary.

We have only ſeen two of his many pathetic ſermons, which are very extenſive upon the ſufferings of Chriſt, from Iſ. liii. 11. *He ſhall ſee of the travail of his ſoul, and ſhall be ſatisfied*, &c.—The reader will find them in a ſmall collection of ſermons lately publiſhed.

MR JAMES RENWICK.

MR JAMES RENWICK was born in the pariſh of Glencairn in Nithſdale, February 15. 1662. His parents, though not rich, yet were exemplary for piety. His father, Andrew Renwick, a weaver by trade, and his mother, Eliſabeth Corſan, had ſeveral children before Mr James, who died young; for which, when his mother was pouring forth her motherly grief, her huſband uſed to comfort her with declaring, that he was well ſatisfied to have children, whether they lived or died, young or old, providing they might be heirs of glory. But with this ſhe could not attain to be ſatisfied; but had it for her exerciſe to ſeek a child from the

Lord,

Lord, that might not only be an heir of glory, but might live to ſerve him in his generation; whereupon, when Mr James was born, ſhe took it as an anſwer of prayer, and reputed herſelf under manifold engagements to dedicate him to the Lord; who ſatisfied her with very early evidences of his accepting that return of his own gift, and confirmed the ſame with very remarkable appearances of his gracious dealings with the child: for, by the time he was two years of age, he was obſerved to be aiming at prayer, even in the cradle, and about it, wherewith his mother conceived ſuch expectations and hopes, that the Lord would be with him and do good by him, &c. ſo that all the reproaches he ſuſtained, difficulties and dangers that afterwards he underwent, to his dying day, never moved her in the leaſt from the confidence that the Lord would carry him through, and off the ſtage, in ſome honourable way for his own glory. His father alſo, before his death, on February 1. 1679, obtained the ſame perſuaſion, that his time in the world would be but ſhort, but that the Lord would make ſome eminent uſe of him.

After he had learned to read the Bible, about ſix years old, the Lord gave him ſome ſproutings of gracious preparations, training him in his way, exerciſing him with doubts and debates above childiſh apprehenſion, about the Maker of all things, how all things were made, and for what end; and with ſtrange ſuppoſitions of ſo many inviſible worlds, above and beneath, with which he was tranſported into a train of muſing, and continued in this exerciſe for about the ſpace of two years, until he, by prayer and meditation on the hiſtory of the creation, came to a thorough belief that God made all things, and that all which he made was very good. And yet, after he came to more maturity, he relapſed to a deeper labyrinth of darkneſs about theſe foundation-truths, and was ſo aſſaulted with temptations of atheiſm, that being in the fields, and looking to the mountains, he ſaid, "if theſe were all devouring furnaces of burning brimſtone, he would be content to go through them all, if ſo be he could be aſſured there was a God." Out of which he emerged, through grace, into the ſweet ſerenity of a ſettled perſuaſion of the being of a God, and of his intereſt in him.

From his younger years, he made much conſcience of obeying his parents, whoſe order, if they had ſpoken of putting him to any trade, he would no way decline; yet his inclination was conſtant for his book, until Providence propitiouſly furniſhed him with means of greater proficiency at Edinburgh, by many, who were ſo enamoured of his hopeful diſpoſition, that they earneſtly promoted his education; and

when

when he was ready for the univerſity, they encouraged him in attending gentlemen's ſons, for the improvement of their ſtudies, and his own both: which aſſociation of youths, as it is uſually accompanied with various temptations to youthful vanity, ſo it enticed him, with others, to ſpend too much of his time in gaming and recreations. Then it was, for no other part of his time can be inſtanced, when ſome who knew him not (for theſe were only his traducers) took occaſion, from this extravagance, to reproach him with profanity and flagitiouſneſs, which his nature ever abhorred, and diſdained the very ſuſpicion thereof. When his time at the college drew near an end, he demonſtrated ſuch a tenderneſs of offending God, &c. that, upon his refuſal of the oath of allegiance then tendered, he was denied his ſhare of the public ſolemnity of laureation with the reſt of the candidates, but received it privately at Edinburgh. After which he continued his ſtudies, attending on the then private and perſecuted meetings for goſpel-ordinances for a time.

But upon a deplorable diſcovery of the unfaithfulneſs of the generality, even of non-conformiſt miniſters, he was again for ſome time plunged in the deeps of darkneſs; doubting what ſhould be the end of ſuch backſliding courſes, until, upon a more inquiſitive ſearch after ſuch miniſters as were moſt free from theſe defections, he found more light, and his knowledge of the iniquity of theſe courſes was augmented, and his zeal increaſed. And being more confirmed, when he beheld how ſignally the faithful miniſters were owned of the Lord, and carried off the ſtage with great ſtedfaſtneſs, faith, and patience, eſpecially after the death of that faithfull miniſter and martyr, Mr Donald Cargill, at whoſe execution he was preſent, July 27. 1681. he was ſo moved, that he determined to embark with theſe witneſſes in that cauſe for which they ſuffered: and he was afterwards ſo ſtrengthened and eſtabliſhed in that reſolution, getting inſtructions about theſe things in and from the word, ſo ſealed with a ſtrong hand upon his ſoul, that all the temptations, tribulations, oppoſitions and contradictions he met with from all hands to the day of his death, could never ſhake his mind to the leaſt doubt concerning them.

Accordingly, in this perſuaſion, upon grounds of ſcripture and reaſon, &c. in October 1681, he came to a meeting with ſome of theſe faithful witneſſes of Chriſt, and conferring about the teſtimonies of ſome other martyrs lately executed, which he was very earneſt always to gather and keep on record, he refreſhed them greatly, by a diſcourſe, ſhewing how much he was grieved and offended with thoſe who heard the curates,

curates, pleaded for ceſs-paying, and defended the owning of the tyrants authority, &c.; and how ſad it was to him that none were giving a formal teſtimony againſt theſe things; and in the end added, "That he would think it a great eaſe to his mind to know and be engaged with a remnant that would ſingly proſecute and propapate the teſtimony againſt the corruptions of the times to the ſucceeding generations, and would deſire nothing more than to be helped to be ſerviceable to them."

At his very firſt coming among them, he could not but be taken notice of; for, while ſome were ſpeaking of removing the bodies of the martyrs lately executed at the Gallowlee, Mr Renwick was very forward to promote it, and active to aſſiſt therein, and when the ſincere ſeekers of God, who were interſperſed up and down the land, and adhered to the teſtimony, as Meſſ. Cameron and Cargill left it, towards the end of 1681, began to ſettle a correſpondence in general, for preſerving union, underſtanding one another's minds, and preventing declenſions to right or left hand extremes. In the firſt of which, the Duke of York holding a parliament at Edinburgh, they agreed upon emitting that declaration publiſhed at Lanark, Jan. 12. 1682, wherein Mr Renwick was employed proclaiming it, but had no hand in the penning thereof, otherwiſe it might have been more conſiderately worded than what it was; for though he approved of the matter of it, yet he always acknowledged there were ſome expreſſions therein rather unadviſed.

After publiſhing this declaration, the next general meeting, finding themſelves reproached and informed againſt, both at home, and abroad in foreign churches, as if they had fallen from the principles of the church of Scotland, thought it expedient to ſend the Laird of Earlſtoun to the United Provinces to vindicate themſelves from theſe reproaches, and to crave that ſympathy which they could not obtain from their own countrymen. Which at length, through mercy, proved ſo encouraging to them, that a door was opened to provide for a ſucceſſion of faithful miniſters, by ſending ſome to be fitted for the work of the miniſtry there. Accordingly Mr Renwick, with ſome others, went thither. His comrades were ready, and ſailed before, which made him impatiently haſte to follow. Yet, at his departure to a comrade, he affirmed, "Though they were gone before him, as they did not depart together, ſo he ſaw ſomething ſhould fall out, which ſhould obſtruct their coming home together alſo." Which was verified by the falling off of Mr Flint (however forward at that time) unto a contrary courſe of defection.

When he went over, he was ſettled at the univerſity of

Groningen, where he plied his ſtudies ſo hard, and with ſuch proficiency, that, upon the neceſſities of his friends in Scotland, longing for his labours, and his own ardent deſire to be at the work, in a ſhort time he was ready for ordination. To precipitate which, his dear friend Mr Robert Hamilton, who merited ſo much of thoſe who reaped the benefit of Mr Renwick's labours afterwards, applied to one Mr Brakel, a godly Dutch miniſter, who was much delighted at firſt with the motion, and adviſed it ſhould be done at Embden; but this could not be obtained, becauſe the principal man there who was to have the management of the affair was in his judgement Cocceian. Whereupon Mr Hamilton ſolicited the claſſes of Groningen to undertake it; which they willingly promiſed to do; and calling for the teſtimonial of Mr Renwick, and the reſt who went over at that time, Mr Renwick's was produced, (being providentially in readineſs when the others were a-wanting), and though in a rude dreſs, was ſuſtained. The claſſes being convened, they were called in and had an open harangue, wherein open teſtimony was given againſt all the forms and corruptions of their church: whereat they were ſo far from being offended, that, after a ſolemn and ſerious conſideration of their cauſe, they declared it was the Lord's cauſe, and coſt what it would, though all the kings of the earth were againſt it, they would go through with it. They all three ſhould have paſſed together, but upon ſome diſcontents ariſing, the other two were retarded. It was the cuſtom of the place, that every one that paſſes muſt pay twenty guilders for the uſe of the church; but they jointly declared, that they would be at all the charges themſelves.

But the next difficulty was, that being told it was impoſſible for any to paſs without ſubſcribing their Catechiſm, &c. and obſerving that their forms and corruptions are therein juſtified, Mr Renwick reſolutely anſwered, He would do no ſuch thing, being engaged by a ſolemn covenant to the contrary. This was like to ſpoil all; but at length they condeſcended that he ſubſcribe the Confeſſion and Catechiſm of the church of Scotland, a practice never before heard of in that land; which was accepted. The day of ordination being come, Mr Renwick was called in a very reſpectful way. After ſpending ſome time in prayer, the examination began, which laſted from ten in the morning to two o'clock in the afternoon. Then his friends, who were attending in the church, were called in, amongſt whom was his honoured friend Mr Hamilton, and another elder of the church of Scotland *, to be witneſs to the laying on of the hands; which, after the

* See this in his teſtimonials from the claſſes which are inſerted in his life at large, p. 25. &c.

exhortation, they performed with prayer, the whole meeting melting in tears; and thereafter, he had a diſcourſe to the claſſes. With this ſolemnity the claſſes were ſo much affected, that at dinner, to which he and his friends were invited, the preſes declared the great ſatisfaction all the brethren had in Mr Renwick; that they thought the whole time he was before them, he was ſo filled with the Spirit of God, that his face ſeemed to ſhine; and that they had never ſeen or found ſo much of the Lord's Spirit accompanying any work as that, &c. But no ſooner were theſe difficulties over, than others of a more diſagreeable aſpect began to ariſe, which, if they had appeared but one day ſooner, might have ſtopped the ordination, at leaſt for a time. But the very next day, Mr Brakel told them, that a formed libel was coming from the Scottiſh miniſters at Rotterdam, containing heavy accuſations againſt the poor ſociety-people in Scotland, &c. which they behoved either to vindicate, or elſe the ordination muſt be ſtopped; but this being too late as to Mr Renwick, it came to nothing at laſt.

After his ordination, he had a moſt longing deſire to improve his talents for the poor perſecuted people in Scotland, who were his brethren; and having received large teſtimonials of his ordination and learning (particularly in the Hebrew and Greek tongue) from the claſſes, and finding a ſhip ready to ſail, he embarked at the Brill; but waiting ſome days upon a wind, he was ſo diſcouraged by ſome profane paſſengers preſſing the King's health, &c. that he was forced to leave that veſſel, and take another bound for Ireland. A ſeaſtorm compelled them to put in to Rye harbour in England, about the time when there was ſo much noiſe of the Ryehouſe plot, which created him no ſmall danger; but, after many perils at ſea, he arrived ſafe at Dublin, where he had many conflicts with the miniſters there, anent their defections and indifference; and yet in ſuch a gaining and goſpel-way, that he left convictions on their ſpirits, of his being a pious and zealous youth, which procured him a ſpeedy paſſage to Scotland. In which paſſage, he had conſiderable dangers and a proſpect of more, as not knowing how or where he ſhould come to land, all ports being then ſo ſtrictly obſerved, and the ſkipper refuſing to let him go till his name be given up. But yet at laſt he was prevailed on to give him a caſt to the ſhore, where he began his weary and uncertain wanderings, which continued with him till he was apprehended, through an unknown wilderneſs, amongſt unknown people, it being ſome time before he could meet with any of the ſocieties.

In September 1683, he commenced his miniſterial work in Scotland,

Scotland, taking up the teſtimony of the ſtandard of Chriſt where it was fixed, and had fallen at the removal of the former witneſſes, Meſſ. Cameron and Cargill, which, in the ſtrength of his Maſter, he undertook to proſecute and maintain againſt oppoſition from all hands, which ſeemed inſupportable to ſenſe and reaſon.

In the midſt of which difficulties, he was received by a poor perſecuted people, who had loſt all that wordly enjoyment they had, for the ſake of the goſpel. His firſt public meeting was in a moſs at Darmead, where, for their information and his own vindication, he thought it expedient not only to let them know how he was called to the miniſtry, and what he adhered to, but beſides to unboſom himſelf about the then puzzling queſtions of the time, particularly concerning miniſters, defections, &c.; ſhewing whom he could not join with, and his reaſons for ſo doing; and in the end told them on what grounds he ſtood, and reſolved to ſtand upon; which he reſolved (the Lord aſſiſting him) to ſeal with his blood.

After this, the father of lies began to ſpue out a flood of reproaches, to ſwallow up and bury his name and work in contempt, which was very credulouſly entertained, and induſtriouſly ſpread, not only by profane, but even by many profeſſors, &c.; ſome ſaying, he had excommunicated all the miniſters in Scotland, and ſome after they were dead; whereas, he only gave reaſons why he could not keep communion with ſome in the preſent circumſtances. Others ſaid, that he was no Preſbyterian, and that his deſign was only to propagate ſchiſm. But the truth was, he was a profeſſed witneſs againſt all the defections of Preſbyterians from any part of their covenanted work of reformation, &c. Again, other miniſters alledged he was a Sectarian, Independent, or Anabaptiſt, or they knew not what. But when he had ſometimes occaſion to be among them, in and about Newcaſtle and Northumberland *, they were as much offended as any at his faithful freedom in diſcovering the evils of their way, and declared that they never met with ſuch ſevere dealing from any Preſbyterian before him.

But the general out-cry was, that he had no miſſion at all. Others ſlandering him, that he came only by chance, at a throw of the dice; with many other calumnies, refuted by the foregoing relation.

On the other hand, ſome gave out that he and his followers maintained the murdering principles of the delirious and deteſtable blaſphemies of Gib; all which ſhameleſs and

* This ſeems to have been when he made a haſty journey thither in the year 1684 and 1686. See his Letters, p. 94. and 136.

ſenſeleſs fictions he ever oppoſed and abhorred. Yea, ſome miniſters, more ſeemingly ſerious in their eſſays to prepoſſeſs the people againſt him, ſaid, "That they had ſought and got the mind of the Lord in it, that his labours ſhould never profit the church of Scotland, nor any ſoul in it," &c. aſſuring themſelves he would break, and bring to nothing, him and them that followed him ere it were long; comparing them to Jannes and Jambres, who withſtood Moſes. All which reproaches he was remarkably ſupported under, and went on in his Maſter's buſineſs, while he had any work for him to do.

In the mean while, by the noiſe that went through the country concerning him, the Council got notice; and thereupon, being enraged at the report of his preaching in the fields, they raiſed a hotter and more cruel perſecution againſt him than can be inſtanced ever to be againſt any one man in the nation; nay, than ever the moſt notorious murderer was purſued with. For, having publicly proclaimed him a traitor, rebel, &c. they proceeded to purſue his followers with all the rigour that helliſh fury and malice could ſuggeſt or invent; and yet the more they oppoſed, the more they grew and increaſed.

In 1684, his difficulties from enemies, and diſcouragements from friends oppoſite to him, and manifold vexations from all hands, began to increaſe more and more; and yet all the while he would not intermit one day's preaching, but was ſtill inceſſant and undaunted in his work; which made the miniſters inform againſt him, as if he had intruded upon other men's labours; alledging, that when another miniſter was to to preach in a place, he unexpectedly came and preached in the ſame pariſh; and for that purpoſe, inſtanced one time near Paiſley; whereas he went upon a call from ſeverals on that bounds, without knowing then whether there was ſuch a miniſter in that country. It is confeſſed, that he hath ſometimes taken the churches to preach in, when either the weather, inſtant hazard at the time, or reſpect to ſecreſy and ſafety, did exclude from every other place. But, could this be called intruſion, to creep into the church for one night, when they could not ſtand, nor durſt they be ſeen without.

This year, in proſecution of a cruel information, the ſoldiers became more vigilant in their indefatigable diligence to ſeek and hunt after him; and from whom he had many remarkable deliverances: particularly in the month of July, as he was going to a meeting, a country-man, ſeeing him wearied, gave him a horſe for ſome miles to ride on, they were ſurpriſed with Lieutenant Dundas and a party of dragoons. The two men with him were taken and pitifully wounded. He eſcaped their hands, and went up Dungavel hill; but was

ſo

ſo cloſely purſued, (they being ſo near that they fired at him all the time), that he was forced to leave the horſe, loſing thereby his cloakbag, with many papers; and ſeeing no other refuge, he was fain to run, in their ſight, towards a heap of ſtones, where, for a little moment, getting out of their ſight, he found a hollow place into which he crept; and committing himſelf by earneſt ejaculation to God, in ſubmiſſion to live or die; and alſo believing, that he ſhould be reſerved for greater work, that part of ſcripture often coming into his mind, Pſal. vi. 8. *Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity*, together with theſe words, Pſal. xci. 11. *For he ſhall give his angels charge*, &c. In the mean time, the enemy ſearched up and down the hill, yet were reſtrained from looking into that place where he was. Many ſuch ſore and deſperate chaces he and thoſe with him met; ſome continuing whole nights and days without intermiſſion, in the wildeſt places of the country, for many miles together, without ſo much as a poſſibility of eſcaping the ſight of thoſe who purſued them.

This year (September 24.) letters of intercommuning were iſſued out againſt him, commanding all to give him no reſet or ſupply, nor furniſh him with meat, drink, houſe, harbour, or any thing uſeful to him; requiring all ſheriffs, &c. to apprehend and commit to priſon his perſon, wherever they could find him; by virtue of which, the ſufferers were reduced unto incredible ſtraits, not only in being murdered, but by hunger, cold, haraſſings, &c.; in which perplexity, having neither a poſſibility to flee, nor ability to fight, they were forced to publiſh an apologetical repreſentation of their ſentiments, ſhewing how far they might, according to the approven principles and practices, and covenant-engagements of our reformers, &c. reſtrict and reduce, into practice, that privilege of extraordinary executing of judgement, on murdering beaſts of prey, profeſſing and proſecuting a daily trade of deſtroying innocents, &c. When this declaration was firſt propoſed, Mr Renwick was ſomewhat averſe to it, fearing the the ſad effects it might produce; but, conſidering the neceſſity of the caſe would admit of no delay, he conſented, and concurred in the publication thereof. Accordingly it was fixed upon ſeveral market-croſſes and pariſh-church doors, November 8. 1684.

After the publication of this declaration, rage and reproach ſeemed to ſtrive which ſhould ſhew the greateſt violence againſt the publiſhers and owners of it. The Council publiſhed a proclamation for diſcovering ſuch as own, or will not diſown it; requiring that none above the age of ſixteen travel without a paſs, and that any who would apprehend any of them ſhould have 500 merks for each perſon; and that every one ſhould

take the oath of abjuration; whereby the temptation and hazard became ſo dreadful, that many were ſhot inſtantly in the fields; others, refuſing the oath, were brought in, ſentenced and executed in one day; yea, ſpectators at executions were required to ſay, whether theſe men ſuffered juſtly or not. All which dolorous effects, and more, when Mr Renwick with a ſad and troubled heart obſerved, he was often heard to ſay, though he had peace in his end and aim by it, yet he wiſhed from his heart, that that declaration had never been publiſhed.

Neither was the year 1685 any thing better. For it became now the enemy's greateſt ambition and emulation, who could deſtroy moſt of theſe poor wandering mountain-men, (as they were called); and when they had ſpent all their balls, they were nothing nearer their purpoſe than when they began; for the more they were afflicted, the more they grew. *The buſh did burn, but was not conſumed, becauſe the Lord was in the buſh.*

Charles II. being dead, and the Duke of York, a profeſſed Papiſt, proclaimed in February 1685, Mr Renwick could not let go this opportunity of witneſſing againſt that uſurpation of a Papiſt upon the government of the nation, and his deſign of overturning the covenanted work of reformation, and introducing Popery. Accordingly, he and about 200 men went to Sanquhar, May 28. 1685, and publiſhed that declaration, afterwards called the Sanquhar declaration.

In the mean time, the Earl of Argyle's expedition taking place, Mr Renwick was much ſolicited to join with them. He expreſſed the eſteem he had of his honeſt and laudable intention, and ſpoke very favourably of him, declaring his willingneſs to concur, if the quarrel and declaration were rightly ſtated; but becauſe it was not concerted according to the ancient plea of our Scottiſh covenants, &c. he could not agree with them; which created unto him a new ſeries of trouble and reproach, and that from all hands, and from none more than the indulged.

In 1686, Mr Renwick was conſtrained to be more public and explicit in his teſtimony againſt the deſigns and defections of the time; wherein he met with more contradictions and oppoſition from all hands, and more diſcouraging and diſtracting treatment, even from ſome who once followed him; and was much troubled with letters of accuſation againſt him from many hands. One of the miniſters that came over with Argyle, wrote a very vindictive letter* againſt him; which letter he anſwered at large. He alſo was

* See his letters and the anſwers, with the reaſoning on Cathcart's affair at large, from p. 84. to 97.

was traduced, both at home and abroad, by one Alexander Gordon, who ſometimes joined with that ſuffering party. But by none more than one Robert Cathcart in Carrick, who wrote a ſcurrilous libel againſt him; from which Mr Renwick vindicated himſelf in the plaineſt terms. But this not ſatisfying the ſaid Robert Cathcart, he did, in the name of his friends in Carrick, and the ſhire of Wigton, though without the knowledge of the half of them, take a proteſt againſt Mr Renwick's preaching or converſing within their juriſdiction; giving him occaſion, with David, to complain, *They ſpeak vanity, their heart gathereth iniquity*, &c.; *yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I truſted, hath lift up his heel againſt me.*

Notwithſtanding of all former obloquies he ſuſtained from all ſorts of oppoſers, he had one faithful and fervent wreſtler on his ſide, Mr Alexander Peden; and yet a little before his death, theſe reproachers ſo far prevailed with him, as to inſtigate him to a declared oppoſition againſt Mr Renwick; which not only contributed to grieve him much, but was alſo an occaſion of ſtumbling to many * others of the well affected, and to the confirmation of his oppoſers. Yet, nevertheleſs, he proceeded in his progreſs through the country, preaching, catechiſing, and baptiſing; travelling through Galloway, where he was rencountered with a moſt inſolent proteſtation given in againſt him, by the profeſſors between Dee and Cree, ſubſcribed by one Hutchiſon; which paper he read over at a public meeting in that bounds, after a lecture upon Pſalm xv. and a ſermon from Song ii. 2. giving the people to know what was done in their name, with ſeveral animadverſions thereon, as that which overturned ſeveral peices of our valuable reformation; exhorting them, if there were any there who concurred therein, that they would ſpeedily retract their hand from ſuch an iniquity †, &c.

Shortly after this, while his work was increaſing daily on his hand, and his difficulties multiplying, the Lord made his burden lighter, by the help of Mr David Houſton from Ireland, and Mr Alexander Shields, who joined with him all in one accord, witneſſing againſt the ſins of the time; which, as it was very refreſhing to him, and ſatisfied his longing deſires and

* Mr Peden on his deathbed ſent for him, and, after ſome conferences, owned he had been miſinformed anent him; exhorted him to go forward, and he would be carried honeſtly through; aſked his forgiveneſs, and deſired him to pray with him before he departed: all which Mr Renwick did with great cheerfulneſs. See Walker's Remarks of the life of Mr Peden.

† See his letter to Earlſtoun, p. 163.

and endeavours, ſo it furniſhed him withal to anſwer thoſe who ſaid, that he neither deſired to join with another miniſter, nor ſo much as to meet with any other for joining. The firſt being already confuted, and as for the other, it is well known how far he travelled both in Scotland and England, to meet with miniſters for a coaleſcence, who ſuperciliouſly refuſed. He once ſent a friend on that purpoſe, to a miniſter of great note in Glendale in Northumberland; but he peremptorily refuſed. At another time, in the ſame country, before that he happened to be in a much reſpected gentlewoman's houſe, where providentially Dr Rule came to viſit, whom Mr James, in another room, overheard diſcharging her by many arguments, not to entertain or countenance Mr Renwick, if he ſhould come that way; whereupon he ſent for the Doctor, letting him know that the ſame perſon was in the houſe, and that he deſired to diſcourſe with him on that head; but this he refuſed.

After this, one informed againſt him to the Holland miniſters, who returned back with Mr Brakel's advice to Mr Renwick and others; but as it reliſhed of a goſpel-ſpirit, not like that of his informers, it was no way offenſive to him. Mr Roelman, another famous Dutch divine, and a great ſympathiſer once with Mr Renwick, and that afflicted party, by their informations, turned alſo his enemy, which was more weighty to him, that ſuch a great man ſhould be ſo credulous; but all theſe things never moved him, being fully reſolved to ſuffer this and more for the cauſe of Chriſt.

In 1687, a proclamation was iſſued out, February 12. tolerating the moderate Preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes to hear the indulged miniſters, while the field-meetings ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour of law, &c. A ſecond proclamation was given June 28. allowing all to ſerve God in their own way, in any houſe, &c. A third was emitted October 5. declaring that all preachers and hearers at any meeting in the open fields, ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity that law will allow, &c.; and that all Diſſenting miniſters who preach in houſes ſhould teach nothing that ſhould alienate the hearts of the people from the government; and that the privy-counſellors, ſheriffs, &c. ſhould be acquainted with the places ſet apart for their preaching, &c. This proclamation, it ſeems, was granted as an anſwer to an addreſs for the toleration given in, in name of all the Preſbyterian miniſters, July 21. 1687.

Whereupon Mr Renwick found it his duty, not only to declare againſt the granters, but alſo againſt the accepters of this toleration; warning alſo the people of the hazard of their

their ſucceſſion to it, &c. At which the indulged were ſo intenſed, that no ſooner was their meeting well ſettled, than they began to ſhew their teeth at him, calling him an intruder, a Jeſuit, a white devil, going through the land carrying the devil's white flag; that he had done more hurt to the church of Scotland than its enemies had done theſe twenty years, &c. As alſo ſpreading papers through the country, as given under his hand, to render him odious; which in truth were nothing elſe than forgeries, wherein they only diſcovered their own treachery.

Yet all this could not move him, even when his enemies were ſhooting their arrows at him; being not only the butt of the wicked, but the ſcorn of profeſſors alſo, who were at their eaſe, and a man much wondered at every way; yet ſtill he continued at his work, his inward man increaſing more and more, when his outward man was much decaying; and his zeal for fulfilling his miniſtry, and finiſhing his teſtimony, ſtill increaſing the more, the leſs peace and accommodation he could find in the world; at the ſame time becoming ſo weak, that he could not mount or ſit on horſeback; ſo that he behoved to be carried to the place of preaching, and never in the leaſt complained of any diſtemper in the time thereof.

In the mean while, the perſecution againſt him being ſo furious, that in leſs than five months after the toleration, fifteen moſt deſperate ſearches were made for him: To encourage which, a proclamation was made, October 18. wherein a reward of L. 100 Sterling was offered to any who could bring in the perſons of him and ſome others, either dead or alive.

In the beginning of 1688, being now drawing near the period of his courſe, he ran very faſt, and wrought very hard, both as a Chriſtian and as a miniſter: And having for ſome time had a deſign to emit ſomething in way of teſtimony againſt both the granters and accepters of the toleration, that might afterwards ſtand on record, he went towards Edinburgh, and on his way, at Peebles, he eſcaped very narrowly being apprehended. When at Edinburgh, he longed and could have no reſt till he got that which he, with the concurrence of ſome others, had drawn up in form, delivered; and upon inquiry, hearing that there was to be no preſbytery or ſynod of tolerated miniſters for ſome time, he went to Mr Hugh Kennedy, whom he heard was moderator, and delivered a proteſtation into his hands; and then, upon ſome reaſons, emitted it in public as his teſtimony againſt the toleration *.

* This teſtimony was again republiſhed by ſome friends to the ſame cauſe.

From thence he went to Fife, and preached ſome Sabbaths; and upon the 29th of January, preached his laſt ſermon at Borrowſtounneſs. Then he returned to Edinburgh, and lodged in a friend's houſe in the Caſtlehill, who dealt in uncuſtomed goods; and wanting his former circumſpection (his time being come), one John Juſtice, a waiter, diſcovered the houſe that very night; and hearing him praying in the family, ſuſpected who it was, attacked the houſe next morning, Feb. 1. and pretending to ſearch for uncuſtomed goods, they got entrance; and when Mr Renwick came to the door, Mr Juſtice challenged him in theſe words: My life for it, this is Mr Renwick. After which he went to the ſtreet, crying for aſſiſtance to carry the dog Renwick to the guard.

In the mean time, Mr James and other two friends eſſayed to make their eſcape at another door, but were repelled by the waiters. Whereupon he diſcharged a piſtol, which made the aſſailants give way; but as he paſſed through them, one with a long ſtaff hit him on the breaſt, which doubtleſs diſabled him from running. Going down the Caſtle-wynd, towards the head of the Cowgate, having loſt his hat, he was taken notice of, and ſeized by a fellow on the ſtreet, while the other two eſcaped.

He was taken to the guard, and there kept ſome time.—One Graham, captain of the guard, ſeeing him of a little ſtature and comely youthful countenance, cried, What is this the boy Renwick that the nation hath been ſo much troubled with? At the ſame time, one Bailie Charters coming in, with great inſolency accuſed him with bawdyhouſes, which he replied to with deſerved diſdain. Then he was carried before a quorum of the Council: And when Graham delivered him off his hand, he was heard to ſay, "Now I have given Renwick up to the Preſbyterians, let them do with him what they pleaſe." What paſſed here could not be learned.

He was committed cloſe priſoner, and laid in irons; where, as ſoon as he was left alone, he betook himſelf to prayer to his God, making a free offer of his life to him, requeſting for through-bearing grace, and that his enemies might be reſtrained from torturing his body: all which requeſts were ſignally granted, and by him thankfully acknowledged before his execution.

Before he received his indictment, he was taken before the Chancellor, into the Viſcount of Tarbet's lodging, and there examined concerning his owning the authority of James VII. the ceſs, and carrying arms at field-meetings; and delivered himſelf with ſuch freedom and boldneſs as aſtoniſhed all preſent. The reaſon why he was interrogated anent the ceſs was,

was, that a pocket-book was found about him, in which were the notes of two ſermons he had preached on theſe points which he owned. There were alſo ſome capitals in the ſame book; and becauſe the committee was urgent to know theſe names, partly to avoid torture, and knowing they could render the perſons no more obnoxious, he ingenuouſly declared the truth of the matter; which ingenuity did much allay their rage againſt him: And being aſked by the Chancellor, What perſuaſion he was of? He anſwered, Of the Proteſtant Preſbyterian perſuaſion. Again, How it came to paſs he differed ſo much from other Preſbyterians, who had accepted of the toleration, and owned the King's authority? and what he thought of them? He anſwered, He was a Preſbyterian, and adhered to the old Preſbyterian principles, which all were obliged by the covenant to maintain, and were once generally profeſſed and maintained by the nation, from 1640 to 1660, from which they had apoſtatiſed for a little liberty, they knew not how long, as you yourſelves have done for a little honour. The Chancellor replied, and the reſt applauded, That they believed that theſe were the Preſbyterian principles, and that all Preſbyterians would own them as well as he, if they had but the courage, &c. However, on February 3. he received his indictment upon the three foreſaid heads, viz diſowning the King's authority, the unlawfulneſs of paying the ceſs, and the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms. All which he was to anſwer on the 8th of February. To the indictment was added a liſt of forty-five, out of which the jury was to be choſen, and a liſt of the witneſſes to be brought againſt him.

After receiving his indictment, his mother got acceſs to ſee him, to whom he ſpoke many ſavoury words. And on Sabbath, February 5. he regretted that now he muſt leave his poor flock; and declared, "That if it were his choice, he could not think of it without terror, to enter again into and venture upon that conflict with a body of ſin and death; yet, if he were again to go and preach in the field, he durſt not vary in the leaſt, nor flinch one hair-breadth from the teſtimony, but would look on himſelf as obliged to uſe the ſame freedom and faithfulneſs as he had done before." And in a letter, on February 6. he deſired that the perſons whoſe names were decyphered might be acquainted with it; and concludes, "I deſire none may be troubled on my behalf, but rather rejoice with him, who with hope and joy is waiting for his coronation-hour." Another time, his mother aſked him, how he was? He anſwered, he was well; but that ſince his laſt examination he could ſcarcely pray. At which ſhe looked on him with an affrighted countenance, and he told her, he

could hardly pray, being ſo taken up with praiſing, and raviſhed with the joy of the Lord. When his mother was expreſſing her fear of fainting, ſaying, How ſhall I look upon that head and thoſe hands ſet up among the reſt on the port of the city? &c. He ſmiled, telling her, ſhe ſhould not ſee that; for, ſaid he, I have offered my life unto the Lord, and have ſought that he may bind them up; and I am perſuaded that they ſhall not be permitted to torture my body, nor touch one hair of my head farther." He was at firſt much afraid of the tortures; but now, having obtained a perſuaſion that theſe were not to be his trials, through grace he was helped to ſay, "That the terror of them was ſo removed, that he would rather chooſe to be caſt into a caldron of burning oil, than do any thing that might wrong truth." When ſome other friends were permitted to ſee him, he exhorted them to make ſure their peace with God, and to ſtudy ſtedfaſtneſs in his ways; and when they regretted their loſs of him, he ſaid, "They had more need to thank the Lord, that he ſhould now be taken away from theſe reproaches*, which had broken his heart, and which could not be otherwiſe wiped off, even though he ſhould get his life, without yielding in the leaſt."

Monday, February 8. he appeared before the Juſticiary, and when his indictment was read, the Juſtice-clerk aſked him, If he adhered to his former confeſſion, and acknowledged all that was in the libel? He anſwered, "All except where it is ſaid I have caſt off all fear of God: that I deny; for it is becauſe I fear to offend God, and violate his law, that I am here ſtanding ready to be condemned." Then he was interrogated, If he owned authority, and James VII. to be his lawful ſovereign? He anſwered, "I own all authority that hath its preſcriptions and limitations from the word of God; but cannot own this uſurper as lawful King, ſeeing, both by the word of God ſuch a one is incapable to bear rule, and likewiſe by the ancient laws of the kingdom, which admit none to the crown of Scotland, until he ſwear to defend the Proteſtant religion; which a man of his profeſſion could not do." They urged, Could he deny him to be King? Was he not the late King's brother? Had the late King any children lawfully begotten? Was he not declared to be his ſucceſſor by act of parliament? He anſwered, "He was no doubt King *de facto*, but not *de jure*; that he was brother to the other King, he knew nothing to the contrary; what children the

* For beſides theſe reproaches already noticed, with many others, he and his followers were charged as men of anarchical, murdering, and bloody principles, which makes it the leſs wonder that their ſucceſſors ſhould be ſtill charged with the ſame.

the other had, he knew not: but from the word of God, that ought to be the rule of all laws, or from the ancient laws of the kingdom, it could not be ſhewn that he had, or ever could have any right." The next queſtion was, If he owned, and had taught it to be unlawful to pay ceſſes and taxations to his Majeſty? He anſwered, "For the preſent ceſs, enacted for the preſent uſurper, I hold it unlawful to pay it, both in regard it is oppreſſive to the ſubject, for the maintenance of tyranny, and becauſe it is impoſed for ſuppreſſing the goſpel. Would it have been thought lawful for the Jews, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, to have brought every one a coal to augment the flame of the furnace to devour the three children, if ſo they had been required by that tyrant?" &c.

Next they moved the queſtion, if he owned he had taught his hearers to come armed to their meetings, and, in caſe of oppoſition, to reſiſt? He anſwered, "It were inconſiſtent with reaſon and religion both to do otherwiſe: You yourſelves would do it in the like circumſtances. I own that I taught them to carry arms to defend themſelves, and reſiſt your unjuſt violence." Further, they aſked, If he owned the notebook, and the two ſermons written therein, and that he had preached them? He ſaid, "If ye have added nothing, I will own it; and am ready to ſeal all the truths contained therein with my blood."—All his confeſſion being read over, he was required to ſubſcribe it. He ſaid, "He would not do it, ſince he looked on it as a partial owning of their authority." After refuſing ſeveral times, he ſaid, "With proteſtation, I will ſubſcribe the paper as it is my teſtimony, but not in obedience to you.

Then the aſſizers were called in by fives *, and ſworn; againſt whom he objected nothing; but proteſted, "That none might ſit on his aſſize that profeſſed Proteſtant or Preſbyterian

* And it is to be remarked, that many of the jury were profeſſors, and eminent in the tolerated meetings; while others, even of the malignants, choſe rather to run the hazard of the penalty, as the Laird of Torrence, who compeared not, and Somerville, chamberlain of Douglas, who, though when he appeared, yet when he ſaw Mr Renwick turn about, and direct his ſpeech to them, he ran away, ſaying, He trembled to think to take away the life of ſuch a pious-like man, though they ſhould take his whole eſtate. The liſt of the aſſizers is as follows:—James Hume of Kimmergem; John Hume of Ninewells; John Martin, clerk to the manufactory; Alexander Martin, ſometime clerk of ——; Robert Halyburton, merchant; Thomas Laurie, merchant; Archibald Johnſton, merchant; Thomas Wylie, merchant; James Hamilton, vintner; William Cockburn, merchant; James Hamilton jun. ſtationer; Robert Currie, ſtationer; Joſeph Young, merchant; John Cunningham, merchant in Glaſgow; Ninian Banantine of Kaims, Chancellor.

byterian principles, or an adherence to the covenanted work of reformation." He was brought in guilty; and ſentence paſſed, That he ſhould be executed in the Graſsmarket on the Friday following. Lord Linlithgow, Juſtice-general, aſked, If he deſired longer time? He anſwered, "It was all one to him; if it was protracted, it was welcome; if it was ſhortened, it was welcome; his Maſter's time was the beſt:" Then he was returned to priſon. Without his knowledge, and againſt his will, yea, after open refuſing to the Advocate to deſire it, he was reprieved to the 17th day; which gave occaſion to ſeverals to renew their reproaches.

Though none who ſuffered in the former part of this diſmal period, ſpoke with more fortitude, freedom, and boldneſs, than Mr Renwick, yet none were treated with ſo much moderation. The lenity of the Juſticiary was much admired beyond their ordinary; for they admitted him to ſay what he pleaſed, without threatening and interruption, even though he gave none of them the title of Lord, except Linlithgow, who was a nobleman by birth. And though his friends (which was not uſual after ſentence) were denied acceſs, yet both Papiſts and Epiſcopals were permitted to ſee him. Biſhop Paterſon often viſited him; nay, he ſought another reprieve for him, which would eaſily have been granted, had he only petitioned for it. The Biſhop aſked him, Think you none can be ſaved but thoſe of your principles? He anſwered, "I never ſaid nor thought, that none could be ſaved except they were of theſe principles; but theſe are truths which I ſuffer for, and which I have not raſhly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed, that they are ſufficient points to ſuffer for." The Biſhop took his leave, declaring his ſorrow for his being ſo tenacious, and ſaid, "It had been a great loſs he had been of ſuch principles, for he was a pretty lad." Again, the night before he ſuffered, he ſent to him, to ſignify his readineſs to ſerve him to the utmoſt of his power. Mr Renwick thanked him for his courteſy, but knew nothing he could do, or that he could deſire.

Mr M'Naught, one of the curates, made him a viſit in his canonical habit, which Mr Renwick did not like. The curate, among other things, aſked his opinion concerning the toleration, and thoſe that accepted it. Mr Renwick declared, that he was againſt the toleration; but as for them that embraced it, he judged them to be godly men. The curate leaving him, commended him for one of great gravity and ingenuity, &c. Dalrymple, the King's Advocate, came alſo to viſit him, and declared that he was ſorry for his death, and that it ſhould fall out in his ſhort time. Several Popiſh

prieſts and gentlemen of the guard, with ſome of the tolerated miniſters, were permitted to converſe with him. The prieſt, at leaving him, was overheard ſaying, he was a moſt obſtinate heretic; for he had uſed ſuch freedom with him, that it became a proverb in the tolbooth at the time, "Begone, as Mr Renwick ſaid to the prieſts."

Several petitions were written from ſeveral hands, of the moſt favourable ſtrain that could be invented, and ſent him to ſubſcribe; but all in vain: yea, it was offered to him, if he would but let a drop of ink fall on a bit of paper, it would ſatisfy: but he would not. In the mean time, he was kept ſo cloſe that he could get nothing wrote. His begun teſtimony which he was writing was taken from him, and pen and ink removed. However, he got a ſhort paper wrote the night before, which is to be found in the Cloud of Witneſſes, as his laſt ſpeech and teſtimony.

On Tueſday, the 14th, he was brought before the Council on account of the informatory vindication; but what paſſed there cannot be learned, farther than their ſignifying how much kindneſs they had ſhewn him, in that they had reprieved him without his ſupplication, a thing never done before. He anſwered with extraordinary cheerfulneſs, rejoicing that he was counted worthy to ſuffer ſhame for the name of his Maſter. A friend aſking him, How he was? he ſaid, Very well; and he would be better within three days. He told his mother, That the laſt execution he was witneſs to was Robert Gray's; and that he had a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind that he ſhould be the next: and often ſaid, He ſaw need for his ſuffering at this time; and that he was perſuaded his death would do more good than his life for many years could have done. Being aſked, What he thought God would do with the remnant behind him? He anſwered, It would be well with them; for God would not forſake nor caſt off his inheritance.

On the day of his execution, the chief jailor begged, that at the place of execution he would not mention the cauſes of his death, and would forbear all reflections. Mr Renwick told him, That what God would give him to ſpeak, that would he ſpeak, and nothing leſs. The jailor told him, that he might ſtill have his life, if he would but ſign that petition which he offered him. He anſwered, That he never read in ſcripture, or in hiſtory, where martyrs petitioned for their lives, when called to ſuffer for truth, though they might require them not to take their life, and remonſtrate the wickedneſs of murdering them; but in the preſent circumſtance he judged it would be found a receding from truth, and a declining from a teſtimony for Chriſt.

His

His mother and ſiſters, having obtained leave to ſee him, after ſome refreſhment, in returning thanks, he ſaid, "O Lord, thou haſt brought me within two hours of eternity, and this is no matter of terror to me, more than if I were to lie down in a bed of roſes: nay, through grace, to thy praiſe, I may ſay I never had the fear of death ſince I came to this priſon; but from the place where I was taken, I could have gone very compoſedly to the ſcaffold. O! how can I contain this, to be within two hours of the crown of glory!" He exhorted them much to prepare for death; "for it is (ſaid he) the king of terrors, though not to me now, as it was ſometimes in my hidings; but now let us be glad and rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herſelf ready. Would ever I have thought that the fear of ſuffering and of death could be ſo taken from me! But what ſhall I ſay to it? It is the doing of the Lord, and marvellous in our eyes. I have many times counted the coſt of following Chriſt, but never thought it would be ſo eaſy; and now who knows the honour and happineſs of that? *He that confeſſeth me before men, him will I confeſs before the Father.*" He ſaid many times, "Now I am near the end of time; I deſire to bleſs the Lord, it is an expreſsly ſweet and ſatisfying peace to me, that he hath kept me from complying with enemies in the leaſt." Perceiving his mother weep, he exhorted her "to remember, that they who loved any thing better than Chriſt were not worthy of him. If ye love me, rejoice that I am going to my Father, to obtain the enjoyment of what eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard," &c. Then he went to prayer, wherein he ran out much in praiſe, and pleaded much in behalf of the ſuffering remnant, that the Lord would raiſe up witneſſes that might tranſmit the teſtimony to ſucceeding generations, and that the Lord would not leave Scotland; aſſerting, with great confidence of hope, that he was ſtrengthened in the hope of it, that the Lord would be gracious to Scotland.

At length, hearing the drums beat for the guard, he fell into a tranſport, ſaying, Yonder the welcome warning to my marriage; the bridegroom is coming; I am ready, I am ready. Then taking his leave of his mother and ſiſters, he intreated them not to be diſcouraged; for, ere all were done, they ſhould ſee matter of praiſe in that day's work. He was taken to the low council-houſe, as was uſual; where, after his ſentence was read, they deſired him to ſpeak what he had to ſay there. He ſaid, "I have nothing to ſay to you, but that which is written in Jer. xxiv. 14. 15. *As for me, behold, I am*

in your hand," &c. He was told that the drums would beat at the ſcaffold all the time, and therefore they deſired him to pray there: but he refuſed; and declared, he would not be limited in what he would ſay, and that he had premeditated nothing, but would ſpeak what was given him. They offered him any miniſter to be with him; but he anſwered, If I would have had any of them for my counſellors or comforters, I ſhould not have been here this day. I require none with me but this one man, (meaning the friend that was waiting upon him).

He went from thence to the ſcaffold with great cheerfulneſs, as one in a tranſport of triumphant joy, and had the greateſt crowd of ſpectators that has perhaps been ſeen at any execution; but little was heard, on account of the beating of the drums all the time without intermiſſion, from his firſt aſcending the ſcaffold until he was caſt over. Yet from the friends and others permitted to attend him, there were ſome of his laſt words collected.

When he went firſt unto the ſcaffold, ſome forbade him to ſpeak any thing, becauſe the people could not hear; which he took no notice of. There was a curate ſtanding at the ſide of the ſcaffold, who, tempting him, ſaid, Own our King, and we ſhall pray for you. He anſwered, I will have none of your prayers; I am come here to bear my teſtimony againſt you, and ſuch as you are. The curate ſaid, Own our King, and pray for him, whatever you ſay againſt us. He replied, "I will diſcourſe no more with you: I am within a little to appear before him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, who ſhall pour ſhame, contempt, and confuſion, upon all the kings of the earth who have not ruled for him."

Then he ſang Pſal. ciii. read Rev. xix.; then prayed, commending his ſoul to God through the Redeemer, and his cauſe to be vindicated in his own time; and appealed to the Lord, if this was not the moſt joyful day he ever ſaw in the world, a day that he had much longed for. He inſiſted much in bleſſing the Lord in honouring him with the crown of martyrdom, an honour which the angels were not privileged with, being incapable of laying down their lives for their princely Maſter. He complained of being diſturbed in worſhipping God: but, ſaid he, I ſhall be above theſe clouds; then ſhall I enjoy thee, and glorify thee, without interruption, or intermiſſion, for ever. Prayer being ended, he ſpoke to the people much to the purpoſe of his written teſtimony, whereof ſomewhat was remembered, to this effect:

"Spectators, I am come here this day to lay down my life for adhering to the truths of Chriſt, for which I am neither

afraid nor aſhamed to ſuffer. Nay, I bleſs the Lord that ever he counted me worthy, or enabled me to ſuffer any thing for him; and I deſire to praiſe his grace, that he hath not only kept me from the groſs pollutions of the time, but alſo from the many ordinary pollutions of children; and for ſuch as I have been ſtained with, he hath waſhed and cleanſed me from them in his own blood. I am this day to lay down my life for theſe three things: 1. For diſowning the uſurpation and tyranny of James Duke of York. 2. For preaching, that it was unlawful to pay the ceſs expreſsly exacted for bearing down the goſpel. 3. For teaching, that it was lawful for people to carry arms for defending themſelves in their meeting for the perſecuted goſpel-ordinances. I think a teſtimony for theſe is worth many lives; and if I had ten thouſand, I would think it little enough to lay them all down for the ſame.

"Dear friends, I die a Preſbyterian Proteſtant; I own the word of God as the rule of faith and manners; I own the Confeſſion of Faith, Larger and Shorter Catechiſms, Sum of Saving Knowledge, Directory for Public and Family Worſhip, Covenants National and Solemn League, Acts of General Aſſemblies, and all the faithful contendings that have been for the covenanted reformation. I leave my teſtimony approving the preaching in fields, and defending the ſame by arms. I adjoin my teſtimony to all theſe truths that have been ſealed by bloodſhed, either on ſcaffold, field, or ſeas, for the cauſe of Chriſt. I leave my teſtimony againſt Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, &c. againſt all profanity, and every thing contrary to ſound doctrine and the power of godlineſs; particularly againſt all uſurpations and encroachments made upon Chriſt's right, the Prince of the kings of the earth, who alone muſt bear the glory of ruling in his own kingdom the church; and in particular againſt this abſolute power uſurped by this uſurper, that belongs to no mortal, but is the incommunicable prerogative of Jehovah; and againſt his toleration flowing from this abſolute power."

Here he was ordered to have done. He anſwered, I have near done; and then ſaid, "Ye that are the people of God, do not weary to maintain the teſtimony of the day in your ſtations and places; and, whatever ye do, make ſure an intereſt in Chriſt; for there is a ſtorm coming that ſhall try your foundation. Scotland muſt be rid of Scotland before the delivery come: and you that are ſtrangers to God, break off your ſins by repentance, elſe I will be a ſad witneſs againſt you in the day of the Lord."

Here they made him deſiſt, and go up the ladder, where he prayed, and ſaid, "Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt

not

not leave Scotland, but that thou wilt make the blood of thy witneſſes the ſeed of thy church, and return again and be glorious in our land. And now, Lord, I am ready; the bride, the Lamb's wife, hath made herſelf ready." The napkin being tied about his face, he ſaid to his friend attending, "Farewell; be diligent in duty, make your peace with God through Chriſt. There is a great trial coming. As to the remnant I leave, I have committed them to God. Tell them from me, not to weary nor be diſcouraged in maintaining the teſtimony, and the Lord will provide you teachers and miniſters, and when he comes, he will make theſe deſpiſed truths glorious in the earth." He was turned over, with theſe words in his mouth, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, for thou haſt redeemed me, Lord God of truth."

Thus died the faithful, pious, and zealous Mr James Renwick, on the third day over the 26th year of his age, a young man, and a young miniſter, but a ripe Chriſtian, and renowned martyr of Chriſt, for whoſe ſake he loved not his life unto the death, by whoſe blood, and the word of his teſtimony, he overcame, and thus got above all ſnares and ſorrows, and, to the conviction of many that formerly reproached him, was as ſignally vindicated of, as he was in his life ſhamefully reproached with all the aſperſions, obloquies, and calumnies, that were caſt upon him for proſecuting that teſtimony for truth, which now he ſealed with his blood, in ſuch a treaſure of patience, meekneſs, humility, conſtancy, courage, burning love, and blazing zeal, as did very much confound enemies, convince neutrals, confirm halters, comfort friends, and aſtoniſh all.

He was of ſtature ſomewhat low, of a fair complexion, and, like another young David, of a ruddy and beautiful countenance. Moſt men ſpoke well of him after he was dead; even his murderers as well as others ſaid, they thought he went to heaven. Malignants generally ſaid, he died a Preſbyterian. The Viſcount of Tarbet, one of the counſellors, one day in company, when ſpeaking of him, ſaid, "That he was one of the ſtiffeſt maintainers of his principles that ever came before them. Others we uſed always to cauſe one time or other to waver, but him we could never move. Where we left him, there we found him. We could never make him yield or vary in the leaſt. He was the man we have ſeen moſt plainly and pertinaciouſly adhering to the old way of Preſbyterian government, who, if he had lived in Knox's days, would not have died by any laws then in being. He was the laſt that on a ſcaffold ſealed his teſtimony for religion, liberty, and the covenanted work of reformation in Scotland.

Beſides what hand Mr Renwick had in the informatory vindication, and the forementioned teſtimony againſt the toleration, both of which have long ago been publiſhed, there was alſo of late, by ſome wellwiſhers to the ſame cauſe and teſtimony, publiſhed a collection of very valuable prefaces, lectures, and ſermons of his, in two volumes; as alſo another collection of very choice letters, wrote by him, from July 8. 1682, to the day of his death, February 17. 1688. There is alſo a treatiſe of his upon the admiſſion of ruling elders, which the reader will find affixed to his life and vindication of his teſtimony, wrote by Mr Shields.

"Wherefore, ſeeing we alſo are compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, &c. Theſe are they which came out of great tribulation, and have waſhed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. I ſaw, under the altar, the ſouls of them that were ſlain for the word of God, and for the teſtimony which they held: and they cried with a loud voice, ſaying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, doſt thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth. Here is the patience of the ſaints, here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus." Heb. xii. 1. Rev. vii. 14. and vi. 9. &c. xiv. 2.

N. B. In Scotland, during theſe twenty-eight years perſecution, according to calculation, above 18,000 people ſuffered death, or the utmoſt hardſhips and extremities; whereof 1700 were baniſhed to the plantations, beſides 750 baniſhed to the northern iſlands, of theſe 200 were executed. Thoſe who ſuffered by impriſonment, confinement, and other cruelties of this nature, were computed at or above 3600, including the 800 laſt mentioned, and 55 who were pannelled to be executed, when apprehended. Thoſe killed in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes or on ſurpriſe, and thoſe who died of their wounds on ſuch occaſions, were reckoned to be 680. Thoſe who went to voluntary baniſhment to other countries, &c. were calculated at 7000. About 498 were murdered in cold blood, without proceſs of law, beſides 362 who were by form of law executed. But the number of thoſe who periſhed through cold, hunger, and other diſtreſſes, contracted in their flight to the mountains, and ſometimes even in the article of death murdered by the bloody ſoldiers, cannot be well calculated, but will certainly make up the number above ſpecified. And yet, like the Lord's church and people of old, while in Egypt, the more they were oppreſſed, the more they grew, the blood of the martyrs being always the ſeed of the church. Yea, to the honour of truth, and the praiſe of that God whom they ſerved, they were ſo far from being ſpent, waſted, or eradicated,

ted, that at the Revolution they could raiſe a regiment in one day, without beat of drum, the ancient motto of the church of Scotland being verified now as evidently as ever, *Behold the buſh burned with fire, and the buſh was not conſumed.*

See a more full account of theſe ſufferings, in the Memoirs of the Church of Scotland, from p. 290. to 295.

MR ALEXANDER MONCRIEF.

IN virtue of an act of the General Aſſembly 1642, appointing a liſt of ſix able men, for the planting of vacant churches, Mr Moncrief was pitched upon for the church of Scoonie in Fife; and upon September 26. 1643, was received there with great contentment.

After which, he had an active hand in carrying on the work of reformation at that time; and was nominated in the commiſſion for the affairs of the kirk. In the years 1650 and 1651, he made no ſmall appearance among theſe called Proteſtors; and had a particular hand in the Weſtern Remonſtrance, and the Cauſes of God's Wrath, which were drawn up about that time.

During Cromwell's uſurpation, he ſuffered much on account of his loyalty in praying for the King. Upon account of which, his houſe was often ſearched, and rifled by the Engliſh, and he obliged to hide himſelf. Upon the Sabbath, he had ſpies ſet upon him, and was cloſely watched where he went after preaching. He was frequently purſued, and one time a party of horſe came after him, yet by a ſpecial providence (though attacked once and again by them) he got clear of them. Yet a little after he was ſeized by them in a neighbouring congregation, and impriſoned ſome time *.

After he was liberated, he was pitched upon, as a perſon of great courage and magnanimity, to preſent the proteſtation and teſtimony † againſt the toleration, and the errors and ſectaries that then prevailed in church and ſtate, given in October 1658, to General Monk, drawn up and ſigned by himſelf, Meſſ. Rutherford, James Guthrie, and many others. This he did with the greateſt firmneſs, for which he was expoſed

* Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 71. &c.

† In this teſtimony, among other things, they ſay, "We do profeſs our diſſatisfaction that the civil powers ſhould take upon them to preſcribe public humiliation and thankſgiving, with the cauſes and diets thereof, to all the miniſters and members of this church, as being contrary to the well-warranted privileges and conſtant practice of the church itſelf, and in its own nature introductory to greater encroachments, and putting into the hands of the civil powers, the modelling of the public worſhip of God, a thing moſt properly eccleſiaſtic," &c.

poſed unto new extremities; but what return he had for all his faithfulneſs and loyalty to the King, comes immediately to to be diſcovered.

For no ſooner was the King reſtored and ſettled in his dominions, than this worthy and good man was involved in a new ſeries of ſufferings. For, being aſſembled at Edinburgh, with Mr James Guthrie, and eight others of his brethren, in Auguſt 1660, where they drew up that humble ſupplication and addreſs to the King, commonly called, The paper of the 23d of Auguſt, they were all impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, except Mr Hay of Craignethen, who eſcaped.

He continued under confinement until July 12. 1661, that he had his indictment and charge, much about the ſame time with Mr James Guthrie, which runs upon his having a ſhare in the Remonſtrance, and in forming the Cauſes of God's Wrath. Refuſing to retract any thing in them, he was brought before the parliament ſeveral times; and their proſecution for his life was ſo hot, that the Earl of Athole, and others in parliament, particularly intereſted and concerned in this good man and his wife, being importuned by her to appear for him in parliament, dealt with her to endeavour to prevail with him to recede from ſome of his principles, otherwiſe, they told her, it was impoſſible to ſave his life. This excellent woman anſwered, "That they all knew ſhe was happy in a good huſband, and ſhe had a great affection for him, and many children; yet ſhe knew him to be ſo ſtedfaſt to his principles, where his conſcience was concerned, that no body need deal with him on that head; for her part, before ſhe ſhould contribute any thing that would break his peace with his Maſter, ſhe would rather chooſe to receive his head at the croſs." About the ſame time, two ladies of the firſt quality were pleaſed ſo far to concern themſelves in his caſe, as to provide a compliment in plate, (which was not unuſual at that time), and ſend it to the Advocate's lady. Afterwards they went and viſited her on his behalf, but were told by her it was impoſſible to ſave his life, and the compliment was again returned.

Yet it was ſo over-ruled in providence, that Mr Moncrief being much reſpected, and his hardſhips almoſt univerſally regretted, upon account of his eminent piety, integrity, and uprightneſs, ſeverals of all ranks, and different perſuaſions, and unknown to him, began to make application, and interpoſe for him, ſo that the ſpirit of ſome of his moſt violent perſecutors began to abate, his proceſs lingered, till, after a tedious impriſonment, he fell ſick, and obtained the favour of confinement in Edinburgh. The parliament paſſed this ſentence

tence upon him, "That he, the ſaid Mr Alexander Moncrief, be for ever incapable of exerciſing any public truſt, civil or eccleſiaſtic, within the kingdom, until, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, further orders be taken concerning him, and diſcharge him in the mean time to go to his pariſh." And all this for owning before them his acceſſion to the Remonſtrance and Cauſes of God's Wrath.

After this ſentence, when living peaceably about eight or nine miles from his own pariſh, people began to reſort to him, and hear him preach; whereupon, under a moſt ſevere ſtorm in the middle of winter, by virtue of an act made againſt him, he was charged to remove twenty miles from his houſe and charge, and ſeven or eight from a biſhop's ſeat or royal burgh; and was with his family forced from his houſe, and obliged to wander in that great ſtorm; and yet when he had removed to a place at a competent diſtance, even then he got a ſecond charge to remove further, till he was obliged to go to a remote place in the Highlands, where his God, who had all along countenanced and ſupported him wonderfully in his troubles, honoured him to be inſtrumental in the converſion of many.

The perſecution ſomewhat abating, he brought his family to Perth, for the education of his children, where he continued preaching the goſpel. A few at firſt, but afterwards a great many, attended his miniſtry. Being again informed againſt, a party of the horſe-guards were ſent to apprehend him, but he eſcaped, though his houſe was narrowly ſearched. This forced him from his family, and he was obliged to lurk a good while after this.

At length he came with his family to Edinburgh, where he preached the goſpel many years, under a ſeries of perſecution. He was intercommuned in the year 1675, and his houſe, and many other places in and about the city, were narrowly ſearched for him; yet he was always marvelouſly hid, of which many inſtances might be given. When he went to the country, many a time parties of the guard were ſent in queſt of him, and ſometimes he would meet them in his return, and paſs through the midſt of them unknown. When he was one time lodged in a remote part of the ſuburbs of Edinburgh, a captain, with a party, ſearched every houſe and chamber of the cloſs, but never entered into the houſe he was in, though the door was open.

Again, when he was lurking in a private family without the walls of Edinburgh, a party was ſent to apprehend him. Providentially he had gone out to walk by the houſe; the party, obſerving him by his gravity to be a miniſter, ſaid one

to

to another, That may be the man we are ſeeking. Nay, ſaid another, he would not be walking there. Again, when he was advertiſed that the ſoldiers were coming to ſearch for him in his own houſe, he lingered till another miniſter came to him, and ſaid, Sir, you muſt ſurely have a protection from Heaven, that you are ſo ſecure here, when the town is in ſuch diſorder, and a general ſearch to be made. Immediately he went off, and in a little after Mr Moncrief went out; and was not well down ſtairs before the guard came up and ſearched his houſe. He took a ſhort turn in the ſtreet, and came back juſt as the guard went off.

But the perſecution growing ſtill worſe, he was obliged to diſperſe his family for ſome time. He was ſolicited, when in theſe circumſtances, to leave the kingdom, and had an ample call to Londonderry in Ireland; yet he always declined to leave his native country, and in his pleaſant way uſed to ſay, he would ſuffer where he had ſinned, and eſſay to keep poſſeſſion of his Maſter's houſe, till he ſhould come again. He had a ſore ſickneſs about the beginning of June 1680; in which time he uttered many heavenly expreſſions. But he recovered, and continued in this the houſe of his pilgrimage until harveſt 1688, when he died, and got above all ſin and ſorrow, after he had endured a great fight of affliction to obtain a crown of eternal life.

He was mighty in prayer, and had ſome very remarkable and ſtrange returns thereof. His memory was ſavoury a long time after his death. Many could bear witneſs, that God was with him of a truth. He left many ſeals of his miniſtry in Fife, and was a moſt faithful and painful miniſter. His ſufferings are a little hinted at in the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, though neither he nor his perſecutors are mentioned there. The relation runs thus:

"The firſt relates to a conſiderable family in this country, who made it their buſineſs to trouble and perſecute the miniſter of that pariſh, an eminently holy and faithful man; yea, upon account of his faithfulneſs, the old laird of that houſe did purſue him, out of malice, with a falſe libel, before the ſynod, either to get him broken and put out of the pariſh, or at leaſt to cruſh his ſpirit, and weaken him in the exerciſe of his miniſtry; but did there meet with a diſappointment, the Lord clearing the innocence of his ſervant, and the malice of the other. At which time, that gentleman, while he went to the ſtable where his horſes were, being then at the ſynod on that account, was in the place ſtricken with ſickneſs, forced to haſten home, and take his bed, and there ſeized with horror of conſcience, which made him often cry, in-

treating moſt earneſtly for his miniſter, whom he had thus perſecuted, and often ſaid, Oh! to ſee his face; and told his friends, that if he would not come to him, they ſhould carry him to his houſe. But his lady did, out of malice, in a moſt rude and violent way, hinder the miniſter's acceſs to him; and thus that poor gentleman died in great horror and anguiſh.

"After his death his lady ſtill purſued the quarrel with no leſs malice, until ſhe alſo fell ſick, and had much terror upon her conſcience, crying out for the miniſter, who was providentially abſent, ſo that ſhe was denied in that which ſhe kept back from her huſband; but he came to her before her death, and ſhe confeſſed, with much bitterneſs, her wrong to him. After this, a young man, who had been their chaplain, and engaged by them to appear as a witneſs againſt that godly man, was ſo terrified in his conſcience, that he could get no reſt till he went to the next ſynod, to acknowledge that horrid ſin, in bearing falſe witneſs againſt his miniſter; but being by ſome kept from a public appearance, he went to another part of the country, where it is reported he died diſtracted.

"Laſt of all, the young laird, who ſucceeded in that eſtate, would needs purſue the quarrel; and finding more acceſs through the change of the times, did ſo endeavour with ſome who were in power, that an order was paſſed for baniſhing him out of that pariſh; and although he was then otherwiſe accuſed upon account of the public cauſe, yet it was known the violent perſecution of that gentleman was the main cauſe of that ſentence, as thoſe who had a hand in paſſing it did confeſs; for he had ſolemnly ſworn, that if he lived there, that miniſter ſhould not be in that place. Returning to his houſe a few days after, and boaſting how he had kept his word, and got his miniſter caſt out of his pariſh, he was ſuddenly ſtruck by the Lord with a high fever, which plucked him away in the very ſtrength of his years." Fulfilling of the Scriptures, p. 428.

MR ANGUS MACBEAN.

MR ANGUS MACBEAN was born about 1656. After he had ſpent ſome time at the grammar-ſchool with good proficiency, he went to the univerſity of Aberdeen; where he began to diſtinguiſh himſelf, no leſs for his great regard to practical religion, although he was yet of the

Epiſcopal perſuaſion, than for his extraordinary parts and abilities in learning.

About this time the biſhops, having found their miſtake in ſending men of little learning, and leſs religion, to the ſouth and weſt parts of Scotland, where the people were much diſaffected to them, applied to the profeſſors of divinity to name ſome of the greateſt abilities to be ſent to theſe parts. Accordingly Profeſſor Menzies ſingled out Mr Macbean from amongſt all his ſtudents, to be ſent to the town of Ayr; but he did not continue long there, having got a call to be miniſter of Inverneſs; which he accepted of, and was there admitted, December 29. 1683; and here he proved a very pathetic and zealous preacher, and one of the moſt eſteemed of that way. He uſually once a-week lectured on a large portion of ſcripture, which was not the cuſtom then in that apoſtate and degenerate age.

But notwithſtanding of his being in the higheſt eſteem among the prevailing party, the conſtancy ſhewn by the ſufferers for the cauſe of truth, and the cruelty uſed towards them, made ſuch deep impreſſions on his mind, as could never afterwards be rooted out or effaced. As a native conſequence of the toleration granted by the Duke of York, the maſs was openly ſet up in the caſtle of Inverneſs, againſt which Mr Macbean preached publicly, and warned the people of the imminent danger the nation was then in. At which the prieſt was ſo incenſed, that he ſent Mr Macbean a letter, challenging him to a public diſpute. This letter he received in a crowd on the weekly market, where he uſually walked with ſome conſtables to prevent common ſwearing. He went to a ſhop, and there wrote ſuch an anſwer to the prieſt, as determined him to ſend no more challenges. The report of this having ſpread, ſome of King James's officers, being there, entered into a reſolution to go to church next Lord's-day, and to take him out of the pulpit, in caſe he uttered ought againſt that way. Of this he was informed late on Saturday, and by ſome friends was importuned to abſtain from ſaying any thing that might exaſperate them. But he preached next day on Col. i. 18. and proved, that Chriſt was the ſole King and Head of his church, in oppoſition to both Popery and Eraſtianiſm; whereupon the officers got all up to execute their deſign, which the good man did not obſerve till he turned himſelf about (for they ſat in a loft on the left-ſide of the pulpit). Then he ſaid with an authority that put them out of countenance, For theſe things I am become the ſong of drunkards. On which they all ſat down, for it was when drinking that they had formed that wicked deſign. From

the

the Popiſh controverſy, he was led to a more ſerious inquiry into the merits of what was then the real controverſy; and after ſerious wreſtling with God, and earneſt prayer for light and direction from him, in which he ſpent ſeveral nights in his garden, he at length determined fully to declare for the truth, whatever might be the conſequence. Accordingly, in 1687, he declined to ſit in the preſbytery, but continued to preach. In Auguſt, the preſbytery were informed, not only that he abſented wilfully, but that he diſowned the government of the church by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c.; and they appointed a committee to converſe with him; who, having done ſo, at a ſubſequent diet, reported, that Mr Macbean declared plainly to them, that he had no freedom to meet with them in their judicatories any more; that it was over the belly of convictions that he had entered into the miniſtry under biſhops; and that theſe convictions were returning with greater force upon his conſcience, ſo that he could not overcome them; that he was convinced Preſbytery was the only government God owned in theſe nations; that he was fully determined to make all the ſatisfaction he could to the Preſbyterians; to preach for them and in their favours; and that though he ſhould be diſpenſed with, by biſhop and preſbytery, from keeping their meetings, he could not promiſe, that in his preaching he would not give ground of miſconſtruction to thoſe that owned Prelacy. At the ſame time his colleague Mr Gilbert Marſhall farther reported, that Mr Macbean, both in his public lectures and ſermons, did ſo reflect upon the government of the church, as was like to make a ſchiſm at Inverneſs; and therefore he had cauſed cite him to that meeting, to anſwer for his reproachful doctrine that could not be endured. Mr Macbean did not appear before them; nevertheleſs the magiſtrates prevailed with the preſbytery to deſiſt from proceeding againſt him at that time. But ſhortly thereafter the preſbytery referred him to the ſynod of Murray, who appointed a committee to join with the preſbytery of Inverneſs to deal with him.

In the mean time Mr Macbean went to church without his canonical habit, publicly renounced Prelacy, declared himſelf a Preſbyterian; and as he found not freedom in the exerciſe of his charge, he demitted it. He preached his farewell-ſermon on Job xxxiv. 31. 32. The ſcriptures he advanced and inſiſted on, as warrants for his conduct, were Iſ. viii. 11.—14. Jer. xv. 18.—21. 2 Cor. vi. 16. 18.; and to prove that Chriſt was the ſole Head of the church, Eph. v. 23. Col. i. 18. 1 Pet. ii. 7. Next Lord's day he went to Roſs, and there, in Mr Macgilligen's meeting-houſe, preached the truths

he formerly oppoſed; and ſometimes thereafter he preached at Inverneſs, till he was, by order of the council, called to Edinburgh before them.

On this ſurpriſing change and alteration, a great oppoſition among the prevailing party ſoon appeared againſt him; which was the leſs to be wondered at, as he embraced every opportunity of declaring for the cauſe of truth, which they were moſt violent againſt; and therefore the preſbytery of Inverneſs ſent one of their number to inform the Biſhop of Murray, then at Glaſgow, of the whole affair. But the Biſhop dying at that time, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's took the affair into his cogniſance, and procured an order from the Council to bring him to Edinburgh. In conſequence of which he was carried ſouth in January 1688, in very tempeſtuous weather, and was called before the Council, where he made a bold and noble ſtand in defence of the truths he had ſo ſolemnly profeſſed. One of the queſtions aſked at him was, If he thought the King's power was limited? To which he anſwered, He knew no power, but the Almighty's, unlimited. And though the Council could not then find wherewith to attack him anent the ſtate, yet, to pleaſe the biſhops, he muſt be impriſoned: And upon the 27th of February thereafter, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's convened him before him and the Biſhop of Murray, and five doctors and miniſters in Edinburgh, where, in virtue of his metropolitan capacity, he depoſed him from the exerciſe of his paſtoral office, and deprived him of all benefits that might accrue to him thereby, ſince the time of his wilful deſertion; with certification, if he ſhould tranſgreſs therein, the ſentence of excommunication ſhould paſs againſt him. He was thereupon remanded back to priſon; and though the town of Inverneſs wrote, earneſtly ſoliciting him to make ſome compliance, that they might be favoured with his return, yet he valiantly withſtood their intreaties; and by his anſwer, dated July 1688, he diſſuaded them from inſiſting on his return, as what he aſſured them would never happen; and condemns himſelf in the ſtrongeſt manner for his adherence to Prelacy, declaring againſt it in the moſt expreſs way, as antiſcriptural as well as tyrannical. His confinement, and the fatigue of his journey, having given ſuch a ſhock to his conſtitution, as his life was in danger, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonſtoun, and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, offered a bail-bond for 10,000 merks, to the Earl of Perth, then Chancellor, that they would preſent him when called upon, providing he was ſet at liberty; but he refuſed to ſet him at liberty, though he was in a very languiſhing condition in the tolbooth, where he remained till the Earl

of

of Perth run away, when the Edinburgh mob ſet the priſoners at liberty. After this he continued about Edinburgh, till February 1689, when he joyfully finiſhed his courſe in the Lord, in the 33d year of his age. Some days before, news came, that the parliament of England had ſettled the crown on King William, who put an end to thoſe bloody times, and that tyrannical government.

Mr Macbean, without all doubt, was a man both pious and learned, although at firſt brought up in the Prelatical perſuaſion; and when near his death, he frequently compared himſelf in this particular to Moſes, who from Mount Piſgah ſaw the land of promiſe, but for his ſinful compliance, as he always called it, would not be allowed to enter therein, having ſome time before his death a firm belief of the amazing deliverance which the church and nation ſoon met with, and left this mortal life, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.

Mr THOMAS HOG.

MR THOMAS HOG was born in 1628, in Tain, in the county of Roſs. His parents were careful to give their ſon a liberal education; for which purpoſe he was early ſent to ſchool, and, from his commencement to the ſtudy of letters, he diſcovered an uncommon genius, and ſoon made ſuch proficiency as rendered him reſpected during his youth. He was much addicted to the harmleſs diverſions of that age; yet they did never abate his progreſs in his ſtudies, nor his deteſtation of any thing immoral, or unbecoming the character of a ſcholar. He was put to the univerſity in the New Town of Aberdeen, where he made great proficiency, and was admitted Maſter of Arts, with the univerſal approbation of the regents of the college.

About this time a very remarkable incident fell out, which confirmed Mr Hog's averſion to drunkenneſs, and his belief of an over-ruling providence: For, having accompanied a merchant of Aberdeen to a ſhip in the mouth of the Dee, who was going a voyage (being one of his acquaintance), upon his return, with two burgeſſes who had gone the ſame errand, through the importunity of one of them, they turned all aſide to take a bottle in an inn by the way. There he tarried till he thought they had drunk ſufficiently, and, finding they were not diſpoſed to go home, he laid down his ſhare of the reckoning, and was going away, but they, being averſe to part with him, and reſolute in their cups, laid hold on him to ſtay; but he being full ſix feet high, and proportionably

ſtrong

ſtrong and vigorous, ſoon twiſted himſelf out of their grips, and went off; and came home to his chamber, and went to bed at his uſual hour; but, though in good health, he could get no reſt till one o'clock, when he fell aſleep, and reſted quietly till the morning, and then aroſe. At which time coming forth to his claſs, one met him weeping, and told him, that the two men he left laſt night, after continuing a while at their cups, fell a-contending, and then a-fighting, in which the one killed the other. He aſked, At what time? and being told juſt at one, he adored that Providence which had both ſeaſonably diſpoſed him to leave them, and made him uneaſy whilſt the complication of ſin was thus committing.

And though Mr Hog was adorned with theſe natural and acquired accompliſhments which conſtitute a truly amiable perſon, heightened with the luſtre of an unblameable life; yet, as he himſelf acknowledged, he remained a ſtranger to the ſaving operations of the Spirit of God, till about 1638, when the arm of the Lord was glorioufly revealed in the revival of the work of reformation, and the influences of his grace poured out upon many through the nation: and yet ſtill his converſation was ſtrictly moral, and he frequented ſocieties, converſed and prayed with them, was in the diligent uſe of means; and in reference to the public ſtate of religion and reformation, was ſound, bold, and reſolute; in his ſtraits acknowledging the Lord, bringing theſe his difficulties before him, to which he thought he got ſome notable returns; yet upon all theſe he himſelf declared, that if he was then in a ſtate of grace and ſalvation, he was not in that ſtate afterwards; for that the whole of the following work, which by the Spirit and word of God was wrought on his heart, was founded upon a ſtrong and clear conviction of his having been at that time out of Chriſt, notwithſtanding all the forementioned lengths.

What the manner and means of his ſaving converſion were, we are at a loſs to deſcribe; only we find he was under a very deep and ſevere law-work, and that his convictions were very cloſe, particular, and pointed, ſetting his ſin before him; and that during this work, which was of long continuance, whole clouds of ſin were charged home upon him, without end or meaſure; ſo that he was brought well nigh to deſpair, being then chaplain to the Earl of Sutherland, where the work of God flouriſhed in ſeveral ſouls about that houſe; and amongſt whom the butler was at the ſame time under the ſame law-exerciſe, and yet the one did not know of the other; notwithſtanding the Counteſs, who was an eminent Chriſtian, wanted not ſome diſcerning of what was a-working with

with them both, and particularly with Mr Hog, as will appear by what follows:

One time Mr Hog, ſitting alone in his chamber in extreme anguiſh, nothing but wrath in his view, a horrible temptation was thrown in like a thunderbolt, viz. Why do you continue under ſuch intolerable extremity of diſtreſs? Put rather an end to a miſerable life immediately. Upon this ſuggeſtion, he reſented the temptation and the temper with indignation; his pen-knife, at which the enemy pointed, lying well ſharpened upon the table, leſt the aſſault ſhould have been renewed, he roſe up, and threw it over the window; after which he ſat down, and fell a muſing upon the intricacies of his diſtreſs; and while in the midſt of this terrible whirlpool, the Counteſs, beſides her cuſtom, (though ſhe had been ever affable at table), knocked gently at the door, and invited him to go and partake with her of a preſent of ſummer-fruit; he went with her, and behaved ſo, that nothing could be known concerning his former troubles. She diſcovered by her kind ſpeech and behaviour, that ſhe was either impreſſed with his danger, or that ſhe ſuſpected ſomewhat of the matter with him. After this entertainment he returned to his room, and found the temptation mercifully removed.

As to the manner of his relief, we learn in general, that, from a conviction of actual ſin, he was carried up to the fountain-head, original ſin, and to a conviction of unbelief as the ſeat of this fountain, according to Rom. xi. 32. John iii. 16. 38. The Lord having in this manner laid a ſolid, clear, and excellent foundation, he was at length bleſſed with faith's views of the glory of Chriſt in his offices and perſon; which did ſo raviſh his ſoul as to render him moſt willing, through grace, to forego, endure, and, in his ſtrength, to adventure upon any thing in his cauſe, and for his ſake.

But the moſt conſiderable adventure, while in this family, was his being the inſtrument to convert a young gentleman, of the name of Munro, who frequented the houſe, and though of a ſober deportment, yet void of real religion. He took great pleaſure in Mr Hog's company, but waſted his time with idle, frothy, and uſeleſs diſcourſe. He bore with him for ſome time, but pitying his caſe, he uſed all means poſſible with him, till by divine grace he was wholly brought over from a ſtate of black nature into a ſtate of grace; and if he had viſited Mr Hog often before, he made many more viſits to him after this; but never gave him occaſion to impeach him, for the gentleman became eminently gracious; and for an evidence that this free dealing was bleſſed, the good man, in his after conduct, did ſo excel in the virtues oppoſite to the former blemiſhes,

blemiſhes, that he was eſteemed for accommodating differences; and ſeveral gentlemen did ſubmit their conteſts to him, and acquieſced in his ſole determination.

After Mr Hog was ſettled at Killearn, this gentleman made him a viſit; where, after their mutual endearments, the gentleman addreſſed Mr Hog in this amazing dialect: "Sir, my courſe is nigh finiſhed, and I am upon my entrance into a ſtate of eternal reſt. The Lord hath his own way of giving the watchful Chriſtian previous warning concerning the end of the warfare, 2 Pet. i. 14.; and I, being ſo privileged, have been ſeriouſly pondering where it may be moſt convenient to breathe out my laſt, and quietly lay down this tabernacle; and ſeeing, after deliberation, I can find no place ſo fit as with you, I have adventured to come and die with you. At this time the gentleman was in good health, and ate his meat as well as ever; whereupon Mr Hog endeavoured to divert him from theſe thoughts; but he firmly perſiſted in his perſuaſion: and accordingly in a few days he was ſeized with a fever, whereof he died.

Mr Hog was licenſed to preach the goſpel in the 26th year of his age, and ere one year elapſed ſeveral pariſhes were competing for him, ſome of which could have yielded him a greater living than what he ever had; but he preferred Killearn to the reſt, becauſe he underſtood that ſovereign grace was purſuing ſome elect veſſels there; and he knew that ſeveral gentlemen, eſpecially the Baron of Foulis, were friends to religion there: And he was ordained miniſter in 1654 or 1655, with the unanimous conſent and approbation of all concerned.

Mr Hog, being thus ſettled, he heartily applied himſelf to his work, taking heed to himſelf and his doctrine, that he might both ſave himſelf and them that heard him, caſting a good copy or example before them, in all manner of temperance and Chriſtian virtues, but more eſpecially remarkable in his public character. His concern and ſympathy with the ignorant was great, the bulk of the people of that pariſh, through the long infirmity of their former paſtor, and the intervening vacation, being neglected in their examination, became very ignorant; but he was at great pains in ſpreading Catechiſms and other abſtracts among them; and, going from houſe to houſe, he prayed with, exhorted, and inſtructed them in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; and his deportment was attended with as much majeſty, proper to that function, as had been obſerved in any: and no wonder, for few were favoured with ſo many teſtimonies of the divine preſence, in the diſcharge of their miniſtry; as witneſs J——s N——o,

N——o, E——b B——e his ſpouſe, B——a B——e her ſiſter, afterwards Mrs S——d, Mr R——s, the judicious and famous John Monro of Roſs, Mr Thomas Taylor, Mr Angus Macbean miniſter at Inverneſs, William Bulloch his own ſervant, Chriſtian Macintoſh a poor woman in the depths of ſoul-diſtreſs, holy Mr Roſs, Mr John Welwood, and the ſo much famed John Monro, were either converted or confirmed by him while in this pariſh, or after his ejection, while he was ſettled at Knockgaudy in Murray; and none more particular than that inſtance of Monro of Lumlair, an heritor in that pariſh, who, upon ſome reprehenſory expreſſions by Mr Hog, which he was at firſt dreadfully offended at, yet were made the means of his thorough converſion, ſo that he ever looked on Mr Hog after as his beſt friend, and laid himſelf out to promote the ſucceſs of his miniſtry.

So ſoon as it pleaſed the Lord thus to bleſs his parochial labours with a gracious change wrought upon a conſiderable number of the people, he took care to join the more judicious in ſocieties for prayer and conference. Theſe he kept under his own inſpection, and did heartily concur with them; for he himſelf was much in the exerciſe of that duty, and had ſeveral notable returns, of which we have ſeveral inſtances.

1*ſt*, A good woman having come to him with this ſore lamentation, that her daughter C—— I—— was diſtracted, Mr Hog charged one or two devout perſons, for he frequently employed ſuch on extraordinary occaſions, to ſet apart a day and a night for faſting and prayer, and then join with him in prayer for the maid next day. Accordingly, when this appointment was performed, ſhe recovered her ſenſes as well as before.

2*dly*, A daughter of the Laird of Parks, his brother-in-law, who lodged with him, being ſeized with a high fever, and little hope of life; Mr Hog loved the child dearly, and while he and his wife were jointly ſupplicating the Lord in prayer, acknowledging their own and the child's iniquity, the fever inſtantly left her. This paſſage was found in his own diary, which he concludes with admiration upon the goodneſs of God, to whom he aſcribes the praiſe of all.

3*dly*, In like manner, a child of the Rev. Mr Urquhart having been at the point of death, thoſe preſent preſſed Mr Hog to pray, for he was now become ſo eſteemed that none other would in ſuch caſe do it, he being preſent; upon which he ſolemnly charged them to join with him; and having fervently wreſtled in prayer and ſupplication for ſome time, the child was reſtored to health. A like inſtance is found of a child of Kinmundy's, in his own diary.

4*thly*, One David Dunbar, who lived at a diſtance, being in a frenzy, came to Mr Hog's houſe in one of his fits, Mr Hog cauſed him to ſit down, and having adviſed with Mr Fraſer of Brae, and ſome others preſent, what could be done for the lad; ſome were for letting blood, but Mr Hog ſaid, The prelates have deprived us of money, wherewith to pay phyſicians, therefore let us employ him who cures freely, and ſo laid it on Mr Fraſer to pray; but he put it back on himſelf. So, after commanding the diſtracted perſon to be ſtill, he prayed fervently for the poor man; and he was immediately reſtored to his right mind. This is faithfully atteſted by thoſe who were eye and ear witneſſes.

5*thly*, Mr Hog having once gone to ſee a gracious woman in great extremity of diſtreſs, both of body and mind, he prayed with her and for her, uſing this remarkable expreſſion among many others, O Lord, rebuke this temptation, and we in thy name rebuke the ſame; and immediately the woman was reſtored both in body and mind. And yet, notwithſtanding the Lord had honoured him in ſuch a manner, it is doubtful if any in his day more carefully guarded againſt deluſions than he did, it being his ordinary, whenever he bowed a knee, to requeſt to be ſaved from deluſions, &c.

But as Mr Hog was ſent of God to be an ambaſſador of peace to ſome, ſo he was alſo a meſſenger of wrath to others. Of which we have ſeveral inſtances, but none more particular than the following, of a certain gentleman in the pariſh, who had one dead in his family, and intended to bury in the kirk; but, on account of the vulgar ſuperſtition, the General Aſſembly had by an act diſcharged the ſame; and Mr Hog being a ſtrenuous defender of the act of the church, the gentleman was nonpluſſed what to do; but one William Monro, a ſtrong hectoring fellow, engaged to make his way good againſt all oppoſition, and ſucceeded ſo far, that the people with the corpſe were entering the church-yard when Mr Hog got notice. He went out and ſet his back to the door through which the corpſe was to paſs, and began to reaſon with the people to convince them of their error in breaking through good order; but this had not the deſired effect, for the fellow laid violent hands on Mr Hog to pull him from the door; but he, having the ſpirit of a man as well as of a Chriſtian, turned on his adverſary, wreſted the key out of his hand, and told the aſſailant, were he to repel force with force, probably he would be no gainer; and then ſaid to the people, "This man hath grieved the Spirit of the Lord, and you ſhall ſee either his ſudden repentance, or a ſingular judgement befall him." Accordingly the poor wretch con-

tinued in his wicked courſes, and met with the foretold judgement in a few months after that. Having made a violent attack upon one, who drew out the wretch's ſword and dagger, and thruſt him through the belly, ſo that his bowels burſt out, and he died moſt miſerably.

Another inſtance of this kind fell out, while he was lecturing in the Laird of Letham's houſe, in the county of Murray. During the time of worſhip, he obſerved a ſervant laugh once and again, and after an admonition the third time; at which Mr Hog pauſed a little, and then with an air of ſeverity ſaid, "The Spirit of God is grieved by one in the company, for mocking at theſe great truths; therefore I am bold to ſay, ſuch offers of grace ſhall be viſibly and more ſuddenly puniſhed than any here could wiſh," &c. After they had ſupped, and retired to their apartments, a meſſage came to his chamber, telling him, that the forementioned mocker was ſeized with a ſudden ſickneſs and cried bitterly for him. Upon this Mr Hog aroſe, quickly caſt on his gown, and came down ſtairs to ſee him, without loſing a minute's time; but ere he got to him, the poor creature was dead.

Mr Hog was in judgement on that ſide called proteſtors, and therefore was in 1661 depoſed by the ſynod of Roſs, becauſe he would not decline that party judicially; and afterwards, when he knew he was to be put out of the charge at Killearn in 1662, he had a farewell ſermon to them, where, with the apoſtle Paul, he took God and their own conſciences to witneſs, that he had not ſhunned to declare the whole counſel of God to them; and added, that the ſtorm would be of a long continuance; but, after all, the ſky would clear, and he would live to ſee it, and be called to his own charge again as miniſter of Killearn, and die with them. And further ſaid, If any of you ſhall decline from that good way, and theſe truths wherein ye have been taught, and ſhall comply with the wicked deſigns now carried on, I take heaven and earth to witneſs againſt you; I take the ſtones of theſe walls I preached in, every word that was ſpoken, and every one of you, to be witneſſes againſt another. With many other words he exhorted them; and his labours were not altogether in vain; for there was not a pariſh in Scotland that complied leſs with the corruptions than they did.

After his ejection, John Card, who was converted by his miniſtry, told him, that he ſhould go to Murray. Of which he had no thoughts then, but in a little the Laird of Park offered him Knockgaudy, near Oldearn, to labour and dwell in; of which he accepted, and went thither; where he was a very uſeful inſtrument in the hand of the Lord, in turning

many ſouls to him, as has been already ſaid; and here finding his private miniſtry ſo bleſſed with ſucceſs, he adventured to give the ſacrament in this place; which was a bold attempt, conſidering the ſeverity of the laws at that time. But this ſolemnity being remarkably bleſſed with the divine preſence and glory, the communicants returned to their habitations with unſpeakable joy, and, among the reſt, one Macleod, who came from Roſsſhire, and underſtood nothing of the Engliſh language; but Mr Hog underſtanding the Iriſh language, he told him, that he came hither obeying the command of his exalted Redeemer, and underſtood what was preached there in the Engliſh, as well as if every word had been ſpoken in his own tongue. Which when Mr Hog interpreted to the reſt, they were filled with wonder, and the good man was allowed to communicate, which he did with joy.

In 1668, he was impriſoned for the truth at Forres, upon a complaint for keeping conventicles, &c.; and there he was wonderfully ſtrengthened and comforted, having great joy in his ſufferings. Upon his account many prayers were put up by many in Murray; and their prayers, as one ſaith of the church's prayers for Peter while in the like caſe, ſet God a-working. The effect was, that Mr Hog, without his own knowledge or expectation, was ſet at liberty, without any conceſſions on his part.

But, what was more remarkable, he was again apprehended about the year 1676, for the ſame cauſe, and ſent to Edinburgh. He ſaid to ſome in company, I thank my God, this meſſenger was moſt welcome to me: And giving a ſcratch with his nails on the wall, he ſaid, I truſt in the living God, that before my conſcience ſhall get that much of a ſcratch, this neck (pointing to it) ſhall go for it. Accordingly, when tried, he ſubmitted himſelf joyfully to a priſon, rather than bind himſelf from preaching; and was ſent to the Baſs, where, by the air of the place and his cloſe confinement, he fell into a bloody flux, whereof he was in great danger. A phyſician being called, he gave his opinion, unleſs he was liberated from that place, there was no hope of life. But Mr Hog, heſitating, would not addreſs that mongrel court, at any rate. However, the doctor, of his own accord, did it without his knowledge, and gave in a petition to the Council, in the ſtrongeſt terms he could deviſe. The petition being read, ſome of the Lords interceded for Mr Hog, and ſaid, that he lived more quietly, and travelled not the country ſo much as the other Preſbyterians did. Upon which Biſhop Sharp, taking up the argument, ſaid, that the priſoner did, and was in a capacity to do, more hurt to their intereſts, ſitting in his

his elbow-chair, than twenty others could do by travelling from this corner of the land to the other; and if the juſtice of God was purſuing him, to take him off the ſtage, the clemency of the government ſhould not interpoſe to hinder it; and it was his opinion, that if there was any place in the priſon worſe than another, he ſhould be put there. Which motion, being ſeconded by the prelates, was put to vote, and carried, to the cloſeſt priſon in the Baſs; which was ſpeedily put in execution. When the keeper intimated this to Mr Hog, he ſaid, it was as ſevere as if Satan himſelf had penned it. His ſervant, William Bulloch, being with him when he carried him down to that low, naſty dungeon in the Baſs, fell a-weeping, and cried, Now, maſter, your death is unavoidable. But the good man, directing his eyes up, ſaid, Now, that men have no mercy, the Lord will ſhew himſelf merciful; from the moment of my entering this dungeon I date my recovery. And ſo it fell out, for the very next day he recovered ſurpriſingly, and in a ſhort time was as well as ever. Yet afterwards, when ſpeaking of the archprelate, he never ſhewed any reſentment, but merrily ſaid, Commend him to me for a good phyſician.

In the end of 1679, being brought to Edinburgh before the Council, and refuſing to take the bond to live peaceably, he was remanded back to priſon, and afterwards liberated; but on what conditions we do not learn.

About 1683, he fell again under the diſpleaſure of the managers, for holding private conventicles, and was baniſhed by the Privy Council, and ordained to remove off the kingdom in forty-eight hours, unleſs he gave caution not to exerciſe any part of his miniſtry, under the penalty of 5000 merks, over and above performance; which conditions he would by no means ſubmit to, and therefore retired to Berwick, and from thence to London, with a deſign the firſt opportunity to go from thence to Carolina; but the pretended plot, called the Preſbyterian plot, then falling out, he was thrown into priſon, where he continued ſome time, till his money being near ſpent, (for beſides his own and his ſervant's maintenance, he paid ten ſhillings Sterling weekly to the keeper, for a place by himſelf, and not to be put down among thieves and felons), he ſaid to his ſervant William, I'll ſet to-morrow apart for prayer, and ſee that no perſon be allowed to come in to interrupt me. Accordingly he roſe early, and continued cloſe at meditation and prayer till twelve o'clock, when a perſon in the habit of a gentleman deſired to ſpeak with him. William Bulloch told him, that his maſter was retired, &c.; yet he ſtill interceded to ſee him. Upon which William, ſeeing the man of a grave

pleaſant

pleaſant aſpect, reported his deſire to his maſter, who ordered him to his room. Mr Hog received him courteouſly. The other entertained him with a diſcourſe about ſuffering for a good God, and a good cauſe, and ſhewed that *our light afflictions, which are but for a moment, are not to be compared with the glory that ſhall be revealed.* After which he aroſe and embraced Mr Hog moſt lovingly, exhorted him to continue in well-doing, and then took out of his pocket a white paper, and gave it to him. Mr Hog, finding its weight, underſtood it was money, and ſaid to the ſtranger, Upon what account, Sir, do you give me this money ?—The other anſwered, Becauſe I am appointed by our great and exalted Maſter to do ſo. Mr Hog aſked his name; and upon his refuſing to tell it, Mr Hog ſaid, Sir, it is not curioſity that prompts me to aſk, but I hope to be enlarged, and then I ſhall account it my duty to call for you at your dwelling in this city, for I ſuppoſe you are a citizen in London. The other replied, You muſt aſk me no more queſtions, but *be faithful to the death, and thou ſhalt have a crown of life.* Then he retired, and Mr Hog never ſaw nor heard of him any more. When Mr Hog opened the paper, there were L. 5 Sterling in it, which to the good man was ſweeter than if he had got 1000 pounds ſettled on him yearly *.

After he was ſet at liberty, being at London in 1685, when the Duke of Monmouth landed in England, and Argyle in Scotland, he plainly told ſome of his acquaintance, that God would never honour any of theſe men to be inſtruments of our deliverance. And much about the ſame time, ſome Proteſtants at Court, knowing he was in the city, and that he was endued with a prophetic ſpirit, drew King James's attention ſo far, that he wanted Mr Hog ſhould be conſulted concerning affairs at that juncture. This being communicated to him, he concealed his mind, till he conſulted the Lord by prayer. In the mean time he made ready for his departure, and then told them, what he charged them to report to him faithfully, that if King James had ſeriouſly adhered to the principles of our holy reformed religion, his throne ſhould have been eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs; and if he would yet turn from Popery, matters might be well with him; but if otherwiſe, the land would ſpue him out. When this was reported, the King ordered he ſhould be ſpeedily apprehended, but he, having foreſeen this, eſchewed it by a ſpeedy flight to Holland.

When

* This relation was atteſted by William Bulloch, who was his faithful ſervant near thirty years, who was eye and ear witneſs, and was inclined to think he was an angel.

When in Holland, he was ſoon introduced to the Prince of Orange, who had him in great eſteem, and therefore let him into the ſecret of his reſolution to deliver theſe nations from Popery and tyranny. In the indulgence Mr Hog agreed with worthy Mr M'Ward and Mr Brown, yet was far from clearneſs to withdraw from all Preſbyterian * miniſters, who either had not taken the benefit of the indulgence, or thoſe expoſed to ſuffering notwithſtanding the ſame.

Mr Hog returned to Scotland in 1688, where he ſtaid till 1691, that his old pariſhioners, finding the way cleared, ſent commiſſioners to accompany him back to his pariſh of Kilearn; where he was received with great joy in June or July that year. But his conſtitution being broken, he was unable to diſcharge his function much in public after that; however, his converſation became ſtill more heavenly. King William, as a reward to his merit, reſolving to have this good man near him, ſent him a commiſſion to be one of his chaplains, which was no mean evidence of his eſteem for him, and the truth of his prediction concerning him. But before ever that honour was beſtowed upon him, he was ſeized with the trouble, or rather the complication of troubles, whereof he died.

His ſickneſs was conſiderably long, and accompanied with great pain. One time his judicious ſervant, hearing the heavy moans he made, aſked, whether it was ſoul or bodily pain that extorted ſuch heavy groans from him? To which he compoſedly replied, No ſoul-trouble, man; for a hundred and a hundred times my Lord hath aſſured me that I ſhall be with him for ever; but I am making moan for my body.—And thereupon entertained him agreeably concerning the Lord's purging away ſin from his own children, Iſ. xxvii. 9. At another time, he ſaid, Pity me, O ye my friends, and do not pray for my life; you ſee I have a complication of diſeaſes upon me; allow me to go to my eternal reſt. And then, with deep concern of ſoul, he cried, Look, O my God, upon mine affliction, and forgive all my ſins. And yet, ſays his ſervant, never was his converſation more heavenly and ſpiritual, than when thus chaſtiſed. Towards his end, he was much feaſted with our Saviour's comfortable meſſage to his diſciples, John xx. 17. *I aſcend to my Father, and to your Father; and to my God, and your God.* To the writer of ſome remarkable paſ-

ſages

* It muſt of neceſſity here be obſerved, that any who are acquainted with the hiſtorical accounts of theſe times, will find that Mr Hog was not ſo explicit upon point of public teſtimony, as the more faithful part of our ſufferers at that time; otherwiſe he was, for parts and attainments, a very remarkable and extraordinary man, as this narrative in part diſcovers.

ſages of his life, he ſaid, he could not give a look to the Lord, but he was perſuaded of his everlaſting love. And to Mr Stuart, who ſucceeded him in that place, at another time he ſaid, Never did the ſun in the firmament ſhine more brightly to the eyes of my body, than Chriſt the Sun of Righteouſneſs hath ſhined on my ſoul.——" And ſome time after," continues the ſame writer, " when I underſtood he was very low, I made him my laſt viſit; and when I aſked him how he did, he anſwered, The unchangeableneſs of my God is my rock. Upon Sabbath-evening, for I ſtaid with him that week, when I came from the church, his ſpeech was unintelligible to me, but his ſervant deſired me to pray, and commit his ſoul and body to God. After prayer I retired a little, and when I returned, I found all preſent in tears at his diſſolution, eſpecially his wife and his faithful ſervant William Bulloch." Mr James Hog, and the forementioned writer of the remarkable paſſages, add, That Mr Thomas Hog had many times foretold that his Lord and Huſband was coming; ſo in the end he cried out, " Now he is come, my Lord is come, praiſe, praiſes to him for ever more. Amen." And with theſe words death cloſed his eyes, upon the 4th January 1692, being about ſixty years old.

Mr Hog was of a tall ſtature, but more remarkable for his courage and fortitude of mind; he was moſt temperate in his diet and ſleep. Gluttony, he ſaid, was a great incentive to luſt, and riſing betimes is not only good for the health, but beſt adapted for ſtudy, wherein he took great pleaſure. His more ſerious work, his neceſſary diverſions, as viſiting of friends, &c. and even meaner things, were all gone about by the rule of duty. He was ſought unto by many for his good and faithful advices, and in prayer he was moſt ſolemn and fervent, the profoundeſt reverence, the loweſt ſubmiſſion, and yet a marvellous boldneſs and intimacy with God, attended his engagements in this exerciſe: it might be truly ſaid of him as of Luther when he prayed, It was with ſo much reverence as if he prayed to God, and with ſo much boldneſs as if he had been ſpeaking to his friend. And though the Lord did not bleſs him with children, he gave him the powerful aſſurance of that promiſe, Iſ. lvi. 5. *I will give thee a name better than of ſons and daughters;* which he ſignally fulfilled to him in making him the inſtrument of begetting many ſons and daughters to the Lord.

Mr ROBERT FLEMING.

MR ROBERT FLEMING was born at Bathens in 1630. He was ſon to Mr James Fleming miniſter of the goſpel there, who being a very godly and religious man, took great care of his ſon's education; and for that purpoſe ſent him firſt to the college of Edinburgh, where he ran through the courſe of philoſophy with great applauſe, and made great progreſs in the learned languages. Then being tranſlated to St Andrew's, he paſſed his courſe of theology in that univerſity, under the conduct of worthy Mr Rutherford.

His natural parts being very great, his underſtanding quick and penetrative, his judgement clear and profound, his fancy rich, his memory ſtrong, and expreſſions maſculine, they did with ſuch a grace take with them who were not acquainted with his accents and idioms; and to all theſe his acquired learning was anſwerable, the culture of which he, through the divine bleſſing, improved with great diligence. Hiſtory, the eye of learning, he ſingularly affected, eſpecially ſacred hiſtory, the right eye. But to him all hiſtory was ſacred, ſeeing he conſidered God's actions more than man's therein. Nor did he value any man, but for the knowledge of God, wherewith he himſelf was ſo much acquainted; for his converſion to God was very early.

Before he was full twenty-three years old, he was called to a paſtoral charge, and was ſettled therein at Cambuſlang, in Clydeſdale, where he ſerved the Lord in the miniſtry, till after the reſtoration of Charles II. when that ſtorm aroſe that drove out ſo many, and particularly that act, commonly called the Glaſgow act, whereby near 400 faithful miniſters were ejected, of whom the world was not worthy.

He had taken to wife Chriſtiana Hamilton, juſtly famed for her perſon, gifts, and graces. By her he had ſeven children, and, with them and himſelf, ſweetly committed unto his God's proviſion, he humbly received the honour of his ejection. Of the children the Lord received three of them to himſelf, before their mother, and two of them died afterwards; the other two ſurvived their father for ſome time. As for his worldly ſubſtance, his ſhare ſeemed according to Agur's deſire; and with Luther he ſaid, to his knowledge he never deſired much of it, or was very careful for or about it; for during the moſt tragical days, his table was ſpread and cup filled, and his head anointed with freſh oil, his children were liberally educated, and in his work he was profuſely rich: but of his own laying up he had no treaſure but in heaven. His

own teſtimony of his life was this: It was once made up of ſeeming contrarieties, great outward trouble, and great inward comfort; and I never found (ſaid he) more comfort than when under moſt affliction.

For ſome time after his ejection, he lived moſtly at Edinburgh, Fife, and other places, until September 1673, that all the miniſters in and about Edinburgh being called to appear before the Council to hear their ſentence, to repair unto the places of their confinement; but he and ſome others not appearing, were ordered to be apprehended wherever they could be found; which made him ſhift as well as he could for ſome time, till he was at laſt apprehended, and impriſoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, where he was during the time of Bothwell battle. A little after he was, with ſome others, called before the Council, and though they were willing to find bail for their appearance when called, yet becauſe they refuſed to live peaceably, and not to riſe up in arms againſt the King, or any authoriſed by him, they were remanded back to priſon. However, he was liberated *, and went to Holland, where after the death of the famous and faithful Mr Brown, he was admitted miniſter of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam.

And here again his activity in the miniſtry was ſuch as was to be expected from ſuch a large ſoul, comprehenſive of the intereſt of God and his church.——What a writer he was, need not here be told, but in preaching he might be called a Boanerges, and Barnabas alſo, for converſe, and for all things uſeful. What might Cambuſlang teſtify of him?—What might Edinburgh and adjacent places, where, after his ejection, he lived and laboured? What might Rotterdam ſay, where, from 1679 till towards his end, he was a moſt bright and ſhining light? There was no time wherein we may ſuppoſe that he had no good deſign going on. It is well known that the ſun of his life did ſet on an excellent deſign, which was, of ſending forth a treatiſe concerning the ways of the Holy Ghoſt's working upon the ſouls of men, &c.

As he was religious, ſo he was ſaid to be of a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition, as not affecting controverſy much; ſo that when

* Pat. Walker in his remarks ſays, That while he was in priſon he dealt earneſtly with Meſſ. King and Kid, then under ſentence of death, to give a healing teſtimony in favour of the indulged; and that he was liberated upon the terms of the indemnity, &c. However, be as it will, to derogate from nothing due to the memory of Mr Fleming, it is well known, that though he was never actively indulged himſelf, yet he ran into ſome extremes in coaleſcence with them; which was no ſmall grief at that time to faithful Mr M'Ward, as witneſs his Earneſt Contendings, &c.

when ſpeaking of the differences amongſt ſome brethren, he would ſay, I am amazed to ſee good men thus tear one another in the dark; nor can I underſtand how they ſhould have grace in a lively exerciſe, who value their own particular deſigns above the intereſt of the catholic church, &c. Nor is it to be forgot what he ſaid to one of his own begotten ſons in the faith, I bleſs God, (ſaid he), that in fifteen years I have never given any man's credit a thruſt behind his back; but when I had ground to ſpeak well of any man, I did ſo with faithfulneſs, and when I wanted a ſubject that way, I kept ſilence.

And, according to his practice, his life was a life of worſhip extraordinary. His ſolemn dedication of himſelf to his God was frequent; his ſoliloquies with him almoſt perpetual; as ſpending his days and years after this manner, in order to which we find it was his cuſtom, from the 15th or 16th year of his age, to ſet apart the firſt day of every year for renewing his covenant with God; or if interrupted that day, to take the next day following. For the firſt years of his life we cannot give any particular account of the manner of his doing this; but we may gueſs what they have been, from the few inſtances following.

"1691. In the entry of this new-year, as I have now done for many years moſt ſolemnly, I deſire again to renew my perſonal engaging of myſelf to the Lord my God, and for him, and with my whole heart and deſire to enter myſelf into his ſervice, and take on his bleſſed yoke, and humbly to lay claim, take, and embrace him (O him)! to be my God, my all, my light, and my ſalvation, my ſhield, and exceeding great reward. *Whom have I in heaven but thee, O Lord, or in the earth whom I deſire beſides thee?* And now, under thy bleſſed hand, my ſoul deſires, and does here teſtify my truſting myſelf, and ſecuring my whole intereſt, my credit, my conduct, my comfort, my aſſiſtance, and my poor children, and to leave myſelf herein on thy gracious hand, on my deareſt Lord, whilſt in time: As I write this, the 2d day of January 1691.

R. Fleming."

"1692. In the entry and firſt day of this new-year, that I deſire, as formerly, to enter in this hidden record, a new ſurrender and offering of myſelf to my dear Lord and Maſter, who hath been wonderfully tender and gracious to me, and hath brought me by his immediate conduct through the days and years of my pilgrimage paſt, hath ſtill cared for his poor ſervant, and given more ſingular mercies and evidences of reſpect than to many elſe; and now, as ſtill formerly hath, taken me through this laſt year with ſingular evidences of his preſence and aſſiſtance; and as I truſted myſelf to my Lord,

ſo he hath graciouſly anſwered; for which, and his ſpecial grace hitherto, I deſire to inſert this witneſs of my ſoul's bleſſing the Lord my God.

"And now I do here, with my full and joyful conſent, teſtify my giving up myſelf again to the Lord, and to his work and ſervice here, and wherever he ſhall call me, with deſire to conſecrate my old age to my God and the guide of my youth. I love my Maſter and his ſervices, and let my ears be nailed to the poſts of his door, as one who would not go free from that bleſſed yoke and ſervice; and lay in hope the whole aſſiſtance hereof on his grace and help, &c. To him I commit myſelf, my ways, my works and ſervices, which, with my whole deſire, I offer to my Lord, in whoſe hand I deſire to ſecure my credit for the goſpel's ſake, my comfort and enlargement in this day of deep trouble and anguiſh, together with my poor children, and the whole intereſt of my family and concerns, deſiring to put myſelf with humble confidence, and all that is dear to me, under his care and conduct. O my ſoul, bleſs thou the Lord! This I write the 1ſt of January 1692. *My Lord and my God.* R. FLEMING."

"1694. In the firſt day and Monday of this new-year, 1694, that as I have formerly, through moſt of my life paſt, ſo now I deſire to renew my dedication and engagement to the Lord my God, and to join in the ſame witneſs with what herein hath been formerly, with my whole heart and deſire, and to offer to my deareſt Lord praiſe, in remembrance of what he hath been through the year paſt, and in the whole of my life, whoſe gracious tender conduct hath been ſo wonderful (and well haſt thou, Lord, dealt with thy ſervant, according to thy word) in all that hath befallen me, &c.

"And now I do again, by a ſurrender witneſs, my entire commitment of myſelf, my poor children, my credit for the goſpel, my conduct and comfort in ſo extraordinary a juncture, to my deareſt Lord, to his gracious and compaſſionate care and providence; together with my works, and any ſmall deſign to ſerve him and my generation; and I do intreat new ſupplies of his grace and ſtrength, to ſecure and make his poor ſervant, if it were his bleſſed will, yet more abundantly forthcoming to him. And with hopes of acceptance, I write this, 1ſt January 1694. *Poſt tenebras ſpero lucem.*

R. FLEMING."

But now drawing near his end, in the ſame year 1694, upon the 17th of July he took ſickneſs, and on the 25th died. On his firſt arreſt, O friends, (ſaid he to ſuch as were about him), ſickneſs and death are ſerious things. But till the ſpark of his fever was riſen to a flame, he was not aware that

that ſickneſs was to be unto death; for he told a relation, that if it ſhould be ſo, it was ſtrange, ſeeing the Lord did not hide from him the things that he did with him and his. Yet before his expiration, he was apprehenſive of its approach. Calling to him a friend, he aſked, What freedom he found in prayer for him? ſeems God to beckon to your petitions, or does he bring you up, and leave dark impreſſions on your mind? This way, ſaid he, I have often known the mind of the Lord. His friend telling him he was under darkneſs in the caſe, he replied, I know your mind, trouble not yourſelf for me; I think I may ſay, I have been long above the fear of death.

All the while his groans and ſtruggling argued him to be under no ſmall pain; but his anſwers to inquiring friends certified, that the diſtreſs did not enter his ſoul. Always he would ſay, I am very well, or, I was never better, or, I feel no ſickneſs. This he would ſay, while he ſeemed to be ſenſible of every thing beſides pain. But the malignant diſtemper waſting his natural ſpirits, he could ſpeak but little, but what he ſpoke was all of it like himſelf. Having felt himſelf indiſpoſed for his wonted meditation and prayer, he thus ſaid to ſome near him, I have not been able in a manner to form one ſerious thought ſince I was ſick, or to apply myſelf unto God; he has applied himſelf unto me, and one of his manifeſtations was ſuch as I could have borne no more. Opening his eyes after a long ſleep, one of his ſons aſked how he did? He anſwered, Never better. Do you know me? ſaid his ſon. Unto which, with a ſweet ſmile he anſwered, Yes, yes, dear ſon, I know you. This was about two hours before he died. About an hour afterwards he cried earneſtly, Help, help, for the Lord's ſake, and then breathed weaker and weaker, till he gave up the ghoſt, and, after he had ſeen the ſalvation of God, he departed in peace, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age.

Thus lived and died Mr Fleming, after he had ſerved his day and generation. His works yet declare what ſort of a man he was; for beſides the forenamed treatiſe, the Confirming Work of Religion, his Epiſtolary Diſcourſe, and his well-known book, the Fulfilling of the Scriptures, he left a writing behind him, under this title, A Short Index of ſome of the Great Appearances of the Lord in the Diſpenſations of his Providence to his Poor Servant, &c. And although the obſcurity of theſe hints leaves us in the dark, yet as they ſerve to ſhew forth his Maſter's particular care over his ſervant, who was moſt induſtrious in obſerving the Lord's ſpecial providences

over

over others, and perhaps may give ſome further light into the different tranſactions of his life, they are here inſerted.

" 1. How near I was brought to death in my infancy, given over and eſteemed a burden to my friends, ſo as my death was made deſirable to them, I being the refuſe of my father's children; yet even I was then God's choice, and in a moſt ſingular way reſtored. 2. That remarkable deliverance, in receiving a blow by a club when a child, which was ſo near my eye as endangered both my ſight and life. 3. The ſtrange and extraordinary impreſſion I had of an audible voice in the church at night, when, being a child, I had got up to the pulpit, calling me to make haſte, &c. 4. That I, of all my father's ſons, ſhould be ſpared, when the other three were ſo promiſing, and ſhould thus come to be the only male heir ſurviving of ſuch a ſtock. 5. That ſolemn and memorable day of communion at Grayfriars, in the entry of the year 1648, where I had ſo extraordinary a ſenſe of the Lord's preſence, yea, whence I can date the firſt ſealing evidence of my converſion, now forty years paſt. 6. The Lord's gracious and ſignal preſervation and deliverance given me at Dunbar fight. 7. Theſe ſolemn times and near approaches of the Lord to my ſoul; the firſt at Elve, when I went there, and the other a little after my father's death, in the high ſtudy. 8. The ſcripture, Acts xii. was given me to be my firſt text, and how I was unexpectedly and by ſurpriſe engaged therein. 9. The great deliverances at ſea going to Dundee, the firſt time in company with the Duke of Lauderdale, the other in company with Mr Gray of Glaſgow. 10. That extraordinary dream and marvellous viſion I had twice repeated, with the inexpreſſible joy after the ſame. 11. Theſe memorable impreſſions and paſſages about my health, when it ſeemed hopeleſs, at my firſt entry upon the miniſtry, and the ſtrange expreſſion of Mr Simpſon of Newmills. 12. The Lord's immediate and wonderful appearance for me in my firſt entry to the miniſtry, with that extraordinary ſtorm on the day of my ordination, and the amazing aſſault which followed the ſame in what befel, wherein Satan's immediate appearance againſt me was ſo viſible. 13. The great and conſpicuous ſeal given to my miniſtry from the Lord, in the converſion of ſeveral perſons, with that marvellous power which then accompanied the word on the hearts of the people. 14. That ſignal appearance of the Lord, and his marvellous condeſcendence in my marriage-lot, and in the whole conduct of the ſame. 15. My deliverance from ſo imminent hazard of my life, in my fall from my horſe at Kilmarnock. 16. The Lord's marvellous aſſiſtance at the two communions of Cathcart and Dunlop, with the great

great enlargement I had at the laſt of theſe two places, at the laſt table. 17. That as my entry to my charge was with ſuch a bright ſun-ſhine, ſo no leſs did the Lord appear at my parting from that place, &c. 18. The Lord's ſpecial providence as to my outward lot after my removal thence, in many circumſtances that way. 19. The gracious ſparing my wife ſo long, when her life was in ſuch hazard in 1665 and 1672. 20. The preſervation I had in going over to Fife in 1672, and the ſettlement I got there. 21. The dream at Bouſſay, wherein I got ſuch expreſs warning as to my wife's removal, with the Lord's marvellous appearance and preſence the Thurſday after, at St Johnſton's. 22. That extraordinary warning I got again of my dear wife's death, and the manner of it, at London, in 1674. 23. Theſe two remarkable ſcripture places given me at Weſt Niſbet, in my return from London, 1674, viz. that in Rom. iv. in the forenoon, and that in Pſal. cxv. in the afternoon. 24. Thoſe great and ſignal confirmations given me at my wife's death, and that great extraordinary voice, ſo diſtinct and clear, which I heard a few nights after her death. 25. Theſe ſpecial confirmations given me at my leaving my country at Weſt Niſbet, Ridſdale, Stanton, and the firſt at ſea from the Shields. 26. Theſe ſolemn paſſages to confirm my faith, from Heb. xi. and Exod. xxxiii. and at other times at London, and the laſt night there before I went away. 27. Theſe extraordinary and ſignal times I had at my firſt entering at Rotterdam. 28. Theſe two marvellous providences that did occur to me at Worden, and about the buſineſs of William Mader. 29. The marvellous ſign given me of the ſtate of my family, in what happened as to the ſudden withering of the tree, and its extraordinary reviving again at my firſt entry to my houſe at Rotterdam. 30. The great deliverance from fire in the high ſtreet. 31. The good providence in returning my diary after it had been long loſt. 32. The ſpecial providence in preſerving my ſon from periſhing in water. 33. The ſurpriſing relief when cited by the Council * of Scotland to appear, with that ſweet reſignation to the Lord which I had then under ſuch a pungent trial. 34. The remarkable warning I was forced to give, that ſome preſent ſhould be taken away by death before the next Lord's day. 35. The Lord's immediate ſupporting under a long ſeries of wonders, (I may truly ſay), for which I am obliged in a ſingular way to ſet up my Ebenezer,

* This ſeems to have been in 1683, upon a proceſs of forfeiture and citation of appearance given him amongſt others, but upon a repreſentation given in, his diet was deſerted: which made up a part of his compliances.

Ebenezer, that hitherto hath the Lord helped. 36. The remarkable appearance of the Lord with me (which I omitted in its place) in the ſtrange providence relating to Mr Monypenny's death in Preſtonpans. 37. The ſolemn providence and wonder in my life, my fall under the York coach int Auguſt 1654, when the great wheel went over my leg, ſo as I could feel it paſſing me without hurting, far leſs breaking my leg, as if it had been thus carried over in a juſt poiſe, to let me ſee how Providence watched over me, &c. 38. The comfort God gave me in my children, and thoſe extraordinary confirmations I got from God upon the death of thoſe ſweet children whom God removed from me to himſelf."

Now, reader, go and do thou likewiſe, for *bleſſed is that ſervant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find ſo doing*, Matth. xxiv.

MR ALEXANDER SHIELDS.

MR ALEXANDER SHIELDS, ſon to James Shields of Haugh-head in the Merſe, born in 1660, or 1661; and being ſent to ſchool, when capable of inſtruction, made ſuch proficiency there, that in a ſhort time he entered upon the ſtudy of philoſophy, under Sir William Paterſon, then regent of the college of Edinburgh, (afterwards clerk to the bloody Council), where he made no leſs progreſs. For, being of a lively genius and penetrating wit, he ſoon commenced Maſter of Arts, and that with no ſmall applauſe. And having furniſhed his mind with no ſmall degree of the ancillary knowledge of learning, he began to think upon the ſtudy of divinity in view for the miniſtry. But finding little encouragement this way for any who could not in conſcience join with Prelacy, or the prevailing defections of thoſe called the indulged, he took a reſolution, and went over among others to Holland, (ſhortly before or after Bothwell), for the further improvement of his ſtudies, where he continued for a ſhort time, and then returned home to his native country.

But upon his going to London, to be an amanuenſis to Dr Owen, or ſome of the Engliſh divines, who were writing books for the preſs, he had a letter of recommendation to one Mr Blackie, a Scots miniſter, who, appointing him to ſpeak with him at a certain ſeaſon, had ſeveral miniſters convened unknown to him, and did preſs and enjoin him to take licence. So that being carried into it, in that ſudden and ſurpriſing way, he did accept of it from the Scots Diſſenting miniſters at London, but without any impoſition or ſinful reſtriction. However, the oath of allegiance becoming in a little

little time the trial of that place, Mr Shields ſtudied, as he had occaſion, to ſhew the ſinfulneſs thereof; which theſe miniſters took ſo ill, that they threatened to ſtop his mouth; but he refuſed to ſubmit himſelf thereunto.

But it was not long here that he could have liberty to exerciſe his office. For, upon the 11th January 1685, he was, with ſome others, apprehended by the city-mariſchal, (at a private meeting in Gutter-lane), who came upon them at an unawares, and commanded them to ſurrender in the King's name. Mr Shields, being firſt in his way, replied, What King do you mean? by whoſe authority do you diſturb the peaceable ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt? Sir, you diſhonour your King in making him an enemy to the worſhip of God. At which the mariſchal ſaid, he had other buſineſs to do than to ſtand pratting with him. Mr Shields made an attempt to eſcape, but was not able; and he and his companions were brought before the Lord Mayor, who threatened to ſend him to bridewell. However, bail was offered and admitted for him, to anſwer at Guildhall upon the 14th. Upon which day he attended, with a firm reſolution to anſwer. But while he went out for a refreſhment, he was called for, and none anſwering, his bail-bond was forfeited, which afterwards gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs when his bail's wife ſaid to him, Alas! why have you ruined our family? However, to prevent further damage, he appeared on the 20th, when he was arraigned in common form, and examined, Whether he was at Bothwell, and if he approved of Biſhop Sharp's death? with ſeveral other queſtions. To which he replied, that he was not obliged to give an account of his thoughts, and that he came there to anſwer to his indictment, and not to ſuch queſtions as theſe. Upon which he was taken to Newgate by a ſingle officer, without any mittimus, or any expreſs order unto what priſon he ſhould be committed. By the way (ſays he *) he could have eſcaped, had he not been led or betrayed there by flattery. It was ſome days before his mittimus came, by which he was ordered to be kept in cuſtody till the next quarter-ſeſſion, which was to be at Guildhall on the 23d of February following.

But Charles II. in this interval dying, he was, with other ſeven who were apprehended with him, March 5, put on board the Kitchen yacht for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 13th, and the next day Mr Shields was examined before the Council, where he pled the liberty of his thoughts, putting them to prove his accuſation, and waving a direct anſwer anent owning the King's authority; which gave way

* In his own Impartial Relation, p. 11.

to his ſlip afterwards, as he, in his own impartial account of his ſufferings, obſerves among other reflections: "In this I cannot but adore the wiſdom of the Lord's conduct, but with bluſhing at the folly of mine. I was indeed determined, I think, by a ſovereign hand, and led upon this not uſually trodden path by truth's confeſſors beyond my ordinary genius or inclination, to fence with theſe long weapons, declining direct anſwers, which is the moſt difficult road, and moſt liable to ſnares; and wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging truth than in the plain and open-hearted way." However, he was remanded back to priſon till the 23d, when he was brought before the Juſticiary, and interrogate, Whether he would abjure the apologetical declaration, and own the authority of James VII.? But being ſtill on the reſerve, he was ſent back till the 25th, and from thence continued till the day following, which he calls the day of his fatal fall, the juſt deſert of his former blind and bold approaches to the brink of theſe precipices over which he had looked, and was now left to fall therein. Here he was again examined to the effect aforeſaid, and withal threatened with the moſt ſevere uſage if he did not ſatisfy them. Whereupon he gave in a minute in writing, wherein, after a ſhort preamble, he ſays, "The reſult of my thoughts is in the ſincerity of an unfeigned conſcience, and in the fear of God, that I do renounce and diſown that and all other declarations, in ſo far as that they declare war againſt the King expreſsly, purpoſely, or deſignedly, and aſſert that it is lawful to kill all employed by his Majeſty, or any, becauſe ſo employed in church, ſtate, army, or country." When they read this, they ſaid it was ſatisfactory, and required him to hold up his hand. This he ſtill refuſed, till allowed to dictate to the clerk what words he ſhould ſwear. Which being done, he proteſted, that it might not be conſtructed to any other ſenſe than the genuine words he delivered in the minute he did ſubſcribe and ſwear. That which induced him to this, he ſays, was, "They gave it in his own meaning; and ſo far was his mind deceived, that by a quibble and nice diſtinction they thought that the word might bear, that this was not a diſowning of that nor no declaration that ever he ſaw, (ſave one of their pretending), nor that neither, but in ſo far, or if ſo be; which different expreſſions he was taught to confound by ſcholaſtic notions infuſed into him by the Court, and ſome of the indulged miniſters while in priſon," &c. Having ſo done, the Juſticiary diſmiſſed him, but, on pretence he was the Council's priſoner, he was ſent back to his now more weary priſon than ever. For he had no ſooner made this fooliſh and unfaithful ſtep

of compliance, (as he himſelf expreſſes it), than his conſcience ſmote him, and continuing ſo to do, he aggravated his fall in ſuch a ſort as he wanted words to expreſs.

Yet after all this his dangers were not over; for having wrote a letter to John Balfour, to be by him tranſmitted to ſome friends in Holland, declaring his grief and ſorrow, and his mind anent his former compliances, &c. it fell into the enemies hands; whereupon he was again brought before the Lords of Council; and though much threatening enſued, yet he owned the letter, and declared his ſorrow for what he had formerly done. After which they appointed him to confer with the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and the Biſhops of Glaſgow and Dunkeld. With them he had a long reaſoning, and, among other things, they objected that all powers were ordained of God, be they what they will. Anſwered, "All power is ordained of God by his provident will, but every power aſſumed by man is not ſo by his approbative and perceptive will." One of the prelates ſaid, that even his provident will is not to be reſiſted He anſwered, that the holy product of it cannot, and may not, but the inſtrument he made uſe of ſometimes might be reſiſted. It was urged, that Nero was then reigning when this command of non-reſiſtance was given. He anſwered, that the command was given in general for our inſtruction how to carry in our duty under lawful magiſtrates, abſtracting from Nero. Then they aſked him, how he would reconcile his principles with that article in the Confeſſion of Faith, That difference in religion, &c. He anſwered, "Very eaſily: For though difference in religion did not make void his power, yet it might ſtop his admiſſion to that power where that religion he differed from was eſtabliſhed by law," &c.

He was continued till Auguſt 6. when he was again before the Juſticiary, and indicted; which made him write two letters, one to the Advocate, and the other to his old regent, Sir William Paterſon, which he thought ſomewhat mitigated their fury. Whereupon he drew up a declaration of his ſentiments, and gave it in to the Lords of Council, upon which much reaſoning between him and them enſued. After two conferences, wherein he was aſked many queſtions, in the third he condeſcended to ſign the oath of abjuration, which they had ſo much inſiſted he ſhould again take, as he had at their command torn his name from the firſt; only it was worded thus, If ſo be ſuch things are there inſerted; which he told them, he was ſure was not the caſe: This with difficulty was granted. As he ſubſcribed, he proteſted before them, "That none were to think by this he juſtified the act of ſuc-

ceſſion, or the abrogation of the ancient laws about it, or the want of ſecurity for religion or liberty, or that he acknowledged the divine approbation of it," &c. When all was over, he was delayed till to-morrow. But to-morrow he was ſent to the Baſs, and doubtleſs would have ſuffered, had he not got out in women's clothes, and eloped.

After his eſcape, without ſeeking after any other party whatſoever, he came ſtraight to Mr Renwick, and that faithful contending remnant then in the fields, where, upon the 5th of December 1686, he attended a meeting for preaching at the wood of Earlſton in Galloway. After which he continued with Mr Renwick for ſome time. In which time he ceaſed not, both in public and private, to give full proof and evidence of his hearty grief and ſorrow for his former apoſtacy and compliances. Upon the 22d he came to their general meeting, where he gave them full ſatisfaction in eſpouſing all and every part of their teſtimony, and likewiſe made a public confeſſion of his own guilt; wherein he acknowledged, (1.) That he had involved himſelf in the guilt of owning the (ſo called) authority of James VII. ſhewing the ſinfulneſs thereof, taking ſhame to himſelf. (2.) He acknowledged his guilt in taking the oath of abjuration, and his relapſing into the ſame iniquity, the ſinfulneſs of which he held forth at great length, and ſpake ſo largely to theſe particulars, as diſcovering the heinouſneſs of that ſin, as made Mr Renwick ſay, "I think none could have done it, unleſs they had known the terrors of the Lord;" and added, "I thought it both ſingular and promiſing to ſee a clergyman come forth with ſuch a confeſſion of his own defections, when ſo few of that ſet are ſeen in our age to be honoured with the like."

After this, when Mr Renwick and the united ſocieites were neceſſitated to publiſh their informatory vindication, Mr Shields went over to Holland to have the ſame printed about the beginning of the year 1687; but it appears he was neceſſitated to return home before that work was finiſhed.

After Mr Renwick's death, he continued for ſome time in the fields, preaching in Crawford muirs, at Diſinkorn-hill, in Galſton pariſh, and many other places; and about the end of the ſame year, 1688, when Kerſland and the united ſocieties, who had, in the inter-regnum of the government, thruſt out ſome of the curates, and demoliſhed ſome of the Popiſh monuments of idolatry, were obliged to publiſh a vindication of themſelves in theſe proceedings; which they did at the croſs of Douglas. Mr Shields, being preſent, did ſing ſome verſes in the beginning of the 76th pſalm, *In Judah's land God is well known*, &c. making ſome notes; and while expatiating on

the

the ſame, ſaid, that this pſalm was ſweetly ſung by famous Mr Robert Bruce, at the croſs of Edinburgh, at the break of the Spaniſh Armada the ſame time, a hundred years ago.

Upon the 3d of March 1689, when Mr Linning, he, and Mr Boyd, renewed the covenants at Borland-hill in Liſmahago, Mr Shields ſtood up again before a vaſt confluence of people, and declared his unfeigned ſorrow for his former ſin of compliances, &c. to the affecting of all the multitude, and the abundant ſatisfaction of the godly there preſent, who had been grieved therewith.

At and after the Revolution, he was of much ſervice to the army, and greatly eſteemed by King William. And after his return home, he, with the foreſaid Meſſ. Linning and Boyd, preſented a large paper of propoſals to the firſt General Aſſembly after the Revolution *, both craving a redreſs of

* *To the Moderator and remanent Members of the General Aſſembly, now convened at Edinburgh, October* 1690, *The humble Propoſals of Mr Alexander Shields, &c.*

If our eye could ſuitably affect our hearts this day, Right Reverend, we might find much matter, both of rejoicing and mourning, in the wonderful commencement and advancement of this work of reformation. We are called to rejoice with thankſgiving for the mercy of God manifeſted and magnified in the progreſs of this work hitherto; that the Lord hath been pleaſed in ſovereign mercy to prevent and ſurpriſe us with ſuch a reviving in our bondage, by the repreſſion of tyranny, ſuppreſſion of Popery, and depreſſion of Prelacy; when the doctrine of this church is aſſerted, and the Confeſſion of Faith formerly received is read, voted, approven, and eſtabliſhed by parliament; the worſhip and ordinances of Chriſt are adminiſtred in great purity, plenty, and peace; the government of Chriſt's inſtitution is at length reſtored to what it was in 1592; and the diſcipline retrieved to ſuch a deſire of freedom, that all eccleſiaſtic courts may, without reſtraint, or being accountable to any exotic uſurped power in the magiſtrate, aſſert all the authority, and exerciſe the power, wherewith Chriſt hath intruſted them; which power, if duly and diligently improved, and put in execution, may, through the bleſſing of God, contribute very much to the reducing of order, and the redreſs of many diſorders in this church. And now the cauſes of our diſunion and diviſion, in times of defection, being in a great meaſure removed, when Eraſtian uſurpations are abrogated, the church's intrinſic power redintegrated, and the corruptions introduced by compliances ſo far abdicated and antiquated, that they are not, in the conſtitution of the church, and do not continue to be the ſcandal and ſnare of the times; we hope and expect a remedy may be found for our breaches and diviſions, that we thought incurable, and union and communion in the Lord may be attained. We are no leſs obliged to mourn, when we obſerve this houſe of the Lord ſo unlike the former, wanting many things the former had, and peſtered with many things the former wanted. They that have ſeen our former reformation in its integrity, before the late deformation, can hardly refrain from weeping at the ſight of the ſad diſproportion

of their grievances, and likewiſe ſhewing on what terms they and their people could and would join with them, &c. But this paper being judged by the Committee of this Aſſembly to contain " peremptory and groſs miſtakes, unſeaſonable and impracticable

portion between this and the former. In the former, as the conſtitution was calculate in the neareſt conformity to the divine pattern, ſo the builders had always a care to pull down what was to be demoliſhed, before they eſtabliſhed what was to ſtand; and to purge away the rubbiſh from the foundation, before they reared the ſuperſtructure. Accordingly, when Prelacy was re-introduced at ſeveral times, the firſt thing they did, when they recovered their power, was always to exert it, in condemnation of that corruption, and of theſe aſſemblies and meetings that promoted, abetted, favoured, or complied. And when the Eraſtian ſupremacy began to encroach upon the church's liberties, and to bring the miniſtry into bondage, they did not think it enough to wreſtle againſt it, by perſonal witneſſings; but, by the good hand of God upon their endeavours, never ceaſed until it was condemned by acts of Aſſembly. They proceeded, alſo, with great earneſtneſs and vigilance, to purge the church of corrupt and ſcandalous miniſters. But now, after all the rubbiſh and filth, brought into the houſe of God by invaſions and uſurpations of the enemies, and defections of friends, when now opportunity and capacity is given to rebuild and beautify the houſe of the Lord, and to repair the deſolations thereof, the preſent building is ſo far advanced, without pulling down and purging away the rubbiſh, and condemning theſe corruptions and defections, in compliance with them, or confeſſing and forſaking them, as our fathers uſed to do: And the Prelatical clergy, after all the evil they had done, and bitter fruits they have produced, are yet kept in many places, and like to continue, as a ſeminary and nurſery of a corrupt miniſtry. As long as this rubbiſh ſtands, there can be little hope either of purity or ſtability in the ſuperſtructure.

In former reformations alſo, the advancement uſed to be progreſſive, beginning where the former reformation ſtopt, and going forward, after they had got removed what obſtructed: But now the motion is retrograde, going as far back as that in 1592, miſſing many excellent ſteps of reformation attained after that in 1649. In former reformations, our worthy anceſtors uſed to begin with renovation of the national covevenants, and acknowledgements of the breaches thereof, which hitherto hath been neglected, to the great grief of many.

It is alſo matter of lamentation to reflect, that in former reformations, though adverſaries troubled the builders, and hired counſellors to fruſtrate their purpoſe; yet, being furniſhed and ſpirited of the Lord for that generation work, they never ſtudied to pleaſe men, but to acquit themſelves, as faithful ſervants of their princely Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, in witneſſing againſt all ſins and corruptions of great and ſmall, impartially; and in acts of Aſſembly, ordaining and recommending to all miniſters, this faithfulneſs in applying the doctrine to the ſins of the time, under pain of cenſure: But now, though there was never greater freedom and encouragement for, and neceſſity of faithfulneſs, when the adverſaries of Judah are ſeeking to build, but on deſign to mar the work, and many are too much inclining to join in affinity with the people of theſe abominations: yet it is ſadly wanting, and much deſiderated among many miniſters; who being long accuſtomed to fears, and conſtrained ſilence, have not yet recovered their confidence

and

impracticable propoſals, and uncharitable and injurious reflections, tending rather to kindle contentions than compoſe diviſions," it never once got a hearing, but was thrown over the bar of that Aſſembly. And yet, notwithſtanding all this, the

and courage, to cry aloud againſt, and not to ſpare, the iniquities of the time.

Though in former reformations this church was for order and authority, beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jeruſalem, and terrible as an army with banners; yet now, alas! the crown hath fallen from our heads, wo unto us that we have ſinned. This holy and beautiful fabric hath been burnt up, with the fire of enemies fury, with the fire of our diviſions, and with the fire of the Lord's indignation, burning againſt us for our defections, whereby the Lord was provoked to forſake his houſe; and ſince his departure, there hath been nothing but diſorder among his children and ſervants. The Popiſh, Prelatic, and malignant party, have come in by force and fraud, and by the cedings of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood in the gap; have broke down the carved work of our covenanted reformation, reſcinding all the legal bulwarks of eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, civil ſanctions, and national covenants, wherewith it was fenced: Wherein, alas! they were too much encouraged by our faint reſiſtance, and too univerſal involvement in the ſin of ſubmitting to, and countenancing of, the intruſions of the Prelatical party. At length, having ſet up theſe their enſigns for ſigns, in ſign of complete victory obtained over the ſervants and ſubjects of our exalted Prince, after they had invaded his kingdom and place, and made havock and ſlaughter of ſuch as would not yield, they offered ſome tempting terms, whereupon they would ſuffer them to live in ſubjection to theſe uſurpations, painted indeed with the pretences of favours, but really, at leaſt indirectly, requiring a recognizance of the uſurper's power, and a ceſſation from oppoſing the peaceable poſſeſſion of their robberies. Theſe, and the like defections, on the one hand, together with many extravagancies on the other, have brought the godly into many confuſions.

We did indeed demur to concur with and follow, and did think it our duty to withdraw from theſe miniſters who promoted courſes of defection after ſpecified; and to adhere to thoſe (though but few) who were more ſtedfaſt and faithful. When the caſe was ſo ſtated, that we thought communion could not be kept by us with them, from whom we withdrew, without ſin, while the very exerciſe of their miniſtry was ſo far depending upon, ſubordinate unto, complying with, modified and authoriſed by *unlawful uſurpations*, that our joining would have inferred, at leaſt in our conſcience, a ſubmiſſion to, ſymbolizing with, and approving of, their offenſive yieldings to theſe encroachments. Yet we never thought this a ſchiſm: Therefore,

That this happy and deſirable union may be holy and comfortable, in a way that may procure, and ſecure our union and communion with the Lord: And, conſidering in all the periods of this church, from the firſt reformation, a witneſs hath never been wanting, againſt the ſame, or equivalent corruptions, that have offended us: And no method can be more adapted for recovering and reſtoring union, than that which was uſed for preſerving it: And that having aimed hitherto, to offer and keep up our mite of a teſtimony againſt the ſame: if now, under the convictions of its remaining righteouſneſs, we ſhall paſs from it, and ſo ſeem to condemn what we approved before, and ap-

prove

the three foreſaid brethren being reſolved to unite with them at any rate, gave in another, called the ſhorter paper, importing their ſubmiſſion, caſting down all their former propoſals and deſires at the Aſſembly's feet, " to be diſpoſed of as their wiſdom

prove what we condemned before, it will leave an indelible reproach not only on ourſelves, but on our contendings and ſufferings.

We earneſtly deſire, Right Reverend, you would be pleaſed to condeſcend to us, in ſome things, that we humbly conceive are very needful, juſt to be ſought, and eaſy to be granted. We know and are confident, your zeal for truth and peace will ſuggeſt the ſame means and meaſures for obtaining this end, and will urge you to take notice of the ſame things we deſire, without our advertiſement: Nor do we take upon us to preſcribe the methods, terms or conditions, neceſſary for compoſing theſe unhappy differences, and reſtoring the holy and happy union in the Lord; but we think, the word and works of God this day point at theſe, which we crave leave, in the bowels of Chriſt, to remonſtrate unto your ſerious conſiderations.

I. That to the end the cauſes of our diviſions, the anger of the Lord as the holy cauſe, and our mutual offences as the ſinful cauſe, may be removed, that the effect may ceaſe, a mutual, impartial, and accurate ſearch and trial may be made into our ways, to find out, and remember from whence we are fallen, and diſcover our manifold and manifeſt defections from the right ways of the Lord; that the great wrongs and indignities done to our great Head and King by enemies encroachments on his prerogatives, and his kingdom's liberties, and our compliances therewith, on the one hand; and, on the other, may not be paſſed in oblivion, but diligently inquired into, and what acceſſion to them, or participation with them, all of us have been involved in theſe thirty years bygone: Particularly that it be laid to heart, what indignity to the Lord Jeſus, and injury to his church, was done by the introduction of abjured, dioceſan, and Eraſtian Prelacy, and the ſeveral degrees of compliance therewith; as miniſters leaving their paſtoral charge, at the command of the magiſtrate, and laying aſide the exerciſe of their miniſtry, giving way unto, and not teſtifying againſt, the intruſions of Prelatic curates: Particularly owning and ſubmitting to their miniſtry, and receiving ordinances diſpenſed by them, and by counſel and example encouraging others to do the like: which we cannot but plead and proteſt againſt, as ſinful and ſcandalous:

1. Becauſe they were and are manifeſt intruders, not entering in at the door, in the way and order of Chriſt, and not having, yea deſpiſing and renouncing, a call from the people, and ordination by the preſbytery, and having no other external call, authority, or right to officiate in this church, as its proper paſtors, but the collation of biſhops, and preſentation of patrons, who are none of Chriſt's officers, and forfeiting and foregoing any other right that any of them formerly could pretend to, by palpable defection to the enemies of this church.

2. Becauſe both in principle and profeſſion, and in the way of their entry unto their paſtoral charge, they were and are Eraſtians, deriving their power from, and ſubjecting it in its exerciſe to another head than Chriſt, the magiſtrate's ſupremacy, by which only they were authoriſed, without Chriſt's warrant, or the church's conſent.

3. Becauſe they were and are ſchiſmatics, who cauſed diviſions and offences,

wiſdom ſhould think fit." Which paper he, through their inſinuation, was brought to ſubſcribe, and of which, it is ſaid †, he ſadly repented afterwards. For having dropt his former teſtimony at their feet, who trampled on it; and though they did

offences, contrary to the doctrine of this church, breaking her union and order, going out themſelves from the fellowſhip of this church, and leading people away from her vowed reformation; yea, who violently thruſt out and perſecuted her faithful paſtors and children, for adhering to that reformation, which they deſigned to raze and ruin.

4. Becauſe they were and are perjured covenant-breakers, avowedly diſowning our covenants, and ſtated in oppoſition to that reformation which is therein ſworn to be maintained.

5. Becauſe they were and are in ſeveral points erroneous in their doctrine, many of them tainted with the leaven of Popery, Arminianiſm, and Socinianiſm, and all of them heterodox in the point of the magiſtrate's power in church-matters, in the matter of oaths, and in condemning the work of our reformation and covenants; ſeducing thereby their hearers, and both poſitively by theſe doctrines, and privately by with-holding other neceſſary inſtructions and warnings, murdering their ſouls.

6. Becauſe they were and are, upon all theſe accounts, ſcandalous, and the object of the church's cenſure: And though, through the iniquity of the times, their deſerved cenſure hitherto hath not been inflicted, yet they ſtand upon the matter convict, by clear ſcripture-grounds, and by the ſtanding acts, and judicial deciſion of this church, in her ſupreme judicatories.

7. Becauſe this hearing and ſubmitting to them was required as a badge, teſt, and evidence of due acknowledgement of, and hearty compliance with, Eraſtianiſm and Prelacy, or his Majeſty's government-eccleſiaſtic, Act parl. 1. Char. II. July 10. 1663, which made it a caſe of confeſſion to withſtand it.

8. Becauſe, by our covenants, we are obliged to ſtand at a diſtance from ſuch courſes of defection, and to extirpate them; yet, in contradiction hereunto, we were commanded by the reſcinders of the covenants to hear the Prelatic curates, as a badge of our yielding to the reſcinding of the covenants.

9. Becauſe this courſe was offenſive and ſtumbling, both in hardening thoſe that complied with Prelacy, and weakening the hands of thoſe that oppoſed it, and inferred a condemning of their ſufferings upon this head. Eſpecially,

10. When communion with them was ſo ſtated, that therein was not only a caſe of controverſy among the godly, in which always abſtinence is the ſureſt ſide, not only is the judgement of many a caſe of confeſſion, which it is always dangerous to contradict and condemn, but undeniably a caſe of competition, between the true church of Scotland, her miniſters and profeſſors, owning and adhering to her holy eſtabliſhments, claiming a divine right to their offices and privileges, contend-

† Pat. Walker ſays, that Mr Shields much lamented his ſilence before the Aſſembly, and of his coming ſo far ſhort of his former reſolutions; and if ever he ſaw ſuch an occaſion, he would not be ſo ſlack.—Meſſ. Lining and Boyd had too much influence upon him, being in haſte for ſtipends and wives. Rem. of the lives of Meſſ. Semple, &c. firſt edition, p. 78.

did not rent him, yet they ſoon found out a way to get rid of him. For,

Soon after the Revolution, he was ſettled miniſter at St Andrew's, where he continued in the diſcharge of his office until

ing for the church's reformation; and a ſchiſmatical party, ſetting up a new church, in a new order, under a new head, robbing them of their offices and privileges, and overturning the reformation.

II. We muſt preſume to plead alſo, That inquiry be made into the heinous and heaven-daring affront done to the holineſs of God, in the horrid violation of our holy covenants, national and ſolemn league; not only how the Popiſh, Prelatical, and malignant party, have broken them, enacted the breaches of them, by law, burnt them, and endeavoured to bury them, by making it a capital crime to own their obligation, and by bringing in, and ſubſtituting in their room, conſcience-enſnaring anti-covenants, oaths, bonds, and engagements, renouncing the former, and obliging to courſes contradictory thereunto. But that it may be conſidered, how many ways miniſters and profeſſors, in this time of tentation and tribulation, have been guilty of breach of theſe holy covenants; particularly by conſenting unto, ſubſcribing, ſwearing, and taking any of the new multiplied, miſchievouſly contrived, capriciouſly conceived, and tyrannically impoſed oaths, teſts, or bonds, in matters of religion, ſince the overturning of the covenanted reformation and eſtabliſhment of Prelacy; and by perſuading people to take them, and forbearing a neceſſary warning of the danger of them, and leaving people in the dark to determine themſelves in the midſt of theſe ſnares; all which we plead, and proteſt, againſt as ſinful and ſcandalous:

1. Becauſe all of them did infer, import, and imply a ſinful unitive conjunction, incorporation, aſſociation, and confederacy with the people of theſe abominations, that were promoting a courſe of apoſtacy from God.

2. Becauſe all of them were incapable of qualifications required in ſacred engagements, to be taken in truth, righteouſneſs, and judgement.

3. Becauſe all of them, in the ſenſe of the impoſers, interpreted by their acts and actings, were condemnatory of, and contradictory unto the covenants, and ſome part of the covenanted reformation.

4. Becauſe, by the ancient acts of Aſſembly, all public oaths impoſed by the malignant party, without conſent of the church, are condemned, July 28. 1648. A. M. ſeſſ. 18. and ſeſſ. 26. thoſe miniſters are ordained to be cenſured, who ſubſcribe any bonds, or take any oaths, not approven of by the General Aſſembly; or by their counſel, countenance, and approbation, make themſelves acceſſary to the taking of ſuch bonds and oaths by others.

III. In like manner, we dare not forbear to cry and crave, That it may be conſidered what wrongs Chriſt hath received from the Eraſtian and Antichriſtian uſurpation of the ſupremacy, encroaching upon the prerogative of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, his incommunicable Headſhip and Kingſhip, as Mediator, giving to a man a majeſterial, and architectonic power, to alter and innovate, authoriſe and exauctorate, allow or reſtrain, and diſpoſe of the government and governors of the church, according to his pleaſure; invading the liberties of the goſpel-church, introducing a civil dominion upon her government, contrary to its nature, being only a miniſterial ſtewardſhip, diſtinct from the civil govern-

ment,

til 1699, that he, with Meſſ. Borland, Stobo, and Dalglieſh, were pitched upon to go over with his countrymen to the national ſettlement at Darien in America, where he, by letters under his own hand, gave particular account of matters there: wherein

ment, in its nature, cauſes, ends, officers, and actings; and giving to the magiſtrate the power of the keys, without and againſt Chriſt's donation and authority, even the dogmatic, critic, and diatactic deciſive ſuffrage and power in cauſes eccleſiaſtic, which Chriſt hath entruſted to the church-repreſentative; and denying to the church the exerciſe of theſe keys and powers, without the magiſtrate's warrant and indulgence. We crave alſo, That it may be inquired into, how far this encroachment hath been connived at, ſubmitted unto, complied with, homologate, ſtrengthened, and eſtabliſhed, by receiving and accepting, without conſent of the church, yea, againſt the expreſs diſſent and teſtimony of ſome faithful miniſters to the contrary, the indulgencies in 1669. and 1679, and by the ſilence of others, not witneſſing againſt the ſame, and others cenſuring the faithful for diſcovering the ſinfulueſs thereof.——Which we remonſtrate upon theſe grounds, complexly conſidered:

1. Becauſe, as the contrivance and end of the grant thereof was to advance and eſtabliſh the ſupremacy; to engage Preſbyterians, either to co-operate towards the ſettling and ſtrengthening thereof, or to ſurceaſe from oppoſing the peaceable poſſeſſion of the granter's uſurpation, and to extort from them, at leaſt an indirect recognizance of acknowledged ſubordination in miniſterial exerciſes, to his uſurped power, in a way which would be beſt acquieſced in; to ſuppreſs the preaching and propagation of the goſpel in perſecuted meetings in fields and houſes, ſo neceſſary at that time; and to divide and increaſe animoſities among Preſbyterians, by inſinuating upon thoſe called the more moderate, to commend the indulger his clemency, while other non-conformiſts, adhering to interdicted duties, were juſtly complaining of the effects of his ſeverity. And as the woful effects of it, ſtrengthening the ſupremacy, weakening the hands of thoſe that witneſſed againſt it, extinguiſhing zeal, and increaſing many diviſions, did correſpond with thoſe wretched deſigns; ſo theſe could not be counteracted, but very much ſtrengthened and promoted, by the acceptance of the indulgence, which, in its own nature, was ſo palpably ſubſervient thereto, even though there had been a teſtimony againſt theſe deſigns and ends; yet when the means adapted to theſe ends were complied with, it was rendered irrite, and *contra factum*.

2. Becauſe, as the ſupremacy received much ſtrength and increment from the indulgence, ſo reciprocally it had its riſe, ſpring, conveyance, and ſubſiſtence, from the ſupremacy, from which it flowed, upon which it ſtood, and by which at length it was removed. And in the grant and conveyance of the indulgence, all the power of the ſupremacy was arrogate, aſſerted, and exerted, in firſt taking away the power of the keys from Chriſt's ſtewards, and then reſtoring only one of them to ſome few, with reſtrictions bounding, and inſtructions regulating, them in the exerciſe of that. The acceptance whereof, ſo clogged with theſe complex circumſtances, without a clear and diſtinct teſtimony, in that caſe of confeſſion, hath at leaſt a great appearance, which ſhould have been abſtained from, of a conniving at, ſubmitting unto, complying with, and homologating of, that Eraſtian uſurpation.

wherein it is evident that his ſpirit was quite ſunk with the diviſions, impiety, and unrighteouſneſs, of too many of that handful, and at laſt was ſadly cruſhed with the fatal diſappointment of that undertaking, by the conduct of the then government;

3. Becauſe, as it was interpreted to be accepted in the ſame terms wherein it was granted, without a teſtimony againſt the ſupremacy, ſo the entry of thoſe miniſters to their churches, by this indulgence, was prejudicial to the church's privilege; ſome of them being fixed in particular churches, whereunto they had no peculiar paſtoral relation before, and ſome tranſplanted from one church to another, without the interpoſition of any eccleſiaſtic preſbyterial authority, without the free and orderly call of the people; being in many reſpects prelimited: and in the way of patronages, at the Council's pleaſure and order: And thoſe that were reſtored to their own churches, being there admitted, not by virtue of their own right and claim of an undiſſolved relation, but by virtue of a new holding of the indulgence.

4. Becauſe the embracing thereof, and the continuing therein, was a faint yielding to prevailing Eraſtianiſm, and a courſe of defection from former integrity of miniſterial freedom and faithfulneſs, in which the ſervants and witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt were famous and eminent in former times, who for writing, preaching, and proteſting againſt the eccleſiaſtic ſupremacy in the magiſtrate, and all Eraſtian courſes, did bear the croſs of Chriſt, with much ſtedfaſtneſs; yea, a receding from, and foregoing of a very material part of the cauſe and teſtimony of the church of Scotland, which, till then, did conſtantly wreſtle againſt ſuch encroachments: And in this reſpect ſcandalous, becauſe hardening to Eraſtian enemies, ſtumbling to many friends, and offenſive to poſterity.

5. Becauſe it is contradictory to our covenants, to receive indulgences, contrived and conferred on purpoſe to divide (by the terror of perſecution on the one hand, and the perſuaſion of this pretended liberty, taking off the legal reſtraint on the other) miniſters and people from the cauſe and teſtimony of the church of Scotland, againſt the ſupremacy, and from their former bleſſed conjunction therein, and to induce them to make defection to that party, that were advancing Eraſtianiſm. And it is expreſsly contradictory to the engagement to duties, in 1648, where the obligation bears, "Becauſe many of late have laboured to ſupplant the liberties of the kirk, we ſhall maintain and defend the kirk of Scotland, in all her liberties and privileges, againſt all who ſhall oppoſe or undermine the ſame, or encroach thereupon, under any pretext whatſoever."

IV. Likewiſe, we plead and obteſt, That a ſearch may be made into, and a review taken of the late toleration, and addreſſing for it, and acceptance of it, complexly conſidered; The ſinfulneſs whereof, we could not, and now cannot, forbear to witneſs againſt:

1. Becauſe, as the deſign of the granter, and tendency of the grant itſelf, in its own nature, being the introduction of Popery and ſlavery, could not in any probability be counteracted, but rather corroborated, by this addreſſing for it, and accepting of it, even though there had been a teſtimony againſt the deſign thereof, as there was none, and could be none conſiſtent with the continuance thereof; ſo being conveyed from abſolute power, which all were required to obey without reſerve, ſtopping, ſuſpending, and diſabling all the penal ſtatutes againſt Papiſts; thereby undermining all the legal bulwarks of our religion;

vernment; which he ſhewed, had it been faithfully and well managed, might have been of great advantage to this nation, as well as to the Chriſtian religion; and yet, for want of a proper reinforcement, they were either cut off or diſperſed. While in

ligion; the addreſſing for, and accepting of it, ſo conveyed, without a witneſs againſt this deſpotical encroachment, yea, the very condition of enjoying the benefit of it, being excluſive of ſuch a teſtimony, which might any way tend to the alienating of the people from ſuch a deſpotical government, in all its encroachments, did, indirectly at leaſt, imply compliance with, if not the recognizance and acknowledgement of that uſurped power, and the arbitrary exerciſe and effect of it in ſuſpending the penal ſtatutes.

2. Becauſe it was extended, not only to Prelacy, but to Popery, Quakeriſm, and all idolatry, blaſphemy, and hereſy, which was highly provoking to the Lord Jeſus, and prejudicial to the peace and purity of his church; contrary to the ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; contrary to the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſms, chap. xx. § 1. and chap. xxiii. § 3. Being placed alſo among the ſins of the ſecond command, in the Larger Catechiſm; contrary to the principles of the church of Scotland; being condemned, warned of, and witneſſed againſt, by acts of Aſſembly in 1649. And by her faithful paſtors preaching, writing, and proteſting againſt ſuch tolerations; and ſometimes even when Papiſts were excluded, as that, againſt which the miniſters of Fife and Perth did teſtify. And contrary to our covenants, wherein we are bound to preſerve reformation, and uniformity in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, to extirpate Popery, &c. to free our ſouls from the guilt of other men's ſins, defend our liberties; and conſequently never to comply with a toleration, everſive of all theſe intereſts we are ſworn to maintain, and productive of theſe things we are ſworn to endeavour the extirpation of.

3. Becauſe it was clogged with ſuch conditions and limitations, as did exceedingly hamper the freedom of the miniſtry, being offered in proclamations, and accepted in addreſſes and obedience, with reſtrictions to perſons who might preach, allowing ſome, and diſcharging others, who had as good authority as they, to exerciſe their miniſtry to places where they ſhould preach, only where intimation was given of the name of the place, and of the preachers, to ſome of the Lords of the Council, &c.; and to the matter what they might, or at leaſt what they might not preach, *to wit*, nothing that might have any tendency to alienate the hearts of the people from a Popiſh and tyrannical government; and conſequently nothing againſt the wickedneſs, or of the miſery of tyranny; nothing againſt the toleration, and the open ſins proclaimed therein, and wicked ends deſigned thereby; nothing againſt diſabling the penal ſtatutes, or for the obligations of them, and ties of national covenants ſtrengthening them.

4. Becauſe of the manifold ſcandal of it, we cannot but witneſs againſt it, becauſe ſo diſgraceful to the Proteſtant religion, and prejudicial to the intereſt thereof. It was reproachful to our religion, ſometimes eſtabliſhed by law, then only tolerate, under the notion of an evil to be ſuffered. How confounding and conſternating was this to all the reformed churches, that ſometimes admired and envied Scotland's eſtabliſhments, now to ſee her ſo diſpirited and deceived, as to accept and addreſs for a toleration, without a teſtimony, whereby, inſtead

in Caledonia he preached moſtly on Acts xvii. 26. 27. *God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.* One time, as he and the reſt of the miniſters made a tour up the country, upon their return, they were bewildered

ſtead of all the laws and covenants ſecuring her reformation, the only tenor and ſecurity for it ſhe had now remaining, was the arbitrary word of an abſolute prince, whoſe principles obliged him to break it? What occaſion of diſdainful inſulting did it give to the Prelatical party, then pleading for the nation's laws, to obſerve Preſbyterians acquieſcing in that which ſuſpended and ſtopped the penal ſtatutes? yea, what matter of gloriation and boaſting was it to Papiſts, to ſee Preſbyterians ſleeping and ſuccumbing, and not oppoſing, when, at this opened gap, they were bringing in the Trojan horſe of Popery and ſlavery?

V. Moreover, with reſpect to ſome things at preſent, which we account corruptions, and are offenſive to many, we cannot forbear to remonſtrate and plead, That conſideration may be taken of the ſinfulneſs of the too univerſal defect and neglect of zeal and faithfulneſs, in receiving the buried national covenants, when now they ſeem to be laid aſide, and many miniſters forbear to preach plainly the obligation of them, and diſcover particularly the breaches of them, and to mention them in engagements which they require of parents, when they preſent their children in baptiſm, according to the continued cuſtom of faithful miniſters theſe many years bygone; and it is ſtumbling to many, that in all addreſſes to King and parliament, the renewing of them hath not been deſired. This we think very grievous,

1. Becauſe in the ſcriptures, as we have many precepts, promiſes, and precedents for renewing them, and demonſtrations of their perpetual indiſſoluble obligation, being in their matter and form agreeable with the word of God; ſo we have many denunciations and certifications of unavoidable threatenings of all evils, national, perſonal, temporal, ſpiritual, and eternal, againſt forſaking or forgetting them.

2. Becauſe, as there is no other way to prevent the curſe of the covenants, and this threatened wrath imminent upon the land, for breach of covenants, but to acknowledge the breaches of them, and engage again to the duties of them; ſo theſe omiſſions cannot conſiſt with that faithfulneſs required of miniſters in ſuch a caſe.

3. Becauſe it is a plain defection from firſt love, and former attainments of our fathers, who commenced all reformations with renovation of the covenants; and, in their eccleſiaſtic conſtitutions, enjoined all miniſters to preach up the covenants, and witneſs againſt all defections from them, and indifferency or lukewarmneſs to them; which alſo is a breach of covenant in itſelf.

VI. Hence, more particularly, we cannot but ſignify how much we and many others are offended, at the too general keeping ſilence at, or very ambiguous ſpeaking againſt, and omitting the plain, impartial, doctrinal rebuking of ſuch crying ſins and ſcandals of the times, as cannot be controverted among Preſbyterians; ſuch as the impoſing and taking many bonds and oaths, repugnant to the covenants and work of reformation; which many complied with to ſhift perſecution, and many others to purchaſe preferments unto places of truſt; the acceſſion of nobles and rulers to the wicked eſtabliſhments, and framing

wildered in the woods; and hearing the noiſe of the ſea, they got at laſt to the ſhore, and ſo were obliged to paſs through various windings and bendings of the coaſt, under laſh of the ſwelling ſurges or waves of the ſea, being ſometimes obliged to

ming miſchiefs into laws in former times; the manifold involvements of great and ſmall, in the guilt of perſecution, by delating and informing againſt honeſt ſuffering people, riding with armed force to purſue and apprehend them; appearing under diſplayed banners for the defence of tyranny, on expeditions againſt them at Pentland, Bothwell-bridge, &c. ſitting in courts, juries, and aſſizes, to condemn them; putting them out of houſes and tenements under them, becauſe they would not comply with ſinful impoſitions; and, eſpecially, the defiling the land with blood, which hath yet a cry in the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth: All which the ſervants of the Lord are obliged, by the word of God, and the conſtitutions of this church, to cry againſt, and not to ſpare, and to reprove and rebuke in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon.

VII. Finally, We muſt preſume to lay open our own and the general complaints through ſeveral corners of the land, of the ſad ſlackneſs and remiſſneſs of diſcipline: The report and *fama clamoſa* whereof, at leaſt, doth wound our ears and pierce our hearts, viz. That ſome who have gone a great length in the above-mentioned compliances, even to the ſwearing the teſt itſelf, beſides other wicked oaths, and to the proſecuting of the godly ſundry ways, are admitted to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, and to preſent their children to baptiſm: And that others are admitted to the charge of elders, who had not only habitually complied with Prelacy, and had borne the name of that office under that government, but had taken theſe ſcandalous fore-mentioned oaths; yea, and that of late, ſome are admitted to the miniſtry, that conſtantly followed Epiſcopacy, and were trained up to be curates, and were deeply involved in the foreſaid compliances, without due trial of their paſt converſation, and requiring of their public profeſſion of repentance, and reſentment of their reſpective ſcandals; whereby the precious are not taken from the vile, and a little of that old leaven may quickly leaven the whole lump, and offenders are not like thereby to be gained to repentance, but rather hardened in, and tempted to think little of theſe deſtroying ſins.

We plead not here, that every one of the defects, or every degree of theſe offences, ſhould be, in the caſe of this epidemic involvement, proceeded againſt by diſciplinary cenſure; nor do we urge, that all chargeable with theſe offences above taxed, eſpecially ſuch as are in controverſy, ſhould be either perſonally rebuked in public, or obliged publicly to confeſs their own degree of the guilt of them; though it would give glory to God, and comfort to the church, and peace to their own conſciences, for all to confeſs their offences, that have been moſt ſtumbling to the godly, ſo far as, from the word of God, and known principles of this reformed church, they may be convinced. Nor do we propoſe that the condemnation of every one of theſe ſteps of defection that are queſtioned, ſhould be ſo far ſtretched *quoad momentum rei*, as either to be ſtated by us, as a ground of ſeparation formerly, or now required as a neceſſary condition of communion: though ſtill we conceive the complication of them together, when they

to climb upon their hands and feet upon the ſteep and hard rocks, until at laſt Mr Shields was like to faint; which troubled them much. Their proviſion and cordials were ſpent; at length they came to a welcome ſpring of freſh water ſpringing out

they ſtood, was a ground that neceſſitated our withdrawing from many in the ſame circumſtances.

We only deſire, they may be ſo far inquired into, that what guilt is in them before the Lord, may be in ſome meaſure diſcovered, and the wrongs done to Chriſt thereby may not be paſſed over in an act of oblivion: But as the Right Honourable the Eſtates of Parliament have found and declared theſe acts and actings of the overturners of our reformation, and the miſchiefs of Prelacy, ſupremacy, and tyranny eſtabliſhed by wicked laws, which were the foundations and fountains of all the offenſive compliances above mentioned, to be grievances againſt the laws of the land; ſo the Right Reverend, the members of this Venerable Aſſembly, may find and declare, theſe wicked eſtabliſhments, and compliances ſupporting them, and defections flowing therefrom, to be ſins againſt the laws of Chriſt; and, ſo far as they can find iniquity in the aforeſaid offences, may provide by eccleſiaſtic conſtitutions for the future, that the like compliances, with the like contrivances of uſurping enemies, may never again be allowed, under pain of church-cenſures, to prevent and preclude all fears of diviſions to be occaſioned by the like defections in time coming. And as we offer and promiſe, ſo far as we are or may be convinced, to confeſs our offences any manner of way that church-judicatories ſhall appoint; ſo, for the ſatisfaction of all concerned in the late differences, and removal of offences, given or taken, we deſire and expect, that ſuch failings in the above-ſpecified particulars, or others, be laid to heart by all ſorts of miniſters and preachers, as they are convinced of, or after ſearch, may be diſcovered to them by this Reverend Aſſembly: And that theſe, among the ſins of the land, be ſet down in order as cauſes of a public faſt, upon ſome week-day, through all the meetings of Preſbyterians within this kingdom; and that the ſins of the people be intermixed among theſe cauſes. Further,

As we humbly conceive, it would prove a very proper and promiſing expedient, for promoting, preſerving, and propagating reformation; for ſettling and keeping order and union; for preventing and precluding innovation or corruptions; for diſcovering and diſcouraging apoſtates or ſchiſmatics, malignants, or ſectaries, and excluding them from acceſs to do further hurt; ſo we hope, we ſhall be approven and ſeconded by many in this Reverend Aſſembly, in craving the renewing of the covenants, either both the national and ſolemn league, with accommodations to our times, or one made up of both, with additions or explications ſuiting our preſent caſe and day, with a ſolemn acknowledgement of the public breaches, and engagement to the duties of the covenants: Humbly moving, that none be forced to ſwear or ſubſcribe the ſame, or ſo much as admitted to it, except they be ſuch as may be judged in charity to have a competent knowledge and ſenſe of the ſins and duties thereof.

In fine, though we will not take upon us to propoſe the time or the way of purging out the Epiſcopal clergy, yet we cannot and dare not forbear to plead and obteſt, that they may not be continued, nor kept in the churches whereinto they have intruded; nor re-admitted that

out of the rock by the ſea-ſide: "This well (ſays Mr Borland) was to us as that well was to Hagar in the wilderneſs.—By this well we reſted a little; and Mr Shields having drunk of it, was refreſhed and ſtrengthened, and, with the help

that are, or may be laid aſide, until they give approvable evidence of their repentance for their ſinful conformity. (1.) Upon all theſe grounds exhibited above againſt hearing of them. (2.) Becauſe former experience of the hurt received by the entertainment of the Epiſcopal clergy, in 1638, does now plead for their care to prevent it in time coming. (3.) Becauſe the people under their miniſtry have hitherto been, and are periſhing in ignorance and irreligion, being either ſtarved for want of faithful and ſpiritual inſtruction, or poiſoned with falſe inſtruction; and therefore pity to them, and zeal to propagate the goſpel, ſhould prompt to all endeavours to purge them out. (4.) Becauſe the ſettlement, purgation, and plantation of the church, will be exceedingly obſtructed by the continuance of them that unſettled it, corrupted it, and peſtered the Lord's vineyard, with plants not of his planting, and whoſe leaven will be always in hazard to leaven the whole lump. (5.) Becauſe all of them are among thoſe whom the laws of Chriſt do oblige, the conſtitutions of this church do ordain, and the preſent civil ſanctions for eſtabliſhing church-government do allow, the church-repreſentative to try and purge out; being all of them either inſufficient, or negligent, or erroneous, or ſcandalous, if thoſe characters may be applied, or interpreted, according to ſcripture-rules, or as the church hath extended them heretofore.

We are content that none of the curates be put out but the inſufficient and ignorant, if this be one part of the trial of their knowledge, to inquire not only into their gifts, but their graces; if ignorance of converſion, regeneration, ſanctification, and communion with God, both as to the doctrine of theſe benefits, and as to their own experience of them, ſo far as may be diſcovered by human judgement, be reputed inſufficiency: We are content, none be put away but the negligent, if ſo be they that do not warn the wicked of their deſtroying ſins, that feed themſelves, and not the flock, that do not ſtrengthen the diſeaſed, nor heal the ſick, &c. that omit the preſſing of neceſſary duties impartially on perſons and families, and the cenſuring of ſcandals without reſpect of perſons, be comprehended in that character: We are ſatisfied, none can be removed but the erroneous, if they be judged to be ſuch, who not only own Popery, Arminianiſm, and Socinianiſm, but are unſound in their explanation of the kingly office of Chriſt, or the perfection of the ſcriptures in the point of church officers and government, in the matter of oaths, and of the magiſtrate's power, and do maintain Eraſtianiſm, an exploded and abjured error in this church: And we ſeek no more but that all be removed who are ſcandalous, and none but they, if intruders, covenant breakers, perjured ſubſcribers of ſcandalous oaths and teſts, ſchiſmatics, and perſecutors, be counted among the ſcandalous.

Some things are indeed extraordinary, which we here urge; but as extraordinary exigencies do force us to move without a precedent; ſo they furniſh you a power to make a precedent for the like caſes thereafter: We confeſs alſo it may ſeem precipitant to preſs all theſe things ſo hard, and ſo ſoon, in a bruckle time, before things be better ſettled; but we fear if new delays be procured, till all things be fully ſettled,

help of the Lord, we were enabled to proceed on our journey." After which Mr Shields and Mr Borland escaped death very narrowly, the ship sinking in the harbour of Kingston a very little after they were gone out of it. He died of a malignant fever, June 14. 1700, in a Scotswoman's house at Port-Royal, in Jamaica, a little after he left Caledonia. A kind country woman, Isabel Murray, paid the expence of his funeral. His last preaching was from the last words of Hosea, *Who is wise? and he shall understand these things: prudent? and he shall know them, for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but transgressors shall fall therein* *.

And thus the so much famed Mr Alexander Shields, after he had tasted somewhat of the various vicissitudes of life and fortune, was obliged to die in a strange land. He was a man of a low stature, ruddy complection, quick and piercing wit, full

that the observing of wind and clouds shall hinder both sowing and reaping. But if laying aside the plaisters, wherewith the wounds of our backslidings have been slightly covered, rather than cured, you put to your hand the healing of your breaches, in condescending to these our humble desires, you shall win the blessing of many souls rent and racked with these divisions; you shall disburden the land of many weights and woes whereof it is weary; you shall send to all the neighbouring churches a pattern, transmit to posterity an example, and erect to all ages a monument of self denying zeal and wisdom; a work to be paralleled with the glories of former times. If herein our hopes shall fail us, we shall not know whether to wish we had died with our brethren by the enemies hand, and had never seen this reviving in our bondage; for it will be a death to us, and not a reviving, if there be not a returning together to the Lord, searching and trying, and discovering the iniquities of our ways. But, however, we intend not to separate from the church, but to maintain union and communion in truth and duty, with all the ministers and members of this church that do, and in so far as they do, follow the institutions of Christ; and to approve ourselves, God assisting, as much for peace and concord, as ever we were suspected to be men of divisive principles; hoping it shall appear, we are seeking *where he feedeth, and where he makes his flock to rest at noon*, and are not as such *who turn aside by the flocks of his companions, but going forth by the footsteps of the flocks, beside the shepherds tents:* Yet with this protested dissent from, and testimony against, all the above-mentioned corruptions, defections, and offensive courses, which obliged us to stand at a distance in times of deformation; that our present joining in these circumstances, when these are removed, may not infer, or be interpreted, an approving of what we formerly condemned; and be free from all partaking in these defections, by consent, connivance, compliance, or communion therein. For which we humbly supplicate, that these our humble proposals may be recorded in the books of Assembly. ALEXANDER SHIELDS, &c.

* See a more full account of Mr Shields, both while in Caledonia and Jamaica, in the history of Darien, lately republished, p. 42. to 49.

full of zeal, whatever way he intended, of a public ſpirit, and firm in the cauſe he eſpouſed; pretty well ſeen in moſt branches of learning, in arguing very ready, only ſomewhat fiery; but in writing on controverſy, he exceeded moſt men in that age.

His works are, the Hind let Looſe, Mr Renwick's Life, and the Vindication of his Dying Teſtimony, his own Impartial Relation, the Renovation of the Covenant at Borland Hill. There are alſo ſome Lectures and Sermons of his in print; a Vindication of our Solemn Covenants, and ſeveral of his Religious Letters, both before and ſince the Revolution. After his death, Mr Linning publiſhed an Eſſay of his on Church-Communion. But how far this agrees with his conduct at the Revolution, or what coherency it hath with his other writings, or if Mr Linning had any hand therein, is not our province to determine at preſent. There are alſo three pocket volumes of his Journals yet in manuſcript, which were, among other valuable papers, redeemed from deſtruction after Mr Linning's death.

Mr JOHN DICKSON.

Mr JOHN DICKSON, born of creditable parents, as ſome ſay, related to Mr David Dickſon, was ſent to the grammar-ſchool, and from thence to the univerſity;—where, after he had gone through his courſes of learning, he ſtudied divinity, and then paſſed his trials for the miniſtry; and, being found duly qualified for that office, he was licenſed. And, ſome time before the Reſtoration, was ordained and ſettled miniſter of Rutherglen, where he continued for ſome time a moſt faithful, diligent, and painful preacher of the goſpel.

But very ſoon after the reſtoration of Charles II. Prelacy beginning to advance in Scotland, he was, upon the 13th of October 1660, brought before the Committee of Eſtates, and by them impriſoned in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, information having been given in againſt him by Sir James Hamilton of Eliſtoun *, and ſome of his pariſhioners, of ſome expreſſions he had uſed in a ſermon, alledged to reflect upon the

* This family that purſued him is long ago extinct, and their houſe (as Mr Dickſon very publicly foretold in the hearing of many), after it had been a habitation for owls, the foundation-ſtones were digged up.

The

government and Committee of Eſtates, tending to ſedition and diviſion; for which he was kept in priſon till the parliament ſat down, and his church vacated; and though he got out at this time, yet he was expoſed to much trouble and ſuffering afterwards, as now comes to be obſerved.

After this, Mr Dickſon was obliged to wander from place to place, with the reſt of thoſe who could not in conſcience comply with the current of defection and apoſtacy at that time, preaching to ſuch as employed him; wherein he ceaſed not, in ſhewing the ſinfulneſs of bonding, ceſs-paying, and of the indulgence; and likewiſe wrote a faithful warning to the ſhire of Fife againſt the ſame, ſhewing, in the moſt affecting and ſtriking manner, the hazard and evil of ſuch a compliance*.

In 1670, we find he preached at Glenvail, and in June that year he and Mr Blackadder preached to a numerous congregation at Beeth-hill, in Dunfermline pariſh in Fife. While they were at public worſhip upon the Lord's day, a lieutenant of militia in that place came up on horſeback to the people, and made a great deal of diſturbance, threatening to fright and, if poſſible, to ſcatter them; whereupon one, more courageous than the reſt, ſtepped forward to him, and, after intreating him to remove peaceably, took his horſe by the bridle, pulled out a piſtol, and told him, he would ſhoot him dead if he was not ſilent; and, whether he would or not, he was there compelled to ſit on horſeback till public worſhip was over; after which he had his liberty to go where he pleaſed. Upon the back of this horrid inſult, (as the perſecutors were pleaſed to call it), upon the 11th of Auguſt, a decreet was obtained by the King's Advocate againſt Mr Dickſon, Mr Blackadder, and ſeveral other miniſters, wherein they were charged with holding conventicles in houſes and in fields; and being, after citation, called, and not compearing, they were, in abſence, denounced and put to the horn, which obliged them to wander up and down the country, ſometimes preaching in the fields where they had opportunity.

And thus continued Mr Dickſon in the midſt of imminent hazards: For, by virtue of a new-modelled Council, June 4. 1674.

The inhabitants there could not but obſerve, that thoſe who were informers, accuſers, and witneſſes againſt Mr Dickſon, (ſome of them magiſtrates then in the town), were brought ſo low, that they were ſuſtained by the charity of the pariſh. So hard a thing it is to meddle with the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt. WOD. HISTORY.

* It was no doubt ſuch faithful freedom that made that defamatory ſcribler ſay, in his Preſbyterian Eloquence, that he ſaid in a ſermon at Gallaſhiells, that ceſs-paying to Charles II. was as bad as ſacrificing to devils. See page 15.

1674, there were orders to ſend out parties in queſt of all conventicle-preachers, (as they were called who accepted not of the indulgence), amongſt whom were Meſſ. Dickſon, Welch, and Blackadder, &c. 400 pounds Sterling were offered for Mr Welſh, and 1000 merks for Mr Dickſon and each of the reſt; nay, the ſoldiers were indemnified, and their aſſiſtants, if any ſlaughter was committed in apprehending them, in caſe any reſiſtance was made: By which Mr Dickſon was expoſed unto new dangers; but yet he eſcaped their fury for ſome time.

But after Bothwell-battle, the perſecution becoming ſtill hotter, and the ſearches more frequent, he was apprehended in 1680; and being brought in to Edinburgh priſoner by ſome of the guards, under caution, to anſwer before the Council, September 1. Accordingly the Council ordered him to be ſent to the Baſs, where he continued priſoner near the ſpace of ſeven years.

While he was priſoner in the Baſs, he wrote a moſt excellent letter to ſome friends, wherein he not only bewails and laments the apoſtacy of theſe lands from God, &c. demanding what our noble Scots Worthies would think or ſay, were they then alive to behold the ſame, but alſo gives many practical and ſuitable directions how to behave in following Chriſt, and owning his cauſe under the croſs, and walking in the furnace of affliction and tribulation, &c.

After he got out of the Baſs, he returned very early at the Revolution back to his flock at Rutherglen, where he again exerciſed his miniſterial function, and that upon all hazards*. In 1698, October 4. at the ſitting down of the ſynod at Ayr, he preached a very free and faithful ſermon, upon the duty and qualifications of a faithful watchman, from theſe words, Iſa. lxii. 6. *I have ſet watchmen upon thy walls, O Jeruſalem*, &c.

And although Mr Dickſon ſtill acceded to the Revolution-church, yet he was much grieved when he beheld how far inferior the glory of the ſecond temple was to the firſt, which does moſt evidently appear from his own words, in a letter to one a little before his death, (which was in 1700), and which may

* Mr Dickſon being one who maintained and defended the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms, either about this time or at the Reſtoration, before he was ejected, he kept the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, probably at Rutherglen, while the people kept guard by centries under arms the whole time of the diſpenſation thereof. Which truly ſets forth the danger and hazard of theſe times, and the aggravations of our ſins in miſimproving theſe mercies and priviledges which they could not peaceably enjoy.

may ſtand here for his dying teſtimony; the contents whereof are as follow:

"The conception you have of the diſpenſation of the Lord towards this poor plagued church, and the temper of the ſpirits of profeſſors under this diſpenſation, are not different from what many of the Lord's people are groaning under. There is palpably a ſenſible difference betwixt what the church now is and what it was many years ago; yea, what it hath been within theſe few years. The church hath loſt much ground, and is ſtill upon the loſing hand; and it ſeems will continue ſo until it pleaſes the Lord to pour down his Spirit from on high, or elſe, by ſome ſharp awakening diſpenſation, rouſe up drowſy ſouls out of the lethargy wherein they are fallen, &c. It is many years ſince the ſun fell low upon Scotland, many a diſmal day hath it ſeen ſince 1649. At that time our reformation mounted towards its higheſt horizon; and ſince we left our building on that excellent foundation laid by our honoured forefathers, we have ſtill moved from ill to worſe, and are like to do ſo ſtill more, (unleſs our gracious God prevent it), until we ſlide ourſelves out of ſight and ſenſe of a reformation. We have been lately tryſted with a wonderful deliverance from the ſlavery of a heaven-daring enemy; but not one line of reformation is pencilled upon our deliverance *. We have the ſhell of ordinances and church-government, but want the kernel, the great things of Chriſt's law; as to contend for his intereſt is wrapped under a cloud. It is a long time ſince our covenant and ſolemn engagements looked pale. They have loſt colour and verdure ſince the reſcinding our vows to God. Theſe covenants are turned ſkeletons, fearſome and affrighting; and former reſpect to them is like gradually to dwine away under a conſumption. There are ſome few things that made them the glory of nations, that are turned to a ſhadow:

"(1.) They were the fruits of many prayers, faſting, tears, wreſtling, and indefatigable labours, of the greateſt and beſt men

* If theſe were Mr Dickſon's ſentiments then of the Revolution-ſettlement, ſo much now gloried in and boaſted of by many, they muſt be either ignorantly blind, or under an infatuation, who ſee not that things are a great deal worſe (though the ſame as to the conſtitution) than in his day: For how many are the clogs and impoſitions that are annually (I may ſay daily) wreathed about the neck of the church, in theſe degenerate iſles of the ſea, Britain and Ireland. And could any thing be believed by an apoſtate generation, we ſhould think that his words ſhould be of ſome weight, who was no opponent, but a member of the eſtabliſhed church, yea and more, a ſeer in our Iſrael, and, we may ſay, one among a thouſand, *for as the man is, ſo is his ſtrength*, &c.

men that ever breathed in our nation, recovering a people ſunk into Antichriſtian darkneſs, to enjoy liberty due to them by Chriſt's purchaſe.

" (2.) The renewing them ſo many times in old King James's reign, ſpoke out the fervency of theſe worthy ſpirits in ardour and affection to them, as ſo many jewels of ſo great value, that they were ſet as gems and pearls in Chriſt's crown, to wear ſo long as his intereſt remained in the church.

" (3.) The bleſſing accompanying the entering into and renewing theſe covenants were ſo fluent in all church-ordinances, both ſecret, private, and public, that whatever was planted in ſo fruitful a ſoil, of ſuch bleſſing and influence of the Spirit, could not but grow up as calves in the ſtall, fat and full of ſap.

" (4.) Theſe covenants were to our forefathers, like the renting of their own clothes, as Eliſha did, and taking up Elijah's mantle, and clothing themſelves with it, 2 Kings ii. 12. 13.; enjoying of Moſes's ſpirit, Deut. xxiv.; and, like Joſhua (chap. xxiv.) when dying, leaving a teſtimony of remembrance to poſterity, by engaging them in theſe covenants.

" (5.) So long as our church cleaved to theſe our covenants, it fell out with them as it did with King Aſa, 2 Chron. xv. 2.; that the Lord was with them while they were with him. But our fathers offspring forſaking God, he forſook them: from that day that our covenants were ſo ignominiouſly treated, unto this day, all calamities, as to our religious concerns, have fallen upon us.

" (6.) The late ſufferings of all who ſhed their heart's blood upon the fields and ſcaffolds, impriſonments, and baniſhments, were all dyed with the crimſon blood of the covenant: from that day of the force and fury of enemies, theſe ſolemn vows of our worthy forefathers, and the enemies taking up Chriſt's march-ſtones, (which were the bounds ſet by the Moſt High, when he divided to the church of Britain its inheritance, and ſeparated the ſons of Adam, Deut. xxix. 8.), the giddy church ſtraying in the wilderneſs is much fallen out of ſight either of pillar of cloud or fire. Our intermixtures are turned pernicious to the glory and honour of Chriſt's houſe, which ſhould not be a den of buyers and ſellers. Although the ſufferings of our late brethren ſeemed to be heavy to bear, yet two prime truths were ſealed with their blood, (and that of the beſt, as of our honourable nobles, faithful miniſters, gentry, burghers, and commons of all ſorts), which were never before ſealed, either by the blood of our

primitive

primitive martyrs, or our late martyers in the dawning of our Reformation; and the two truths were, Chriſt's Headſhip in the church in deſpite of ſupremacy and bold Eraſtianiſm, and our covenants: Which two truths were in the mouths of all our Worthies, when mounting their bloody theatres and ſcaffolds, aſcending, as it were, up unto God in a perfumed cloud of tranſporting joy, that they were honoured to ſuffer upon ſuch clear grounds: That ſupremacy was ſo aghaſted by our covenants, that no reſt could it have till it got the grave-ſtone laid upon them, and ſo conjured all who taſted the liquor of that ſupremacy, that the thoughts of getting the buried covenants out of the grave were more terrible to them than the devils, who are now in the place of our vows to God, managing their diabolical games in theſe places where the covenants were moſt in honour and requeſt, the one burned, and the other riſing in its room. Much blood and treaſure have been ſpent to ſet the flouriſhing crown upon Chriſt's head in Scotland. Declarations, acts of councils and parliament, remonſtrances, engagements, vows, and covenants; but the ſealing blood of the late martyrs was the cope-ſtone of all. The primitive martyrs ſealed the prophetic office of Chriſt with their hearts blood, the reforming martyrs ſealed his prieſtly offices with their blood; but laſt of all our martyrs have ſealed his kingly office with their beſt blood: They indeed have cemented it upon his royal head; ſo that, to the end of the world, it ſhall not drop off again. Let us never dream of a reviving ſpirit among us, till there be a reviving reſpect to theſe ſolemn vows of God. If there was but a little appearance of that ſpirit which actuated our worthy forefathers in our public aſſemblies and preachings, ye would ſee a wonderful alteration in the face of affairs: The fields, I aſſure you, would look white, near to harveſt. If ye would trace our defections from the breach of the act of claſſes in 1650, all along to this day of our being bound in the grave of our neutrality, and all to edge up the ſpirit of the people to a due ſenſe of our woful and irrevocable-like backſliding from God, (who hath acted many wonders for Scotland), you would find a perfumed ſmoke of incenſe ſpringing from our altar in ſavoury and ſoul-refreſhing bleſſings. But, ah! when ſhall this day dawn? ſo long as the common enemy are gaining their long-wiſhed-for hopes, that miniſters in their public preaching muſt confine themſelves to their nick-named faith and repentance, without noticing any encroachments upon Chriſt's proper rights to his church in the glorious work of reformation, leſt conſtructed fire-brands and ſeditious, which, in running the full career, may gradually drop into ſuperſti-

tion through neutrality, and thence plunge into an abyſs of the ſhadow of Popery. But, to ſum up ſhortly all my preſent thoughts of the time in this one, I cannot ſee an evaſion of the church, in its preſent circumſtance, from a ſharp and more trying furnace than ever it has yet met with; come the trial from what airth it will, it fears me. Our principles are ſo ſlippery, and the truths of God ſo ſuperficially rooted in us, that when we are thrown into the furnace, many of us ſhall melt to droſs. It is many years ſince I heard one of the greateſt ſeers in our nation, in horror and with fear, dreading the heavy judgements of God upon the biaſſed profeſſors in the weſt of Scotland. But all that I ſay, not diminiſhing my hopes of the Lord's reſerving his purchaſed inheritance in his own covenanted land, though Malachi be affrighted at the day of his coming, and be made to cry out, *Who may abide it*, chap. iii. 1. 2. 3. *when he ſits as refiner and purifier of the ſons of Levi:* A remnant ſhall be left, that ſhall be as the teil tree or the oak, whoſe ſeed is in them when they caſt their leaves; ſo the holy ſeed ſhall be the ſubſtance thereof.

"To revive a reflection upon two ſtupenduous paſſages of providence, I know would have an imbittering reliſh to many profeſſors in our country-ſide. The one is upon the laſt indulgence, wherein profeſſors, by bond and penalty, obliged themſelves to produce their miniſter before the Council, when called. For this was a reſtriction ſo narrow, that all the freedom and faithfulneſs of miniſters in their office was ſo blocked up, that either conſcience towards God in diſcharging of neceſſary duties, behoved utterly to be buried, or elſe the life of their miniſter expoſed to ſacrifice.—And if this be not an univerſal evil to be mourned over, let conſcience and reaſon judge; yet this is looked upon to be but a ſnare, in theſe gloomy times, of inconſiderable moment, though it was the brat clecked by that ſupremacy, which not only hath wounded our ſolemn vows to death, but bound the freedom and faithfulneſs of the church-ſeers, as to the public intereſt of Chriſt, in their graves, &c.

"The other ſtupenduous providence is the obliterating the rich bleſſing of the goſpel in our late ſuffering times, when bleſſings not only accompanied thoſe ſolemn field-meetings, but extraordinary influences, in gifts of freeedom and faithfulneſs, were poured down upon theſe miniſters, who went out with their lives in their hands, ſetting their faces as flints againſt the heaven-daring violence done to the Mediator. I call to mind a paſſage with perpetuated remembrance, that in one ſhire of this kingdom there were about thirty miniſters

who cheerfully offered up their ſervices to Chriſt, all by turns, out of Edinburgh. Each of theſe, when they returned back to Edinburgh again, being queſtioned, what pleaſure, what delight, and what liberty they had in managing that hazardous taſk? they anſwered, That ſo ſoon as they ſet foot on theſe bounds, another ſpirit came upon them; and no other reaſon could they give for it, but that God wrought ſo mightily, that they looked upon it as *genius loci*, that God ſenſibly at that time was in that county working wonders; but the moſt part of all theſe are in their places, reſting on their beds, and their works follow them.

"Thus, in anſwer to yours, I have given you ſome of my confuſed thoughts of the preſent times, wiſhing you God's bleſſing in ſucking honey out of the eater.

"JOHN DICKSON."

THUS lived and died worthy Mr John Dickſon, in a good old age, in 1700, after he had, by his longevity, ſeen ſomewhat of the glory both of the firſt and ſecond temple, and emerged forth out of all his troubles, having got a moſt perſpicuous view of our national apoſtacy, our breach of covenant, and other defections, paſt, preſent, and to come, with the Lord's goodneſs and mercy towards his own remnant: And all this from the top of mount Piſgah, when he was juſt about to enter upon the confines of Immanuel's land in glory.

Of his works, we have only ſeen his ſynod ſermon, and the foreſaid letters, in print. If there be any other, it is more than is known at preſent, except the foreſaid warning to the indulged in the ſhire of Fife, which was ſome time ago alſo publiſhed: All which ſhew him to be a moſt pathetical writer, his writings (though but few) making as ſtriking and lively an impreſſion upon the mind, as any man of his time.

SIR ROBERT HAMILTON OF PRESTON.

MR HAMILTON, (afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton), brother to Sir William Hamilton of Preſton, was born about 1650, and probably a ſon of Sir Walter Hamilton the reformer, and lineally deſcended from that famous Sir John Hamilton of Preſton, who was Commiſſioner for Eaſt Lothian at that black parliament held at Edinburgh, 1621, where he moſt boldly voted againſt the ratification of the five articles of

Perth; for which, and becauſe he would not recall his vote, the King's Commiſſioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, and the Secretary, thought to have diſgraced him, but found themſelves utterly diſappointed: For although they ſent the Biſhop of Dumblane, and after him Lord Scone, for that purpoſe, he would not; and when by the Secretary deſired to abſent, he told him, he would ſtay and bear witneſs to the truth, and would render his life and all he had, before he would recall one word he had ſpoken; and that they ſhould find him as true to his word as any Hamilton in Scotland. [See Calderwood's Hiſt. p. 776.]

Mr Hamilton having received a liberal education (as is uſual for men in ſuch circumſtances), before he was twenty-ſix years of age, or thereby, the Lord, in his free and ſovereign mercy, and by the efficacious working of the Holy Spirit, inclined his heart to fall in love with his ſervice; and for that purpoſe he made him attend the free and faithful (though perſecuted) goſpel, at that time preached in the fields; whereby in a ſhort time he came to eſpouſe the true covenanted teſtimony of the church of Chriſt in Scotland, for which he was, through divine grace, enabled to be a true and faithful witneſs to his life's end.

The firſt of his public appearances, we find he made in defence of that noble cauſe wherein he had embarked, was in 1679, when (after conſulting with faithful Mr Cargill) he, with Mr Thomas Douglas and faithful Rathillet, drew up that declaration, (afterwards called the Rutherglen declaration), which they publiſhed upon May 27. at the market-croſs of that burgh, after they had extinguiſhed the bone-fires; that day being kept as a holy anniverſary-day for the Reſtoration of Charles II. After this he returned with that little handful to Evandale, where he was by them appointed to command in chief, June 1. at the ſkirmiſh at Drumclog, wherein he ſhewed much bravery in putting Claverhouſe, and that bloody crew, to flight, killing thirty-ſix or forty of them, Claverhouſe himſelf narrowly eſcaping. But the Eraſtian party coming up to that little army ſhortly after this, created them, and Mr Hamilton their general, no ſmall diſturbance, they being to them, *a ſnare upon Miſpah, and a net ſpread upon Tabor*.—And although he moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed them in all their ſinful courſes of defection and compliance, yet he was by them treacherouſly betrayed, in giving his conſent to their publiſhing the Hamilton declaration;—they promiſing to be faithful, in all time coming, in preaching againſt the indulgence, and all the land's defections; and that what was ambiguous in that declaration, ſhould be, at the honeſt party's

desire, explained, what was wrong should be left out, and what was wanting should be supplied, before it was printed, or otherwise published, save the reading of it that day :—one word of which they never fulfilled or kept.

But it were a task too tedious, here to enumerate all the struggles and contendings among them at that time; only it is to be remarked, that it was through Mr Hamilton's great, we may say deserved, confidence in Mr Cargill's faithfulness, (who was the principal minister among those called the protesting party), that he was again, by the corrupt party, so pitifully ensnared in subscribing their declaration to the Duke of Monmouth, when they were about to engage with the enemy: For they being intent upon supplicating, the honest party consented only that an information should be drawn up by Mr Cargill and Mr Morton, and sent to him, of his own and his father's rebellion against God, by their blasphemy, persecution, and usurpation, in church and state, &c.; but the corrupt party, drawing up their own supplication, sent one of their own party, with it in the one hand, and pen and ink in the other, to Mr Hamilton to subscribe, just as they were going to engage the enemy. Mr Hamilton asked, if it was Mr Cargill's work? he answered, Yes; whereas Mr Cargill knew nothing of it. Whereupon, being in haste, and having no doubt of Mr Cargill's veracity therein, he did that which was still matter of great grief to him afterwards, as he himself, in a letter from Holland, dated 1685, doth fully testify.

After their defeat at Bothwell-bridge, Mr Hamilton was, by the Erastian party and their accomplices, most horridly stigmatised and reproached, as that he should have betrayed them to the enemy, sold them for money, swept the priming off the cannon at the bridge, &c. But from all these he has been sufficiently vindicated by Wilson, in his Impartial Relation of Bothwell-bridge.

Shortly after Bothwell, he went over to Holland; upon which his estate was forfeited, 1684, and he sentenced to be executed, whenever apprehended. During his stay here, he was of great service and use to his own countrymen, and had the honour to be employed by them as commissioner of the persecuted true Presbyterian church of Christ in Scotland, having received commission from them to represent their case, and crave the sympathy of foreign churches; and it was by his skill, industry, and faithfulness, in prosecuting this commission, that he prevailed with the presbytery of Groningen, in 1683, to ordain the famous and faithful Mr James Renwick, a minister of the gospel for the persecuted true Presbyterian

terian church of Chriſt in Scotland. And afterwards, as their delegate with the preſbytery of Embden, to ordain Mr Thomas Lining, a miniſter of the goſpel for the ſame church.

Mr Hamilton, by virtue of his commiſſions, which about that time he had received from the united ſocieties *, went through ſeveral places of Germany in the end of 1686: For an old manuſcript, given under his own hand, dated March 10. 1687, bears, that through many hazards and difficulties, he arrived about Oct. 10. at Baſil, in Switzerland; from whence he went to Geneva, about Nov. 16.; and ſo into Bern, Zurich, and other places in Batavia and the Helvetian Cantons, not without many imminent hazards and dangers. In which places he conferred with the moſt part of their profeſſors, and other learned men, craving their judgement and ſympathy toward his mother-church, and the poor perſecuted people in the kingdom of Scotland †.

But having emerged forth of all theſe difficulties, he returned home at the Revolution, about which time his brother, Sir William Hamilton of Preſton, died, and he fell heir to his eſtate and honours. And although after that he was ſtill deſigned by the name of Sir Robert Hamilton of Preſton, yet becauſe he could not in conſcience enter into, poſſeſs, or enjoy that eſtate, unleſs he had owned the title of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, as king and queen of theſe three covenanted nations, and in conſequence of that, own the Prelatical government as then eſtabliſhed, upon the ruins of the cauſe and work of God in theſe nations. He never entered or intermeddled with his brother's eſtate any manner of way; but with Moſes he made that noble choice, rather *to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleaſure of ſin for a ſeaſon*; and did eſteem a ſtedfaſt adherence to the cauſe of Chriſt, with all the reproaches that followed thereon, greater riches than all his brother's eſtate. For out of true love to Jeſus Chriſt, his covenanted cauſe, intereſt, and people, he laid his worldly honour in the duſt, continuing ſtill a companion in the faith, patience, affliction, and tribulation, of that poor, mean, and deſpiſed handful of the Lord's witneſſes in theſe lands, who ſtill owned and adhered unto the ſtate of the Lord's covenanted cauſe in Scotland.

* In the hands of ſome friends are yet to be ſeen, two of theſe commiſſions in Latin, wrote on parchment, one of which is a very beautiful copy on copperplate.

† See a more full account of his negociations in the Netherlands for the ſuffering remnant, in a large letter of his, publiſhed in Faithful Contendings, page 186.——210.

A little after his return from Holland, when Meſſ. Lining, Shields, and Boyd, were drawing and enticing thoſe who had formerly been faithful to, and owning and ſuffering for the Lord's covenanted cauſe, into a conformity and compliance with the defection of that time, in a general meeting held at Douglas, 6th November 1689, he gave a faithful proteſtation againſt theſe proceedings as by them carried on, and particularly their owning the then government, while ſworn to Prelacy, in oppoſition to our laudable eſtabliſhment and covenanted work of reformation: As alſo, againſt the raiſing of the Angus regiment, which he took to be a ſinful aſſociation with malignants: And likewiſe, againſt joining with Eraſtian miniſters at that time, (from whom they had formerly moſt juſtly withdrawn), without any evidence of repentance for the many groſs ſins and defections they were guilty of. And after theſe three miniſters aforeſaid had yielded up that noble cauſe, and drawn many of the owners thereof into the ſame ſtate of compliance with them, he had the honour to be the chief inſtrument in the Lord's hand, in gathering together out of their diſperſion, ſuch of the old ſufferers as had eſcaped theſe defections that ſo many were fallen into, and in bringing them again into an united party and general correſpondence, upon the former laudable and honeſt ſtate of the teſtimony.

And farther, he had alſo a principal hand in drawing up and publiſhing that faithful declaration, publiſhed at Sanquhar, Aug. 10. 1692, for which he was apprehended by ſome of the old perſecuting ſoldiers, at Earlſtoun, upon Sept. 10. following, and by them carried to Edinburgh, and there and elſewhere kept priſoner till May 5. 1693. When he was brought before the Council, September 15. 1692, there were preſent, the Viſcount of Tarbet, Preſident Lothian, Ker, General Livingſtone, Lord Linlithgow, Lord Breadalbane, and Sir William Lockhart, ſolicitor. He was by them examined concerning that declaration; but he declined them, and all upon whom they depended, as competent judges, becauſe they were not qualified according to the word of God, and our ſolemn covenants. And being interrogate, If he would take the oath of allegiance? he anſwered, No, it being an unlimited oath, not bottomed upon our covenants. If he would own the authority of K. William and Q. Mary? He anſwered, I wiſh them well. But being aſked again, if he would own them and their government, live peaceably, and not riſe againſt them? He anſwered, When they were admitted according to the laws of the crown, the acts of parliament 1648, and 1649, bottomed upon our ſacred covenants and ſound qualifications, according to theſe, purſuing the ends of theſe covenants, &c.

then

then I ſhall give my anſwer. Whereupon ſome of them turned hot, and Lothian ſaid, They were purſuing the ends of the covenant. To whom he replied, How can that be, when joining with, and exalting the greateſt of its enemies, whom by covenant we are bound to extirpate? Another anſwered, He had taken the coronation-oath. At which Mr Hamilton aſked, What religion was eſtabliſhed when that oath was taken? They ſaid, Prelacy was aboliſhed. But he returned, Preſbytery was not eſtabliſhed, ſo that he is not bound to us in religion, ſave to Prelacy in Scotland. But being urged to the laſt queſtion, he adhered to his former anſwers; at which ſome of them raged, and ſaid, He would give no ſecurity for obedience and peaceable living? To which he made anſwer, ſaying, I marvel why ſuch queſtions are aſked at me, who have lived ſo retiredly hitherto, neither found plotting with York, France, or Monmouth, or any ſuch, as the rumour was; nor acting any thing contrary to the laws of the nation enacted in the time of the purity of Preſbytery. Lothian ſaid, We are aſhamed of you. He replied, Better you be aſhamed of me, than I be aſhamed of the laws of the church and nation, whereof you ſeem to be aſhamed. Lothian ſaid, You deſire to be involved in troubles. Sir Robert anſwered, I am not ſo laviſh of either life or liberty; but if the aſſerting of truth was an evidence thereof, it might be thought more ſtrange.

But he was remanded back to priſon, where he continued until the 3d of May 1693, that he was liberate. The day before his liberation, he gave in a moſt faithful proteſtation and declinature to the Privy Council and parliament of Scotland, with another letter of the ſame nature to Sir James Stuart, the Advocate; and upon his coming forth of the tolbooth, he was ſo far from yielding one jot, that he left another faithful proteſtation in the hands of the keepers of the tolbooth, ſhewing, that for his adhering to, and appearing for the fundamental laws and laudable conſtitution of our church and covenanted nation, he had been apprehended and kept for eight months cloſe priſoner, and that very unjuſtly; and that for his own exoneration, and truth's vindication, he left this proteſtation *; diſdaining all engagements to live peaceably, which were a condemning himſelf of former unpeaceableneſs, which he poſitively denies; as alſo in coming in any terms of oaths or bonds with thoſe who have broken covenants, overturned the reformation, and deſtroyed the people of God; or engaging unto a ſinful peace with them, or any in confederacy

* See the above-mentioned declarations, proteſtations, and declinatures, with ſome of his many religious letters, ſince publiſhed in a pamphlet, entitled the Chriſtian Conduct.

deracy with them, &c.; declaring his preſent outcoming merely on the account of finding open doors; and deſired his proteſtation to be inſerted in the ordinary regiſter.

From his liberation to the day of his death, he continued moſt faithful in contending earneſtly for *the faith once delivered to the ſaints*, Jude, ver. 3.; and did greatly ſtrengthen and encourage the reſt of the ſuffering remnant, with whom he continued in Chriſtian communion, both by his pious and godly example, and ſeaſonable counſel and advice, with reſpect to principles, and what concerned the ſalvation of their ſouls, for the right carrying on the teſtimony for the cauſe that they were owning. Some years before his death, he was taken ill with the ſtone, by which he endured a very ſharp and ſore affliction, with a great deal of Chriſtian patience and holy ſubmiſſion to the holy will of God; and when drawing near his journey's end, he gave a moſt faithful teſtimony to the Lord's noble and honourable cauſe, which he had ſo long owned and ſuffered for: And upon the account of this gentleman's being moſt unjuſtly branded * for running to ſome extremes in principles, both before and ſince the Revolution, a copy of his own dying teſtimony may perhaps be the beſt vindication of him from ſuch aſperſions, that at preſent can be produced; which as follows.

"THOUGH I have many things that might diſcourage me from ſhewing myſelf this way at ſuch a time, when the Lord's controverted truths, his covenanted reformation, and the wreſtlings of his faithful and ſlain witneſſes, are things ſo much flouted at, deſpiſed, and buried, not only by the profane, but, alas! even by the miniſters and profeſſors of this generation; yet I could not but leave this ſhort line to you, who, of all intereſts in the world, have been my greateſt comfort; being now come to the utmoſt period of my time, and looking in upon my eternal ſtate, it cannot be readily apprehended by rational men, that I ſhould dare to write any thing,

* And even Walker, and others who have pretended a great regard for the principles and memory of ſome of our late ſufferers, ſuch as Meſſ. Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick. But in this they are not aware whom they have obliged: for it is pretty notour, that this gentleman, and theſe Worthies, particularly the laſt, were the very ſame in principle to the end of their lives, as their own letters and teſtimonies do evidence; and ſo in condemning him, they have not only tacitly condemned them, but moſt avowedly relinquiſhed the ſubſtantial part of the covenanted teſtimony of the church of Scotland in her pureſt times: and what can the Archbiſhop of Canterbury require more, never once to mention an anti-covenanter, a nulliſidian, or lukewarm Preſbyterian?

thing, but according to what I expect ſhortly to be judged, having had ſuch a long time to conſider on my ways, under a ſharp affliction. As for my caſe, I bleſs God it is many years ſince my intereſt in him was ſecured, and under all my afflictions from all airths, he hath been a preſent help in time of my greateſt need. I have been a man of reproach, a man of contention; but praiſe to him, it was not for my own things, but for the things of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Whatever were my infirmities, yet his glory, the riſing and flouriſhing of his kingdom, was ſtill the mark I laboured to ſhoot at: nor is it now my deſign to vindicate myſelf from the calumnies that have been caſt upon my name; for when his ſlain witneſſes ſhall be vindicated, his own glory and buried truths raiſed up, in that day he will aſſuredly take away the reproaches of his ſervants, and will raiſe and beautify the name of his living and dead witneſſes. Only this I muſt add, Though that I cannot but ſay, that reproaches have broken my heart, yet with what I have met with before, and at the time of Bothwell battle, and alſo ſince, I had often more difficulty to carry humbly under the glory of his croſs, than to bear the burden of it. O! peace with God, and peace of conſcience, is a ſweet feaſt!

"Now, as to his public cauſe, that he hath honoured you in ſome meaſure to ſide with, ſtand faſt therein: Let no man take your crown, for it is the road he will take in coming to this poor land; and praiſe him for honouring ſuch poor things as you are, as to make you wiſh well to his cauſe, when church and ſtate, and all ranks, have turned their back upon it: and my humble advice to you, as a dying brother, is, to ſtand ſtill, and beware of all tampering with theſe betrayers of the royal intereſt and concerns of Chriſt's kingdom, and liſten to no conferences with the miniſters and profeſſors of this generation, till the public defections of this land from the doleful ſource of all our ruin and miſery, that ſin of the public reſolutions, the compliance with Prelacy, the church-ruining and dividing indulgences and toleration, until the preſent ſinful courſe of vindicating all theſe defections, and burying all the teſtimonies againſt the ſame; I ſay, until theſe be acknowledged, and publicly rejected and diſowned both by church and ſtate.

"I die a true Proteſtant, and, to my knowledge, a reformed Preſbyterian, in oppoſition to Popery, Prelacy, and malignancy, and whatever is contrary to truth, and the power of godlineſs, as well againſt flattering pretenders to unwarrantable zeal on the right-hand, as againſt lukewarmneſs on the left; adhering with my ſoul to the holy ſweet ſcriptures, which

have often comforted me in the houſe of my pilgrimage, our Confeſſion of Faith, our Catechiſms, the directory for worſhip, covenants, national and ſolemn league and covenant, acknowlegement of ſins, and engagement to duties, with the Cauſes of God's wrath, and to all the faithful public teſtimonies given againſt defections of old or late, particularly theſe contained in the informatory vindication, and that againſt the toleration, and the two laſt declarations emitted ſince this fatal Revolution; which teſtimonies I ever looked upon as a door of hope of the Lord's returning again to theſe poor backſlidden lands.

"And now, my dear friends, let nothing diſcourage you in that way. The Lord will maintain his own cauſe, and make it yet to triumph. The nearer to day, it may be the darker, but yet *in the evening time it ſhall be light*; and the farther diſtant ye keep from all the courſes and intereſts of this generation, the greater will your peace and ſecurity be. O! labour to be in Chriſt, for him, and like him; be much in reading of the holy ſcriptures, much in prayer and holy unity among yourſelves. Be zealous and tender in keeping up your private fellowſhip for prayer and Chriſtian conference, as alſo your public correſpondences and general meetings, go to them and come from them as thoſe intruſted, really concerned and weighted, with Chriſt's precious controverted truths in Scotland; and labour ſtill to take Chriſt along with you to all your meetings, and to behave yourſelves as under his holy and all-ſeeing eye when at them, that ye may always return with a bleſſing from his rich hand.

"Now, farewell, my dear Chriſtian friends, the Lord ſend us a joyful meeting at his own right-hand, after time; which ſhall be the earneſt deſire, while in time, of your dying friend,

(Signed) "R. HAMILTON."

Borrowſtounneſs, September 5. 1701.

And ſo, after he had come through many tribulations, and at laſt endured a ſeries of ſore bodily affliction, in all which he was ſtill kept faithful in teſtifying for the word of Chriſt's patience, until he yielded up his life to that God who gave him his being, at Borrowſtounneſs, October 21. being then fifty-one years of age: And *becauſe thou haſt kept the word of my patience, I will alſo keep thee from the hour of temptation, which ſhall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.*

Thus ended another of Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, Sir Robert Hamilton, who, for ſoundneſs in the faith, true piety, the real exerciſe of godlineſs, a converſation becoming the goſpel, and a true underſtanding of the right ſtate of the Lord's cauſe, in every part thereof, accompanied with a true

love

love and affection to, and zeal according to knowledge for the ſame, with ſtedfaſtneſs and ſtability to the laſt, maintained his cauſe againſt every oppoſition, being equally ſuperior to the influence of fear or flattery, and was preferable to the moſt part of his ſtation in that age; and without flattery it may be ſaid, he was an honour to the name of Hamilton, and to his nation. The faithful Mr Renwick called him *Mi pater, my father*, and ever had a high eſteem and regard for him, as the contents of moſt part of his letters bear: Yea, in the very laſt letter he wrote, he accoſts him thus: "If I had lived, and been qualified for writing a book, and if it had been dedicated to any, you would have been the man; for I have loved you, and I have peace before God in that; and I bleſs his name that ever I have been acquainted with you," &c. And indeed he was not miſtaken in him, for he was one who both profeſſed and practiſed truth, was bold in Chriſt's cauſe, and had ventured life, wealth, reputation, and all, in defence thereof. He was of ſuch conſtancy of life and manners, that it might be truly ſaid of him, which was ſaid of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, *In omni vita ſui ſimilis, nec ulla unquam in re mutatus fuit. Itaque vere fuit vir bonus, nec fictum aut ſimulatum quicquam habuit.*

AN ACROSTIC ON HIS NAME.

Sin wrought our death, death ſtrikes, and none doth ſpare;
It levels ſceptres with the plowing-ſhare:
Raging among poor mortals every where.

Religion's lovers death muſt alſo own,
Or this brave ſoul his life had not laid down.
But weep not: Why? death challenges but droſs;
Eternal gain compenſates temporal loſs;
Reſt from his labour, ſickneſs, grief, and pain:
This makes him happy, and our mourning vain.

Had he not reaſon rather to be glad
At death's approach, that life he never had
Muſt meet him there? He enters now that land,
In view of which, believing, he did ſtand,
Longing for ling'ring death, ſtill crying, Come,
Take me, Lord, hence, unto my Father's home.
O, faithleſs age! of glory take a ſight;
Nor death nor grave ſhall then ſo much affright;

Mr WILLIAM VEITCH.

MR WILLIAM VEITCH was born in Clydeſdale, at Roberton, near Lanark, in 1640. He was the youngeſt ſon of Mr John Veitch, who was miniſter of that place for about the ſpace of forty-five years. His brethren were, Mr John Veitch, who was miniſter of Weſtruthers fifty-four years; Mr James Veitch, who was ordained miniſter in Mauchlin in 1656; and Mr David Veitch, the moſt eminent of them all, who was ſometime miniſter at Govan, cotemporary and copreſbyter with the famous Mr Durham, to whom Mr Rutherford gave this teſtimony at his trials, "That the like of Mr David Veitch, in his age, for learning and piety, he had never known."

Mr William, being laureat at Glaſgow in 1650, was reſolved to follow the ſtudy and practice of phyſic, as having ſo many brethren in the function of the miniſtry, and Epiſcopacy being apparently to be ſettled in the kingdom. And being then in the family of Sir Andrew Kerr of Greenhead, great Mr Livingſton, miniſter of Ancrum, frequenting that houſe, as did other godly miniſters, by many arguments diſſuaded him from his intended deſign, and exhorted him to follow the footſteps of his brethren, who were then much eſteemed in the church.

In 1663, he went to Murrayland, where he was ſome time chaplain to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder's family; but at the inſtigation of M'Kenzie, then Biſhop of Murray, he was obliged, about September 1664, to leave this family. He then returned home to his father, then dwelling at Lanark, being ejected from his own pariſh by the prelates: in which time he fell acquainted with Marion Fairlie, whom he married; and being a woman eminent for religion, ſhe proved a great bleſſing to him afterwards.

In 1666, he was ſolicited, and prevailed upon, by Mr John Welch, to join that party who were ſo oppreſſed by the inhuman cruelties of Sir James Turner and his forces, then lying at Dumfries. Accordingly, after the Galloway forces had taken Sir James, Mr Veitch and Major Lermont went weſt and joined them on a hill above Galſton. Next day they ſent him with forty or fifty horſe to take up quarters in the town of Ayr.

After ſome reſpite, they marched up the water of Ayr, towards Douglas, and from thence to Lanark, Dalziel and his forces having come as far as Strathaven in queſt of them; but hearing they were at Lanark, turned his march after them.

them. In the mean time, the honeſt party being above 1500 horſe and foot, it was thought proper that both the national and ſolemn league and covenant ſhould be by them renewed; which they did with great ſolemnity; and hearing that Dalziel approached, they concluded it would be beſt to abide ſome time there, as the heavy rains had made Clyde impaſſable for him, except by boat, (and that being broken), until the water decreaſed; and that fifty of their number might be able to ſtop his paſſage at the river, which might be both a daſh upon the enemy, and encouraging to friends to join them at that place. But unhappily a letter came at that juncture from Sir James Stuart, (after the Revolution, Advocate), to Meſſ. Welch and Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as poſſible, where they would get men and other neeſſaries. This made them break their reſolution, and march for Bathgate, where, both night and ſnow coming on, they concluded to go forward to Collington.

Having taken up their quarters, they conſulted how they ſhould do in anſwer to Mr Stuart's letter; and at laſt voted Mr Veitch to go to Edinburgh, and converſe with him anent the promiſed ſupply. This, againſt his own mind, at the importunity of Colonel Wallace, he undertook; and having diſguiſed himſelf with a baggage horſe, an old hat and cloak, Mr M'Cormick conveyed him a little way, minding him of ſeveral things to communicate to Sir James Stuart. He had but gone a little till he met a briſk ſtrong fellow, riding with a drawn ſword in his hand, who aſked, which way he came? He ſaid, Biggar way. But, ſays he, Did you not ſee all Collington on fire? I fear my houſe be burnt; for I hear the Whigs are come. Mr Veitch declared his ignorance of this; and ſo they parted. Near Greenhill park he met three women, who told him, that if he went by Greenhill houſe he was a dead man; for there Lord Kingſton was placed with a party to intercept all the Whigs from coming to the town. This made him take a by-road to Libberton Wynd. A little farther, he eſpied a centinel on horſeback, which obliged him to take Dalkeith way. But coming thither, ſome colliers told him, there was no getting to the town; all the ports were ſhut, and guards ſet upon them. This put him to a ſtand. Reaſon ſaid, You muſt turn back; Credit cried, You muſt go forward, elſe loſe your reputation. And ſo he proceeded, till taken by two centinels, and carried to the Potterrow Port, where he was examined by the captain of the guard; and inſtead of being let into the city, was ſent with a file of muſqueteers back to Lord Kingſton. Mr Veitch, in this ſad dilemma, had no other comfort but to put up his deſires to God,

God, that he would direct him what to do or ſay, if he had a mind to ſpare him any longer. He was examined by Kingſton, to whom he gave ſoft anſwers. In the mean time an alarm roſe, that the Whigs, as they called them, approached; Kingſton called them to their arms; whereupon Mr Veitch called for arms, ſaying, he would go againſt them in the firſt rank. This made Kingſton ſay, he was a brave fellow.

After the hurry was over, with great difficulty he got off into the town. But finding nothing could be got there, the next morning, hearing that the weſtern forces marched toward Pentland-hills, he ventured to return by Libberton way toward the Houſe in the Muir; and making his eſcape at Pentland town, when paſſing through Roſlin muir, coming to Glencroſs water, a frontier of Dalziel's horſe had almoſt taken him. But being within cry of Captain Paton, now lieutenant of the rear-guard of the weſtern army, who beat back Dalziel's horſe, and delivered him, ſaying, O Sir, we took you for a dead man, and repented ſore we ſent you on ſuch an unreaſonable undertaking. As they rode toward Pentland-hills, they perceived their friends leaving the highway, marching their main body towards the hill, and a ſelect body to the top: General Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills, occaſioned this. It was about twelve o'clock the 28th of November 1666. It had been ſnow and froſt the night before; the day was pretty clear, and ſunſhine. In half an hour, Dalziel's ſelect party, under Drummond, fell upon their ſelect party; but was beat back, to the great conſternation of their army, hundreds of whom, as they were marching through the hills, threw down their arms, and ran away. Drummond himſelf afterwards acknowledged, that if they had purſued this advantage, they had utterly ruined Dalziel's army. M'Leland of Barmaguhen and Mr Crookſhanks commanded the firſt party, who took ſome priſoners; Major Lermont commanded the ſecond party, who beat the enemy again, where the Duke of Hamilton narrowly eſcaped, by the Dean of Hamilton's laying his ſword upon the Duke's back, which warded off the countryman's blow upon him. Dalziel ſending up a party to reſcue him, Major Lermont's horſe was ſhot under him; but he, ſtarting back to a dike, killed one of the four purſuers, mounted his horſe, and came off in ſpite of the other three. The laſt encounter was at day-light going, when the covenanters were broke; and Mr Veitch fell in amongſt a whole troop of the enemy, who turned his horſe in the dark, and violently carried him along with them, not knowing but he was one of their own. But they falling down the hill in the purſuit, and he wearing upwards, the moon

riſing

riſing clear, for fear of being diſcovered, he was obliged to ſteer off; which they perceiving, cried out, and purſued after him, diſcharging ſeveral ſhot at him: but their horſes ſinking, they could not make the hill; and ſo he eloped, and came that night to a herd's houſe in Dunſyre common, within a mile of his own habitation.

A little after this, he met with another remarkable deliverance at the Laird of Auſton's, when the enemy were there in purſuit of his ſon-in-law Major Lermont. After this, Mr Veitch was obliged to abſcond, and ſo he went off for Newcaſtle, where he continued ſome time. Here he took the name of William Johnſton, his mother being of that name. After a conſiderable time of trouble, when he had the flux through the fatigue and cold he had got in the winter, he went home to viſit his wife, where he again narrowly eſcaped, and ſo returned again to Newcaſtle. From thence he was invited to London, where he preached ſometimes for Mr Blackie, particularly one Sabbath, on theſe words, *If thou hadſt known in this thy day*, &c. After the bleſſing was pronounced, ſome of the auditors cried, Treaſon, treaſon; which ſurpriſed Mr Blackie and the people, till one Colonel Blood ſtood up and ſaid, Good people, we have heard nothing but reaſon, reaſon; and ſo he took off Mr Veitch, which ended the buſineſs.

Thus Mr Veitch travelled from place to place, ſometimes at London, ſometimes Nottingham, Cheſter, Lancaſter, ſometimes in Northumberland, eſpecially in Reidſdale, till 1671, that he was perſuaded to bring his wife and family to that county; which he did, and ſettled for ſome time within the pariſh of Rothbury in Northumberland. But no ſooner was he ſettled here, though in a muiriſh place, than the Popiſh gang ſtirred up enemies unto him on account of his little meeting; which obliged him to remove five miles farther up the country, to a place called Harnam-hall, where many out of curioſity frequented his preaching. Likewiſe Anabaptiſts, who kept ſeventh-day Sabbaths, were punctual attenders.

Here he had no ſmall ſucceſs in the reformation of people's morals; ſeveral inſtances of which, for brevity's ſake, muſt here be omitted. But the devil, envying theſe ſmall beginnings, again ſtirred him up enemies, particularly one Juſtice Lorrain, who, at the inſtigation of the clergy, iſſued out warrants to apprehend him. But this miſgiving, Lorrain, in one of his drinking fits, promiſed to go in perſon next Sabbath, and put an end to theſe meetings. But not many hours after, he, by an unuſual and ſtrange mean, got his leg broke, ſo that he could travel none for many weeks after.

This

This deſign being fruſtrated, one Parſon Ward of Kirkhails went up to the Biſhop of Durham, and returned well armed, as he thought, againſt Mr Veitch, having orders to excommunicate all ſuch. But being detained by another curate, they drank all night together; and that he might be home againſt Sabbath, he ſo tired his horſe, that he was not able to get him on alone. He hired the herdman of Harnam to lead him, taking his club to drive him on; but while he ſo unmercifully was beating the poor beaſt, it, without regard to his coat, canon, or the orders he carried, ſtruck him on the cheek, till the blood guſhed out; which made the boy that led the horſe, ſeeing him fall, run to a gentlewoman's houſe hard by, who ſent out two ſervants with a barrow, who carried him in, where he had his wounds dreſſed, and lay there ſeveral weeks under a cure; and ſo they were again diſappointed.

Having continued there four years, he removed to Stantonhall, where he found the country filled with Papiſts, and the pariſh-church with a violent perſecutor, one Thomas Bell. This Bell, though he was his own countryman, and had received many favours from Mr Veitch's brother, yet was ſo maliciouſly ſet againſt him, that he vowed to ſome profeſſed Papiſts, who were ſtimulating him on againſt that meeting, that he ſhould either ruin Mr Veitch, or he him. And, as the event proved, he was no falſe prophet; for he never gave over till he got one Major Oglethorp to apprehend him, which he did January 19. 1679.

After different turns, he was brought to Edinburgh, and February 22. brought before a committee of the Council, where Biſhop Sharp was preſes. The Biſhop put many queſtions to him to ſee if he could enſnare him. One of them was, Have you taken the covenant? He anſwered, This Honourable Board may eaſily perceive, I was not capable to take the covenant when you and other miniſters tendered it. At which the whole company gave a laugh, which ſomewhat nettled the biſhops. They aſked, Did you never take it ſince? Anſ. I judge myſelf obliged to covenant myſelf away to God, and frequently to renew it. At which Biſhop Paterſon ſtood up and ſaid, You will get no good of this man; he is all evaſion. After other queſtions, he was required to ſubſcribe his own confeſſion, which he aſſented to, if *in mundo*, without their additions; which at laſt, through Lundy's influence, they granted. And though they could prove nothing criminal againſt him, he was remanded back to priſon, and, by a letter from the King, turned over to the Criminal Court, which was to meet March 18. but was adjourned to two different

terms after, till the month of July, that ſentence of death was to have been paſſed upon him, upon the old ſentence in 1666. Mr Veitch, now finding ſentence of death was to be paſſed upon him, prevailed with his friend Mr Gilbert Elliot to ride poſt to London; where not having acceſs to Lauderdale, he applied to Shaftſbury, and got his caſe printed, and a copy given to each member of parliament. The King being applied unto, and threatened with a parliamentary inquiry, wrote a letter, and ſent expreſs to ſtop all criminal proceſs againſt him: which expreſſes, procured at laſt by Lauderdale out of antipathy to Monmouth, who was minded to have interceded to the King for him, he was liberated, under a ſentence of baniſhment to retire to England; which he did in a ſhort time after.

Whilſt theſe affairs were tranſacting, Biſhop Sharp was cut off at Magus muir, the account of which it were needleſs to relate here, being touched elſewhere; excepting a circumſtance or two ſomewhat different, or more full than ſome others on that particular; that is, after they had fired ſeveral piſtols at him in the coach, being pulled out, Burly having a brazen blunderbuſs charged with ſeveral bullets, fired it ſo near his breaſt, that his gown, clothes, and ſhirt, were burnt, and he fell flat on his face; they, thinking a window was made through his body, went off; but one ſtaying to tie his horſe's girth, heard his daughter call to the coachman for help, for her father was yet alive; which made him call back the reſt, knowing if he was not dead, their caſe would be worſe than ever, Burly (or Balfour) coming to him while yet lying on his face, putting his hat off with his foot, ſtruck him on the head till his brains were ſeen; then, with a cry, he expired. Searching his pockets, they found the King's letter for executing more cruelties, as alſo a little purſe with two piſtol-bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of ſilk, like an ordinary plumb, a bit of parchment, a finger-breadth in length, with two long words written upon it which none could read, though the characters were like Hebrew or Chaldaic. This they took, but meddled with neither money nor watch.

After he was by the Council's order examined by two ſurgeons, the blue marks of the bullets were ſeen about his neck, back, and breaſt, where his clothes were burnt; but in all theſe places the ſkin was not broke; ſo that the wound in his head had only killed him; which occaſioned an univerſal talk, that he had got proof againſt ſhot from the devil, and that the forementioned purſe contained the ſorcery or charm. However, his brother got liberty to erect a marble monument

on him, which, inſtead of honour, the only end of ſuch ſumptuous ſtructures, ſtands yet in St Andrew's as an enſign of his infamy unto this day.

The riſing of Bothwell immediately followed this. But being broke, an indemnity was granted to thoſe concerned therein. But one of the conditions was, that no miniſter ſhould preach without liberty given, which no faithful miniſter could aſſent to. However, Monmouth, upon Shaftſbury's recommendation, inſerted Mr Veitch's name in the roll with the reſt. But, by Biſhop Paterſon's means, his name was excluded. This made Monmouth ſay, he ſhould get the matter done another way, as ſoon as he came to London; which coming to Lauderdale's ears at Court, by means of Lord Stair, the King ſigned a warrant, turning the ſentence of death to baniſhment from Scotland; and ſo he was liberated, and returned back to his old habitation in England.

But not long after his return, hearing they intended in theſe parts to apprehend him again, he retired weſtward in the Engliſh borders, where he frequently preached, viz. Kilderhead, Wheeler, Cauſeway, Deadwater, &c.

What wonderful ſucceſs the preaching of the goſpel had by miniſters retiring thither under the perſecuting period, to the repreſſing, yea, almoſt extinguiſhing, the feuds, theſts, and robberies ſo connatural unto theſe places and people about the borders, has been worth a ſingular and ſerious obſervation.

Before his apprehending, he had preached with much ſucceſs at Blewcairn in Lauder muir, and ſeveral places in the Merſe and Teviotdale, eſpecially at Fogo muir, upon theſe words, Pſal. cii. *Thou ſhalt ariſe, and have mercy on Zion*, &c. After which he had a very remarkable eſcape from his enemies. After his return, upon a line from Mr Temple, he went to Berwick. But the news coming in the mean time there, that the Earl of Argyle was eſcaped from Edinburgh, cauſed no ſmall confuſion in that place; out of which he emerged; and at laſt having ſurmounted ſeveral difficulties, by means of his good friends and acquaintance, he got to the houſe of Mr Ogle, the outed miniſter of Berwick, now ſix miles from the place. He deſired him to ſtay till Sabbath was over, and perform an old promiſe of giving a ſermon to one Hall and his lady; to which he aſſented.

But going to bed after this confuſion, he being weary, fell aſleep, and dreamed that his houſe at Stanton-hall, more than thirty miles diſtant, was all on fire; which made him awake with no ſmall conſternation, reſolving to take journey home: but it not being time to riſe, he fell aſleep, and dreamed the ſame thing over again, awaking all in a ſweat. The doubling of

the

the dream he took for a clear call to go home; and telling the dream to Mr Ogle, who called it a maggot, he excuſed himſelf the beſt way he could to the laird and lady, to whom he was to preach, and went off. About a mile and a half from his own houſe, he met Torwoodlee's man, who ſaid, O Sir, you are long looked for at your houſe; which made him aſk, what was the matter? and if his family was all well! He anſwered, Yes; but there is a ſtranger, (viz. Argyle); and your wife longs to ſee you, and we have been for two days ſending about the country to find you.

After meeting, and ſome converſe, with his wife's conſent, who was now near her time, he undertook to do his beſt for bringing the Earl ſafe to London; and ſo he took Argyle, under the name of Mr Hope, along with him to Midburn Grange, where he was to preach that Sabbath; and on Monday he took him to a friend's houſe between Newcaſtle and Newburn, where he left Argyle, and went to Newcaſtle, and bought three horſes for him at his own expence, the Earl being then ſcarce of money: After which they came to Leeds, and then to Roderam, and took up there one night. From thence they ſet off, and at laſt arrived ſafe at London.

After ſtaying ſome time in London, Argyle ſet off to join with Monmouth in Holland, and Mr Veitch returned to his houſe in Stanton-hall. But the thing breaking out, he narrowly eſcaped being taken; and after lurking ſometimes in one place, and ſometimes in another, he was obliged to go over ſecretly to Holland, where he met with old friends and acquaintances, Monmouth, Argyle, Earl of Melvill, Polwart, Torwoodlee, and James Stuart. Monmouth and Argyle having agreed to make a deſcent at one time, the one to England and the other to Scotland, ſeveral of their friends were ſent over *incognito*, to warn their friends in both kingdoms to make ready. It was Mr Veitch's part to give Northumberland and the Scots borders notice. Mr Veitch had a verbal commiſſion from Argyle to procure money for buying arms, drums, colours, horſes, and taking on men, eſpecially Oliverian officers; ſomewhat of all which he did. But the matter taking air, he was obliged to hide himſelf near Reidſdale-head, even from his very friends, till the ſeaſon of appearing came, where he narrowly eſcaped being taken, while hid on Carter-hill, covered with a turf of heather, Colonel Struthers and Meldrum's troop being out in queſt of him and others.

But this enterpriſe failing, Argyle being defeated and taken in Scotland, and Monmouth in England, the deſign came to nothing; only Mr Veitch, beſides his time and trouble, (wherein he was in many dangers), loſt about L. 120 Sterling, and its intereſt;

intereſt; and Argyle's ſon, the late Duke, gave him repeated promiſes to reimburſe him; yet never was there any thing of this kind done, his kindneſs being ſoon forgot.

But prior to this affair of Monmouth and Argyle, one tyrants was cut off to make way for another. But as the death of King Charles II. is related by ſo many hiſtorians, it were needleſs to relate the whole affair here: Only the following circumſtances ſeem more full, and ſomewhat different from the accounts of the moſt part of writers in that period. The King's harlot, the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, (for ſo we may call her), being, by the Duke of York's direction, to give the King a treat on Sabbath night, was by him ſtored with wines, eſpecially claret, which the King loved. After he was drunk, they bribed his coffee-man to put a doſe of poiſon in his coffee, and then adviſed the Ducheſs to keep him all night; and likewiſe knowing that when he firſt awaked in the morning, he uſually called for his ſnuff, they hired the Ducheſs's chambermaid to put poiſoned ſnuff into his box. Accordingly, having drunk the coffee at night, in the morning he awoke, and cried out he was deadly ſick, and called for his box, and took a deal of it. Then growing worſe, he called for his ſervant, to put on his clothes; which doing, he ſtaggered and got to the window, and, leaning on it, cried, I am gone, I am poiſoned, have me to my chamber. The Duke getting notice, came running undreſſed to lament his fate; ſaying, Alas! Sir, what is the matter? To whom he anſwered, O! you know too well; and was in a paſſion at him. In the mean time, he called for an antidote againſt poiſon he had got from a German mountebank; but that could not be found, being taken out of the way: neither was his phyſician to be got, being, as was thought, out of town. All things failing, he being ſo enraged, made at his brother. But all entries being ſecured, in the mean time the Duke ſeeing him ſo enraged, and that the poiſon was not likely ſoon to do his turn, ſet four ruffians on him, which made him cry out; but they ſoon choked him with his cravat, and beat him inſtantly on the head, ſo that he died. It is ſaid, his head ſwelled bigger than two heads, and his body ſtunk, ſo that they were obliged to take him out in the night, and bury him *incognito* *.

But

* The moſt judicious hiſtorians grant, that Charles II. was poiſoned by the direction of the Papiſts: But Biſhop Burnet in his Hiſtory, and Dr Welwood in his Memoirs, ſay, the King had no ſuſpicions he was poiſoned. Burnet inſinuates, that his harlot the Ducheſs of Portſmouth, and her confeſſor, were the inſtruments, and that the King died in good terms with his brother. Dr Welwood, who gives both ſides, relates this ſtory: Some time the King, having drunk more liberally

But to return. After the defeat of Monmouth and Argyle, Mr Veitch was obliged to lurk for ſome time in a wood near Newcaſtle, until the ſtorm was a little calmed; and then he ventured to Newcaſtle, to ſee his wife and family, where he met with ſome of his Scots relations; and ſome other good people of the town were alſo there. They ſpent a part of the night in prayer, and mourning over the ſad caſe that the church and nation were now in, the moſt part fearing they were never like to ſee good days again.

After this, Mr Veitch being wearied with ſuch toil and confinement, went with a Nottingham merchant to Yorkſhire, and ſtaid ſome time in a town called Southcave. From thence he was invited to preach to the people of Beverly. Here he met with another remarkable deliverance; for the mayor and aldermen compaſſed the houſe where he was preaching, and cauſed the clerk mark down all their names: but Mr Veitch, by means of his landlord, got off under the name of William Robertſon; and ſo he eſcaped, and hid himſelf ſome time amongſt buſhes, and then went to a man's houſe two miles from town, where he preached out the reſt of his ſermon to ſome people that followed that way, and then went home with his landlord.

From thence Mr Veitch returned to Yorkſhire, where he met with another deliverance; for a Scots Jeſuit prieſt, knowing him, procured a warrant to apprehend him; but, by a divine providence, he eſcaped their hand, and ſo went toward Newcaſtle. From Newcaſtle he went to Nottingham. While there, King James's indemnity and liberty was proclaimed; and then he had a call from the people of Beverly to be their miniſter, which he complied with. At this place he had a numerous congregation, and ſeveral times he was invited to preach at Hull, ſix miles from thence. There the people declared, there was never ſuch a reformation in that place. Some of the juſtices of the peace in that place, being Papiſts, were greatly incenſed againſt it, and uſed all means to break his preaching there; but were oppoſed by the people. Mr Veitch never had more ſatisfaction of his miniſterial work, as he himſelf ſays, than in that place.

Having

berally than uſual, retired to the next room in the caſtle of Windſor, wrapt himſelf in his cloak, and fell aſleep on a couch. He was but a little time returned to the company, when a ſervant belonging to one of them lay down on the ſame couch, and was found ſtabbed dead with a poignard; nor was it ever known who did it. The matter was huſhed up, and no inquiry made. Mem. p. 88. But as to the circumſtances of his death, Mr Veitch no doubt had the advantage to know, as well as many others, being often at London, and acquainted with ſome who frequented the Court.

Having preached ſix or ſeven months there, and ſettled a meeting-houſe, and a people greatly reformed, he was ſtrongly invited to his native country, by thoſe who had accepted of the toleration then granted. And his wife being forward for his return, he took his leave of Beverly, a pleaſant city, having preached his farewell ſermon, where there were many tears ſhed. In his way home, he viſited his friends at Darntoun, who perſuaded him to ſtay ſome time, where he ſettled a congregation, and left one Mr Long for his ſucceſſor to that people. After all impediments were removed, he returned to his native land; where the people in the pariſhes of Oxnam, Creilland, Eckford, Linton, Morbattle, and Harnam, gave him a call to preach to them at Whitton-hall; unto which charge he entered in April 1688. Here he continued that ſummer, and ſometimes was invited to preach at Reidſdale, on the Engliſh ſide. But the Prince of Orange having landed in England, Nov. 4. 1688, the miniſters of Scotland who had been outed thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh, and called all their brethren to attend there, to conſult of matters.

It fell out unexpectedly to Mr Veitch, that the meeting voted him to preach the next day after he came, in the new meeting houſe over againſt Libberton's Wynd. This he was moſt averſe to, being a ſtranger to the tranſactions for the moſt part in Scotland for upwards of thirty years. But his reaſons not being heard, he was ſo perplexed what to do, that till eight o'clock, he could not find a text: but at length falling upon Pſal. cxix. 18. *Thou haſt trode down all that err from thy ſtatutes*, &c. he was taken up the whole night in thinking on it, without going to bed. When he came to the pulpit, ſeeing ſixteen of the old miniſters ſitting, and the congregation greatly increaſing, his fear increaſed alſo. However, he delivered his thoughts upon the ſubject, with reſpect to the then circumſtances, with which freedom and plainneſs as offended the prelates, who afterwards ſent him a meſſage, that ere long they reſolved to be even with him.—All the anſwer he returned them was, to put on their ſpurs.—Upon the other hand, he ſeemed to give ſome offence to the godly party, by ſome free expreſſions he had with reſpect to the preſent government, if Preſbytery was erected.

When the Preſbyterian church was reſtored, he had calls from ſeveral pariſhes, viz. one to Creilland, another to Melroſe, and a third to Peebles; which he was perſuaded by the Earl of Crawford and others to embrace: and yet he met with ſuch oppoſition there, from the old Duke of Queenſberry, that the church was ſo overawed as to looſe him from that charge: and he having a call from Edinburgh, one from Paiſley,

Paiſley, and another from Dumfries, the Aſſembly, hearing his averſion to Edinburgh, voted him to Dumfries, after he had been miniſter of Peebles full four years, from September 1690 to 1694, when he was ſettled or admitted to his miniſtry at Dumfries.

He left Peebles with great averſion, not only with reſpect to the pariſh, but the country round about; and, upon a new call, ſtruggled to be back; but loſt it only by four voices. However, he loſt all his legal ſtipend the four years, which, with the expences of ſuit, amounted to 10,000 merks. Mr Veitch's hard uſage from the Aſſembly, with their illegal removing him, merely to pleaſe the Duke, and to ſend him to Dumfries, made him reſolve to leave the nation, and refuſe to ſubmit to their ſentence. In the mean time his old friends in England, hearing this, ſent a gentleman to Peebles to bring him back to them. Mr Veitch went with him; but he refuſed to ſettle with them, till he had handſomely ended with the Commiſſion of the church, to whom the matter was referred. Upon his return, they perſuaded him to ſubmit; which at laſt he did, and continued miniſter in that place until the day of his death, which fell out about the year 1720, being then about eighty years of age.

From the foregoing account two things are conſpicuous: Firſt, that the whole of Mr Veitch's life, at leaſt during the perſecuting period, was attended with a train of remarkable occurrences of divine providence. Secondly, that in that time, he behoved to be a moſt powerful and awakening preacher, from the influence he had upon the manners or morals of thoſe who attended his ſermons. Nor is it any diſparagement to him, that that black-mouthed calumniator, in his Preſbyterian Eloquence Diſplayed, has publiſhed to the world, "That he murdered the bodies as well as ſouls of two or three perſons with one ſermon, becauſe, ſays he, preaching in the town of Jedburgh, he ſaid, "*There are two thouſand of you here, but I am ſure eighty of you will not be ſaved;*" upon which three of his ignorant hearers diſpatched themſelves ſoon after." Indeed, it muſt be granted, that, after the Revolution, in the latter end of his life, he became ſomewhat inimical and unfriendly to Diſſenters, (viz. Mr Hepburn), at leaſt ſome of thoſe who profeſſed to own and adhere unto the ſame cauſe and teſtimony that he himſelf had contended and ſuffered ſomewhat for. Whether this proceeded from the dotage of old age, (as ſome would have it), or from miſtaken principles, or any thing elſe, we cannot, and ſhall not at preſent determine.

JOHN

JOHN BALFOUR OF KINLOCH.

JOHN BALFOUR of Kinloch, ſometime called Burly, was a gentleman in Fife. He joined with the more faithful part of our late ſufferers; and although he was by ſome reckoned none of the moſt religious, yet he was always zealous and honeſt-hearted, courageous in every enterpriſe, and a brave ſoldier, ſeldom any eſcaping that came into his hands. He was the principal actor in killing that arch traitor to the Lord and his Chriſt, James Sharp. After which his goods and gear were inventoried by the ſheriff, and he forfeited in life and fortune, a reward of 10,000 merks offered to any that could apprehend him. He was a commanding officer at Bothwell and Drumclog. At Drumclog he was the firſt who, with his party, got over the ditch upon the enemy. At Bothwell he was ſtill among the more faithful part, and at the fight behaved with great gallantry. At that meeting at Loudon-hill, diſperſed May 5. 1681, it is ſaid, that he diſarmed one of Duke Hamilton's men with his own hand, taking a pair of fine piſtols belonging to the Duke from his ſaddle, telling him to tell his maſter, he would keep them till meeting. Afterwards, when the Duke aſked his man, what he was like? he told him, he was a little man, ſquint-eyed, and of a very fierce aſpect. The Duke ſaid, he knew who it was, and withal prayed, that he might never ſee his face, for if he ſhould, he was ſure he would not live long. After this he lurked moſtly among his ſuffering brethren; and a little before the Revolution went over to Holland, where he joined the Prince of Orange, afterwards King William, and having ſtill a deſire to be avenged upon thoſe who perſecuted the Lord's cauſe and people in Scotland, it is ſaid he obtained liberty from the Prince for that purpoſe, but died at ſea, before their arrival in Scotland. Whereby that deſign was never accompliſhed, and ſo the land was never purged by the blood of them who had ſhed innocent blood, according to the law of the Lord, Gen. ix. 6. *Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.*

MESS. ROBERT TRAILS.

MESS. ROBERT TRAILS, the father and ſon, deſerve a place among the Scots Worthies, as they were brought to much trouble for their faithfulneſs and zeal for our reformation-principles. Old Mr Robert Trail, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, along with Mr James Guthrie and others, met

met in a private houſe in Edinburgh, and aſſiſted in drawing up a humble addreſs and ſupplication to the King; but before it was finiſhed, they were apprehended by the managers of the times, and committed priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh, without a hearing. Matters went ſo high at that time, that a ſimple propoſal of petitioning the King for a redreſs of grievances was reckoned criminal. Mr Robert Trail was brought, Auguſt 1661, before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the parliament, where he delivered an excellent ſpeech in his own defence, and pointed out the cruelty and injuſtice then exerciſed, and the many falſe accuſations that were exhibited againſt him and his reverend brethren at that time. This excellent ſpeech of his may be ſeen in Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 73. After ſeven months impriſonment, he wrote to Mr Thomas Wylie miniſter at Kirkcudbright. He ſays, "I need not write to you how matters do here. This I muſt ſay, your impriſoned brethren are kindly dealt with by our kind Lord, for whoſe cauſe and intereſt we ſuffer; and if any of us be ſtraitened, it is not in him, for we have large allowance from him, could we take it. We know it fares the better with us, that you, and ſuch as you, mind us at the throne. We are waiting from day to day what men will do with us; at beſt we are expecting baniſhment; but our ſentence muſt proceed from the Lord; and whatſoever it ſhall be, it is good from him; and whitherſoever he ſhall ſend us, he will be with us, and ſhall let us know, that the earth is his, and the fulneſs thereof." This was the reſigned Chriſtian temper of theſe Worthies. He was afterwards baniſhed, and took refuge in Holland. On the 19th of July 1677, their perſecuting fury alſo broke out againſt his ſon, Mr Robert Trail. Being accuſed with holding field-conventicles, he was brought before the Council, where he acknowledged, that he had kept houſe-conventicles. But being aſked, if he had preached at field conventicles, he referred that to proof, becauſe the law made it criminal. He owned he had converſed with Mr Welch when on the Engliſh border, and that he was ordained to the miniſtry by Preſbyterian miniſters at London in 1670. But refuſing to clear himſelf by oath, he was therefore ſent to the Baſs; Major Johnſton got L. 1000 Scots for apprehending him. We have no account at what time he was releaſed; but he was afterwards an uſeful miniſter to a congregation of Diſſenters in London; where he continued many years, and laboured with great diligence, zeal, and ſucceſs. Here he publiſhed his Vindication of the Proteſtant Doctrine of Juſtification, prompted thereto by his zeal for that diſtinguiſhing doctrine of the reformation;

and his ſermons on the throne of grace and the Lord's prayer, at the earneſt deſire of thoſe who heard them. His ſermons on Heb. x. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. entitled, *A Stedfaſt Adherence to the Profeſſion of our Faith*, were publiſhed after his death, at the requeſt of many of his hearers. The ſimplicity and evangelical ſtrain of his works have been ſavoury to many, and will ever be ſo, while religion and ſcripture-doctrine are in requeſt.

MR ANDREW SIMPSON.

MR ANDREW SIMPSON, miniſter at Dryburgh, was a man who cared ſo little for worldly things, that he ſcarce knew the current coin of the country; but was much taken up with his Bible and prayer. He was a moſt free reprover of whatever he accounted ſinful; and on that account he was, by order of the parliament 1621, impriſoned in the caſtle of Dumbarton, where the Lord bleſſed his preaching and prayer with the converſion from Popery of the lady of Sir John Stuart, the captain of the caſtle. After a while, he was liberated, and returned to Dryburgh, where, and at Merton, he preached till his death. One time, when walking alone, he fell and broke his leg, and was found ſitting with his broken leg in his arm, crying, Bleſſed be the Lord! O bleſſed be his name! and ſuch like aſcriptions: and when they aſked him, why he ſaid ſo, he anſwered, We ought to bleſs the Lord for all that befalls us, and that I brake not my neck rather than my leg.

MR WILLIAM SCOTT.

MR WILLIAM SCOTT, miniſter at Cupar in Fife, was a wiſe, learned, and prudent man. He underſtood the laws, and cuſtoms of the nation among the beſt of his time. He was one of the eight miniſters called up by the King before the pretended Aſſembly, which brought in Epiſcopacy in 1610, and by his prudence was very helpful to his brethren; ſo that their enemies got no advantage, and he acquired both love and eſteem by it. It is ſaid, that the Earl of Saliſbury, having highly eſteemed him, offered him a conſiderable penſion if he would ſtay in England; but he got liberty to return home, and choſe that rather than the Earl's offer. He died about the year 1642. He wrote the Hiſtory of our Church from the year 1610 till Perth Aſſembly 1618.

An

An ABSTRACT *of a* SPEECH *delivered by Lord* WARRISTON, *before the Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter, after the delivery of ſome Queries from the Parliament to them.*

MR PROLOCUTOR, I am a ſtranger. I will not meddle with the parliament-privileges of another nation, nor the breaches thereof, but as a Chriſtian, under one common Lord, a ruling elder in another church, and a parliament-man in another kingdom, having commiſſion from both that church and ſtate, and at the deſire of this kingdom aſſiſting in their debates, intreat for your favour and patience to expreſs my thoughts of what is before you.

In my judgement, that is before you which concerns Chriſt and theſe kingdoms moſt, and above all, and which will be the chiefeſt mean to end or continue theſe troubles. And that not only ſpeaking *humaniter*, and looking to the diſpoſition of theſe kingdoms, but eſpecially in regard of the divine diſpenſation, which hath been ſo ſpecial and ſenſible in the riſe and continuance of theſe commotions, as I can neither be perſuaded that they were raiſed for, or will be calmed upon the ſettlement of civil rights and privileges, either of kings or princes, whatſoever may ſeem to be our preſent ſucceſs; but I am convinced they have a higher riſe from, and for the higheſt end, the ſettling of the crown of Chriſt in theſe iſlands, to be propagated from iſland to continent; and until King Jeſus be ſet down on his throne, with his ſceptre in his hand, I do not expect God's peace, and ſo not ſolid peace from men in theſe kingdoms. But eſtabliſh that, and a durable peace will be found to follow that ſovereign truth. Sir, let us lay to heart what is before us, a work which concerns God and man moſt of any thing in agitation now under the ſun, and for which we will one day be called to a more ſtrict account than for any other paſſage of our life. Let us both tremble and rejoice when we reflect upon what is under debate, and now in our hands.

I was glad to hear the parliament confeſs their willingneſs to receive and obſerve whatſoever ſhall be ſhown from the word of God to be Chriſt's or his church's rights or due; albeit I was ſorry to ſee any, in the delivery thereof, intermix any of their own perſonal aſperity, any aſperſions upon this Aſſembly, or reflections on another nation; ſo in this day of law for Chriſt, wherein juſtice is offered, if he get not right in not ſhewing his patent from his father, and his church's from himſelf, it will be counted your fault.

Sir, all Chriſtians are bound to give a teſtimony to every truth, when called to it; but ye are the immediate ſervants of

the Moſt High, Chriſt's proctors and heralds, whoſe proper function it is to proclaim his name, and preſerve his offices, and aſſert his rights. Chriſt has had many teſtimonies given to his prophetical and prieſtly offices by the pleadings and ſuf. ferings of his ſaints, and in theſe latter days, ſeems to require the ſame unto his kingly office. A king loves a teſtimony to his crown beſt of any, as that which is tendereſt to him; and confeſſors and martyrs for Chriſt's crown are the moſt royal and moſt ſtately of any ſtate-martyrs; ſo, altho' Chriſt's kingdom be not of this world, and his ſervants did not fight therefor when he was to ſuffer, yet it is in this world, and for this end was he born. To give a teſtimony to this truth, among others, were we born, and muſt not be aſhamed of it, nor deny it; but confeſs and avouch it, by pleading, doing, and ſuffering for it, even when what is in agitation ſeems moſt to oppoſe it, and therefore requires a ſeaſonable teſtimony. But it lies upon you, Sir, who have both your calling from Chriſt for it, and at this time a particular calling from many, that which the Honourable Houſes require from you at ſuch a time, when the ſettlement of religion thereon, and when it is the very controverſy of the times; and the civil magiſtrates not only call you before them to aver the truth therein, but alſo giveth you a good example, cometh before you out of tenderneſs to their civil truſt and duty, to maintain the privileges of parliament; to give a teſtimony aſſentatory to their civil rights and privileges; and to forewarn you leſt you break the ſame, and incur civil premunires. Sir, this ſhould teach us to be as tender, zealous, and careful, to aſſert Chriſt and his church, their privileges and rights, and to forewarn all leſt they endanger their ſouls by encroaching thereon; and leſt their omiſſions and remiſſneſs bring eternal premunires upon them, let all know that the ſpirit of your Maſter is upon you, and that Chriſt hath ſervants who will not only make pulpits to ring with the ſound of his prerogative, but alſo, if they ſhall be called to it, make a flame of their bodies burning at the ſtake for a teſtimony to it, carry it aloft through the earth, like the voice in Sicily, that *Chriſt lives and reigns alone in his church*, and will have all done therein according to his word and will, and that he has given no ſupreme headſhip over his church to any Pope, King, or Parliament whatſoever.

Sir, you are often deſired to remember the bounds of your commiſſion from man, and not to exceed the ſame. I am confident you will make as much conſcience not to be deficient in the diſcharge of your commiſſion from Chriſt. But now, Sir, you have a commiſſion from God and man together, to diſcuſs that truth, That Chriſt is a King, and has a

kingdom

kingdom in the external government of his church, and that he has ſet down laws and offices, and other ſubſtantials thereof; and a part of the kingdom for the which to come we daily pray, (as Perkins ſhews well). We muſt not now before men mince, hold up, or conceal, any thing neceſſary for this teſtimony; all theſe would ſeem to me to be retiring and flying, and not to flow from the high ſpirit of the Moſt High, who will not flinch for one hour, nor quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Chriſt's robe-royal. Theſe would ſeem effects of deſertion, tokens of being aſhamed, afraid, or politically diverted; and all theſe, and every degree of them, Sir, I am confident will be very far from the thoughts of every one here, who by their votes and petitions, according to their proteſtations at their entry, have ſhewed themſelves ſo zealous and forward to give their teſtimony, albeit they eaſily ſaw it would not be very acceptable to the powers on earth, who would hamper, ſtamp, and halve it. But would ye anſwer to that queſtion, If this were a parliament, and if it was a full and free one, would he not, and ſhould he not, be eſteemed a great breaker of privileges, and *contemptor curiæ?* albeit we are not ſo wiſe, yet let us be as tender and jealous in our day and generation. Truly, Sir, I am confident you will not be ſo in love with a peaceable and external profeſſion of any thing that may be granted to the church, as to conceal, diſclaim, or invert your Maſter's right. That were to loſe the ſubſtance for a circumſtance, to deſert and dethrone Chriſt, to ſerve yourſelves, and enthrone others in his place: a tenant doing ſo to his lord or landlord forfeits all. Ye are commanded to be faithful in little, but now ye are commanded to be faithful in much; for albeit the ſalvation of ſouls be called *cura curarii*, the welfare and happineſs of churches (made up of theſe) is far more; but the kingdom of Chriſt is *optimum maximum;* and to have it now under your debate, as it is the greateſt honour God doth beſtow upon an Aſſembly, ſo it is the greateſt danger; for according now as God ſhall aſſiſt or direct you, you may and will be the inſtruments of the greateſt good or evil on earth. Let us do all in, with, for, and by Chriſt. Remember the account we have to make to him, who ſubjects the ſtanding or falling of his crown in this iſland to our debate. I ſpeak *humaniter* for *diviniter*, I know it is impoſſible; and albeit we ſhould all prove falſe and faint-hearted, he can and will ſoon raiſe up other inſtruments to aſſert, publiſh, and propagate his right to a *forum conſiſtorii*. He will have it thoroughly pled and judged betwixt his kingdom and the kingdoms of the earth. And ſeeing he has begun to conquer, he will prevail over all that ſtand in his way, whether

whether Pope, King, or Parliament, that will claim any part of his Headſhip, ſupreme prerogative, and monarchy over his own church.

Sir, ſome may think you have had a deſign in abſtaining ſo long from aſſerting the divine right of church-government, now to come in with it truly. Sir, I look upon this check as a good providence for your great ſparing and abſtaining in that point, and muſt bear witneſs to many paſſages of God's good hand in it, in not ſuffering us to make a ſtand of our deſires concerning religion, either in Scotland or here, albeit we have often ſet down *menſura voti* to ourſelves; but he has as often moved us ſtep after ſtep to trace back our defections, and make the laſt innovations a beſom to ſweep out the former, and the King refuſed to be a mean to engage in a covenant with himſelf and others, and ſo has drawn us, againſt our wills, and beyond our deſires, to perform our duty, and to give a teſtimony to his truth, that much of God and divine wiſdom and deſign, and little of man and his politic projects, might be ſeen in the beginning, progreſs, and continuance of the whole work, by this good hand of God: And for this end, I hope theſe queries are brought to your hand at this time.

Sir, your ſervin; the parliament a while, I am confident, has been and will be ſtill, not that they may ſerve you, but for to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that parliament will glory more in their ſubordination and ſubſervience to him, than in the empire and command over the world.

Sir, we may hear much of the breach of privilege, and of the covenant, in relation to civil right: Let us remember in the covenant the three orders in the title and preface, three main duties in the body, and the three effects in the cloſe.—The covenant begins with the advancement, and ends with the enlargement of the kingdom of Chriſt, as the ſubſtantials and over-word of the whole.

The firſt article of the ſeven is Chriſt, an article like *dies Dominica* in the week, all the reſt are *in Domino*, and ſubordinate thereunto: And all laws contrary to the will of Chriſt are acknowledged to be void in his kingdom; and ſo they ſhould, with far greater reaſon than the conſtable's orders againſt the ordinance of parliament are void in law. But, Sir, Chriſt's throne is higheſt, and his privileges ſupreme as only King and Head of his church, albeit kings and magiſtrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be balanced with his, nor poſts to be ſet up againſt his, nor Korahs to be allowed againſt his Aarons, nor Uzziahs againſt his Azariahs. Is it ſo ſmall a thing to have the ſword? but they muſt have

the keys alſo. Truly, Sir, I am confident that the parliament, and both nations, will acknowledge themſelves engaged under this authority, and as they would not be drawn from it; for we muſt deny our places, take up our croſs, lay aſide our love to father or mother, paternal or civil, yea, lay down our lives, to aver and confeſs this truth againſt all allurements and terrors, ſo ye would never endeavour to draw us to any other; and whatſoever reflection to the contrary was inſinuated by the deliverer of this meſſage, I cannot but impute it to perſonal paſſion, which long ago was known to the world; but will never believe the Honourable Houſe will allow thereof, as being far beneath their wiſdom, and contrary to your merit.

And, Sir, ſeeing theſe queries are before you, I am confident that whatever diverſity of opinion may be among you in any particular, you will all hold out Chriſt's kingdom diſtinct from the kingdoms of the earth, and that he has appointed the government of his own honſe, and ſhould rule the ſame; and that none of this Aſſembly, even for the gaining of their deſires in all the points of difference, would, by their ſilence, concealment, and connivance, weaken, commutate, or ſell, a part of this fundamental truth, this ſovereign intereſt of Chriſt; and that ye will all concur to demonſtrate the ſame by clear paſſages of ſcripture, or neceſſary conſequences therefrom, and by conſtant practice of the apoſtles, which are rules unto us.

Sir, I will cloſe with remembering you of two paſſages of your letter * ſent, by order of the Houſe of Commons, to the General Aſſembly of the church of Scotland, that you will ſet out ſuch diſcipline as, to the utmoſt of your power, you may exalt Chriſt the only Lord over the church, his own houſe, in all his offices, and preſent the church as a chaſte virgin to Chriſt; and for this end that you were not reſtrained by the Houſes in your votes and reſolutions, nor bound up to the ſenſe of others, nor to carry on a private deſign in a civil way, but by your oath were ſecured againſt all flattering of your judgement, and engaged thereby, according to the Houſe's deſire, to uſe all freedom becoming the integrity of your conſciences, the weight of the cauſe, and the integrity and honour of ſuch an Aſſembly. I will no more, Sir, trouble you, but with one word upon the whole matter, to deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider, if this buſineſs, whereon the eyes of God are fixed, deſerves not a ſpecial day of humiliation and prayer for the Lord's extraordinary aſſiſtance and direction of this Aſſembly.

BATTLE

* This letter was read Auguſt 17. 1643, in the Scots General Aſſembly, as it ſtands in the collection of the acts thereof from 1638 to 1649, page 205.

BATTLE OF BOTHWELL-BRIDGE.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT *of the* CAUSES *of the* RISING *and* DEFEAT *at* BOTHWELL, *in the year* 1679.

FROM what has been already related in this work, we may eaſily form a judgement of the diſmal ſtate of the nation, on account of the arbitrary proceedings of thoſe who had the management of affairs, and the unaccountable ſeverities which many innocent people endured.

The rigorous and military execution of the ſanguinary laws, now in force, could not but exaſperate thoſe who were by this means robbed of their liberties and properties, and of every thing that was dear and valuable, eſpecially as oppreſſions of every kind were ſtill increaſing. All legal methods of redreſs were cut off from the poor ſuffering people. What then could they do? Surely one may think, that it was incumbent upon them to fall upon meaſures for getting from under the feet of their cruel oppreſſors: for who would chooſe to continue in miſery, if they could, by any lawful and juſtifiable method, extricate themſelves from it? They were moſt averſe to take arms, until they were forced to it in their own defence. And though they were obliged to have recourſe to this expedient, yet they never deſired to have an opportunity of making uſe of it; but, being declared rebels on this account, they were conſtrained to perſevere in it, till the fury of the perſecutors drove them to the riſing we are now to give an account of.

When they found that ſmall meetings were more expoſed to danger than greater aſſemblies, they altered their method, and reſolved to aſſemble in one meeting, in thoſe places which they apprehended ſtood in moſt need of the goſpel, and where they might meet together with greater ſafety. They who thus aſſembled were generally thoſe who were averſe to the indulgence, and the accepters of it; and many came to it armed. The orders given to the ſoldiers, and the ſevere laws made on account of the Primate's death, tended to increaſe their numbers; but the diviſions occaſioned by the unhappy indulgence were of great diſadvantage to them, and at laſt proved their ruin.

When the numbers of the perſecuted party were conſiderably augmented, Mr Robert Hamilton, brother to the Laird of Preſtoun, and ſome others, moved, that ſomething might be done as a teſtimony againſt the iniquity of the times. Accordingly, after ſerious conſideration and prayer, they reſol-

ved to continue to hear the goſpel, notwithſtanding all the dangers to which they might be expoſed, and to publiſh to the world their teſtimony to the truth and cauſe which they owned, and againſt the ſins and defections of the times. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ſaid Mr Hamilton, Mr Thomas Douglas, one of their preachers, and about eighty armed men, were pitched upon to go to ſome public place to publiſh their declaration, and burn the papers mentioned in it. They judged that the 29th of May was the moſt proper time for putting this in execution. Accordingly, the afternoon of that day, they came to Rutherglen, a ſmall royal burgh two miles from Glaſgow, where they extinguiſhed the bonfires, put their reſolution in practice, and affixed a copy of their declaration to the market-croſs; the following is, according to the copy thereof, ſubjoined to the informatory vindication.

"As the Lord hath been pleaſed ſtill to keep and preſerve his intereſt in this land, by the teſtimonies of ſome faithful witneſſes from the beginning; ſo, in our day, ſome have not been wanting, who, through the greateſt hazards, have added their teſtimonies to thoſe who have gone before them, by ſuffering death, baniſhment, tortures, forfeitures, impriſonments, and what not, from a perfidious and cruel adverſary to the church and kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt in the land: therefore we, owning the ſame intereſt of Chriſt, according to the word of the Lord, and the national and ſolemn league and covenant, deſire to add our teſtimony to the teſtimonies of the Worthies that has gone before us, (though we be unworthy, yet hoping we are true members of the church of Scotland), and that againſt all things done prejudicial to his intereſt, from the beginning of the work of reformation, eſpecially from 1648 to 1660, but more particularly from the ſaid year 1660, and downwards, againſt the acts following. As againſt the act of ſupremacy, the declaration whereby our covenants were condemned; the act for the everſion of the eſtabliſhed government of the church, and for eſtabliſhing of abjured Prelacy; the act reſciſſory of all acts of parliaments and aſſemblies for eſtabliſhing the government of the church according to the word; the act of Glaſgow putting the ſame in execution, whereby, at one time, were violently caſt out above three hundred miniſters, without any legal procedure; likewiſe the act for appointing an holy anniverſary-day to be kept every 29th of May, for giving thanks for the ſetting up an uſurped power, deſtroying the intereſt of Chriſt in the land, whereby the creature is ſet up to be worſhipped in the room of our great

Redeemer, and a power is aſſumed which is proper to the Lord only; for the appointing of ordinances in his church, as particularly the government thereof, and the keeping of holidays, belongeth to no prince, prelate, nor perſon on earth, but only to our Lord Redeemer. And farther, we give our teſtimony againſt all ſinful and unlawful acts emitted and executed, publiſhed and proſecuted by them, againſt our covenanted reformation. And, for confirmation of this our teſtimony, we do here this day, being the 29th of May 1679, publicly and moſt juſtly burn the foreſaid acts at this croſs of Rutherglen, being the chief burgh of the nether-ward of Clydeſdale, as they perfidiouſly and blaſphemouſly have burnt our holy covenants through ſeveral cities of theſe covenanted kingdoms. We hope none will take exception at our not ſubſcribing this our teſtimony, being ſo ſolemnly given; for we are ready to do it, if neceſſary, and to enlarge it with all our faithful ſuffering brethren in the land."

When this declaration was publiſhed, Mr Hamilton and the reſt retired from Rutherglen towards Evandale and Newmills. This affair made a great noiſe both at Glaſgow and Edinburgh. Mr Graham of Claverhouſe, (afterwards Viſcount of Dundee), having unlimited powers to kill and deſtroy all he found in arms, came ſuddenly upon the town of Hamilton on Saturday afternoon, the 31ſt of May, and in that neighbourhood ſeized Mr John King, and about fourteen others, who were not in arms, nor had any thing laid to their charge. They who eſcaped, and ſome who joined them in order to reſcue Mr King, repaired to the meeting, which they heard was to be at Loudon-hill next day, expecting aſſiſtance from thence.

Mean while Claverhouſe, having likewiſe intelligence of that meeting, and reſolving to diſperſe them, marched early from Hamilton on Sabbath morning the firſt of June, and carried his priſoners with him bound two and two, his men driving them before them like ſo many ſheep. Public worſhip was begun by Mr Douglas when they were informed of Claverhouſe's approach. Wherefore all who were armed reſolved to leave the meeting, face the ſoldiers, and if poſſible relieve the priſoners. Accordingly, about 40 horſe and 150 or 200 foot came up with Claverhouſe and his party near Drumclog, and after a ſhort and cloſe engagement defeated Claverhouſe, and reſcued the priſoners. Claverhouſe had his horſe ſhot under him, and narrowly eſcaped; above 20 of the ſoldiers were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners, whom they releaſed upon their being diſarmed. The country-men loſt not above two or three.

The

The country-people, after this action, reſolved, ſince they could not ſeparate without evident hazard, to keep together till they ſaw how matters would turn out. Mr Hamilton marched that night to Hamilton, and Claverhouſe eſcaped to Glaſgow, and alarmed the ſoldiers there. Next day Mr Hamilton, and thoſe who joined them in their march, being too much fluſhed with their ſucceſs, marched to Glaſgow, and entered the town about ten o'clock; but after ſix or eight were killed, and two or three wounded, they were obliged to quit the place, and retire to Hamilton, where they pitched a ſort of a camp.

Such was the inhumanity of the ſoldiers, that ſeven dead bodies lay in the ſtreet from eleven in the forenoon till night; and when they were taken into houſes to be dreſſed for their burial, the ſoldiers came and ſtripped them of their dead-clothes; nay, when they permitted them to be buried, none durſt appear to perform this ſervice but women, whom, notwithſtanding, the ſoldiers attacked, and cut the palls with their ſwords. And when the women uſed their plaids for palls, the ſoldiers took their plaids from them. In ſhort, they were obliged to ſet the coffins in the alms-houſe, near the High Church, where they continued till the ſoldiers left Glaſgow.

Early on the 3d of June the Council met, and, having received a falſe account of thoſe tranſactions, iſſued a proclamation againſt the *rebels*, as they called them. The Council iſſued another proclamation, ordering the militia to rendezvous, and to join and act with the regular forces, under ſevere penalties; and ordering all the heritors and freeholders to attend the King's hoſt: and made all preparations they judged neceſſary for ſuppreſſing the *rebellion*, as it was termed.

Same day, Lord Roſs, and the officers in Glaſgow, finding that the gathering of the country-people ſtill increaſed, marched with the forces to Kilſyth, and carried with them in carts ſome of the wounded country-men, who fell into their hands, and about the 6th were joined by the Earl of Linlithgow at Larber-muir; but, being falſely informed that the weſt-country army was 8000 ſtrong, they wrote to the Council, that it was the general ſenſe of the officers, that his Majeſty ſhould be applied to for aſſiſtance from England.

Meanwhile, matters were ſo managed at Court, that the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh was pitched upon to command an army for ſuppreſſing this inſurrection. When the Council received the news of this, they, on the 15th, wrote to Court, and propoſed that Dalziel might be made lieutenant-general under the Duke.

About the middle of this month, Lord Macdonald, a profeſſed Papiſt, and the Macleans, having for ſome time ravaged the lands of the Earl of Argyle, ſent a petition to the Council, offering their ſervice in ſuppreſſing the rebels in the weſt, whoſe addreſſes, ſay they, we have rejected, and praying that the Earl of Argyle might be required, in the mean time, to deſiſt, &c.

The ſucceſs they met with at Drumclog, gave opportunity to many to join them from all quarters, conſidering the neceſſity there was to aſſiſt them in this extremity, and that themſelves were liable to the ſame common danger from their enraged enemies. They never, as Mr Wodrow thinks, exceeded 4000, though Echard would have them to be 17,000, when they were routed at Bothwell; but then many were but ill-armed, and it was their loſs that they had not officers who underſtood the art of war.

When the King's forces left Glaſgow, Mr Welch and ſeveral others came thither from Carrick, and interred the bodies of thoſe who had been killed in the late attempt, together with the heads of the ſufferers for Pentland. They ſhewed the like kindneſs to the heads and hands of thoſe which had been ſet up at Kilmarnock, Irvine, and Ayr, and were well received by the good people every where; but the diviſions that broke out among them occaſioned the defeat of their deſigns at this time.

The principal thing they had in view was, to publiſh a declaration to the world, ſhewing the reaſons of their conduct. Mr Hamilton, who took upon him the command, Mr Douglas, and Mr Cargill, &c. were of opinion, that the indulgence ſhould be condemned; but this was oppoſed by Mr Welch, the Laird of Kaitlock, and others: but Mr Hamilton and his adherents being more numerous, the following general declaration was agreed to by the majority.

"We, who are here providentially convened in our own defence, for preventing and removing the miſtakes and miſapprehenſions of all, eſpecially of thoſe whom we wiſh to be and hope are friends, do declare our preſent purpoſes and endeavours to be only in vindication and defence of the true reformed religion in its profeſſion and doctrine, as we ſtand obliged thereunto by our national and ſolemn league and covenants, and that ſolemn acknowledgement of ſins, and engagement to duties, made and taken in the year 1648, declaring againſt Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, and all things depending thereupon."

At another meeting, Mr Hamilton, and thoſe of his ſentiments, moved, that they might obſerve a day of faſting and humiliation

humiliation before they ſhould be engaged with the enemy. They who were of different ſentiments from Mr Hamilton would not agree to his reaſons of humiliation, and ſo no faſt was kept. And thus diviſions broke this little army, before they were broken by the enemy.

When the cauſe of their appearing and continuing in arms came to be conſidered at a meeting of their officers, which they called a *council of war*, Mr Hamilton and his adherents were for having it ſtated upon the footing of the Rutherglen declaration; but they who favoured the indulgence propoſed, that the King's authority ſhould be expreſsly owned, according to the 3d article of the ſolemn league and covenant. Againſt this it was argued, that, as they had made no declaration againſt him, ſo they muſt be excuſed, and not urged to declare poſitively for him; eſpecially as he was now in a ſtated oppoſition to the intereſt of Chriſt, and had, upon the matter, declared war againſt his people, and all the preſent oppoſition, cruelty, and perſecution in Scotland, for redreſs of which they were now appearing, were carried on in his name. The covenants, they ſaid, only bound them to him, in the preſervation and defence of the true religion, and the liberties of the kingdoms: but the King had actually overturned the true religion, ſet up Prelacy and Eraſtianiſm, ruined the covenanted work of reformation, invaded the liberties of the kingdom, perſecuted to the death the aſſerters of both, and plainly broke the conditions of government ſworn at his coronation. To this it was anſwered, That, in 1638, the Aſſembly and covenanters owned the King's authority, though he had declared war againſt them: That this method of throwing off the King's authority, would obſtruct the redreſs of their grievances, and fruſtrate the deſign of their appearance. But here the reader muſt obſerve, that Mr Hamilton and his adherents propoſed no declaration againſt the King's lawful authority, only would not poſitively mention him or his intereſt in the declaration: and it is certain, that what they aſſerted, concerning the King's oppoſition to the true religion, &c. was fact. How far their inference was juſt, muſt be left with the reader. However, they who oppoſed Mr Hamilton and his adherents ſo far prevailed, as on the 13th of June to get a declaration publiſhed at Glaſgow, called the *Hamilton Declaration*, wherein the King's intereſt is expreſsly aſſerted. The reader may eaſily ſee, that this little army muſt have laboured under great diſadvantages, from their diviſions when the enemy was coming upon them.

As they had been for ſome days about Hamilton, ſo it will be proper to return to the King's army. The army under the command

command of the Earl of Linlithgow was cantoned about Edinburgh, and on the 17th they were at Kirkhill-park belonging to Lord Cardroſs, who ſuffered much at this time by the ſoldiers. On the 18th, the Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth came to Edinburgh, and was admitted a privy-counſellor. On the 19th, the Duke went to the army, but marched ſlowly towards Hamilton. Next day he ſent to the Council, complaining that their march was retarded for want of proviſions, which were accordingly ſent to him. But ſome think the reaſons of his Grace's ſlow motions were, becauſe he expected ſome application to be made to him by thoſe now in arms.

On the 20th, the Council received a letter from the King, approving of their proceedings, and requiriug that they would proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword, and all other extremities of war. Theſe were orders our managers were ready enough to obey; accordingly they tranſmitted a copy of his Majeſty's letter to the Duke, whoſe army then lay within two miles of the Kirk of Shots, and was about ten thouſand ſtrong, which was more than twice the number of thoſe they had to deal with.

There were, at this time, pains taken to diſpoſe thoſe in arms to lay before the Duke their grievances, with profeſſions of loyalty to the King; but their diſcords ſtill increaſing did a great deal of damage, for the time of action approached, and their numbers decreaſed before the King's army came up. When they heard of Monmouth's arrival, a motion was made to model their army, and pitch upon ſuch officers as were beſt ſkilled in military affairs. About this time a perſon unknown came into one of their meetings with a paper, as he ſaid, from ſome miniſters and others, which they earneſtly deſired all might ſign. The tenor of it was, "We, the officers of the Preſbyterian army, do hereby declare, That we have no intention or deſign to overturn the government, civil or eccleſiaſtical, whereunto we are ſolemnly ſworn by our national and ſolemn league and covenant; and that it is our judgement and opinion, that all matters now in controverſy be foreborn and referred to be determined by their proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimited Parliament, and a lawful General Aſſembly." But both theſe propoſals were dropped for a time.

On Saturday the 21ſt, the officers met, when thoſe who were not of the ſentiments of Mr Hamilton and his adherents were moſt numerous, and their debates ran higher than ever, though the King's forces were almoſt in view. At this meeting it was urged, that all places in the army ſhould be declared vacant, and officers harmonioufly choſen, that ſo they might be entirely united in the time of action. Mr Hamilton

and

and thoſe of his way of thinking, declared their willingneſs, on condition of the right ſtating of the quarrel. Upon this the indulgence was again brought upon the carpet, and the diſpute was carried to ſuch a pitch, that Mr Hamilton, John Paton, William Carmichael, Andrew Turnbull, &c. left the meeting. They who remained chooſed a new preſes and clerk, and entered upon buſineſs; but were unwilling to nominate officers when ſo many had withdrawn. However, being acquainted with Monmouth's willingneſs to receive application from them, and that being an affair which could admit of no delay, they unanimouſly voted a ſupplication to his Grace, wherein, after giving a general account of their grievances, they prayed that ſome of their number might have liberty, under ſafe conduct, to come and lay before him their grievances and requeſts.

On Sabbath the 22d, the Duke and his army were come to Bothwell-muir, and their advanced guards to Bothwell-town, within a quarter of a mile from the bridge. The country-men lay encamped on the ſouth of the river Clyde in Hamilton-muir, and had an advanced party ready to diſpute the paſſage at Bothwell-bridge, if the King's army ſhould attempt it.—Early that morning, Mr David Hume, the Laird of Kaitloch, and ſome ſay Mr John Welch in diſguiſe, went to the Duke with the ſupplication. They had eaſy acceſs, and, beſides the ſupplication, prayed, "That they might be allowed the free exerciſe of religion, and to attend goſpel-ordinances diſpenſed by their own faithful Preſbyterian miniſters without moleſtation; that a free Parliament and a free General Aſſembly, without the clogs of oaths and declarations, ſhould be allowed to meet for ſettling affairs both in church and ſtate; and that all thoſe who now are or have been in arms ſhould be indemnified." The Duke heard them patiently, but refuſed to treat with them till they had laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the King's mercy. He ſent them back to their friends, and ordered them to bring an anſwer in half an hour at fartheſt. In ſhort, when the commiſſioners came to the army, they renewed their debates, and ſo no anſwer was returned.

The King's troops in the mean time had free liberty to plant their cannon; and Lord Livingſton began the attack on the bridge with the foot-guards, the country-men ſtood their ground near an hour, and defended the bridge with much gallantry. Hackſtoun of Rathillet, one of their commanders, ſhewed a good deal of bravery upon this occaſion; but their ammunition failing them, and not being properly ſupported, they were obliged to quit the bridge where their main ſtrength lay. Upon this the Duke ordered the whole army to paſs the

bridge

bridge with the cannon before them, and ſoon after the whole weſt-country army was routed.

Thus the *rebellion* at Bothwell, as it was called, was ſuppreſſed. There cannot be any juſt account given of the number of the ſlain, becauſe they were murdered up and down the fields as the ſoldiers met them. It was reckoned 400 were killed, and 1200 ſurrendered priſoners on the muir, who were not only diſarmed and ſtripped almoſt naked, but made to lie down flat on the ground, and not ſuffered to change that poſture. And if any of them did ſo much as raiſe himſelf a little, he was ſhot dead in an inſtant. There had been a much greater ſlaughter, had it not been for the Duke, and the intereſt of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen at that time with his Grace. Nevertheleſs great were the ſeverities uſed by the ſoldiers, of which the following are glaring inſtances.—Mr William Gordon of Earlſtoun, having his affairs to ſettle, could not join the country-army, but ſent his ſon Mr Alexander before, who was in the action. Mr William not knowing of the diſaſter of the weſt-country army, and riding as quickly as he could to join them, was met by a party of Engliſh dragoons, and, refuſing to ſurrender, was killed on the ſpot. His friends could not get him buried with the reſt of his family, and therefore he lies interred in the church-yard of Glaſſerton. A pillar was erected over his grave, but no inſcription was ſuffered to be upon it. Mr Alexander Gordon, one of the predeceſſors of this ancient family, entertained the diſciples of the great Wickliff, and had a New Teſtament in the vulgar tongue, which they uſed to read in meetings in the woods near Airds. Mr (afterwards Sir) Alexander Gordon narrowly eſcaped at this time, by means of one of his tenants, who, knowing him as he rode through Hamilton after the defeat, made him diſmount, put his horſe-furniture into a dunghill- and obliged him to put on women's clothes, and rock the cradle, by which means he was preſerved.

Several were murdered in cold blood by the ſoldiers that ſame day on the road near Hamilton. They were going to hear ſermon in the camp, not knowing that the ſoldiers had not over the river, particularly James Scouller and Gavin Semple, in the pariſh of Glaſsford, John Browning, Robert Stobo, William Hamilton, Robert Steil, William Pate, and Archibald Dick, all of the pariſh of Evandale, and Robert Finlay in that of Stonehouſe, though they had no arms. Next day, Arthur Inglis in Cambuſnethan, reading his Bible in a furrow, was looked upon as a Whig by the ſoldiers who happened to perceive him, and therefore one of them fired at a

diſtance, but miſſed him. The good man looked about, and not offering to move, the ſoldiers came and clave him through the ſcull, and ſo diſpatched him; and indeed they ſcarcely ſpared any they met with near the field of battle.

Dreadful were the conſequences of this fatal action; and had it not been for Monmouth's lenity, they had been much greater; for ſome of the officers propoſed to burn Glaſgow, Hamilton, and the country round Bothwell bridge: but the General rejected the motion with indignation. Moſt of the gentlemen in the weſtern ſhires were brought to inexpreſſible trouble. Sir Thomas Stuart of Cultneſs, ſon to Sir James Stuart, who was Provoſt of Edinburgh, was obliged to retire to Holland, orders being iſſued for apprehending him, though neither he nor any of his ſervants were there.

Dalziel's commiſſion to be lieutenant-general came down on the day of battle. The Laird of Lundin brought the firſt news of the action to the Council, who immediately ſent diſpatches to Lauderdale, and wrote to Colonel Struthers in Northumberland, to ſecure the borders, ſtop and impriſon the rebels, and gave orders where they thought it proper to accompliſh this end.

The priſoners taken at Bothwell were ſent to Edinburgh, among whom was Mr John Kid. In their journey they were generally tied two and two, made a gazing-ſtock in the places through which they paſſed, and expoſed to the cruel mockings of the profane, who ſaid, "Where is now your God? Take him up now, and Mr Welch, who ſaid you ſhould win the day;" though Mr Welch never ſaid any ſuch thing. When they came to Edinburgh, the Council ordered the magiſtrates to put them into the inner Gray-friars church-yard, with proper centinels over them, viz. twenty-four to guard them at night, and eight in the day time. The officers were to keep a liſt of the centinels, that, if any of the priſoners ſhould eſcape, the centinels ſhould throw the dice, and anſwer body for body. The officers were to be accountable for the centinels, and the town of Edinburgh for the officers. Theſe orders were put in execution, and the priſoners were all carried to the place appointed, except a few who were put in priſon, and continued in that incloſure near five months, moſtly in the open air. Here they generally ſtood all day, and lay all night on the cold ground, without any other accommodation; and if any of them, in the night-time, had raiſed their head for a little eaſe, the ſoldiers were ſure to fire at them. It would be endleſs to recount all their hardſhips, and with what difficulty perſons were allowed to bring them any neceſſary proviſions; how the women were inſulted and abuſed by the ſoldiers,

diers, for no man had acceſs. It was eſteemed a ſingular favour, that ſome huts made of dales were ſet up for them a few weeks before they were brought out of this place.

On the 26th, they iſſued a proclamation againſt the *rebels*, as they called them. Many names were inſerted in this proclamation, and among others Mr John King. The two brothers of the Earl of Galloway were named in the proclamation; but the Council afterwards declared, thoſe two had made it appear that they were not in the rebellion.

This proclamation made way for the ſoldiers to commit many cruelties through the country. A great many parties were diſperſed through the weſt and ſouth; but none were ſo noted for their barbarities as Claverhouſe, and thoſe under his command. Accordingly, upon any frivolous information, they attacked the houſes of thoſe whom they pretended had been in the riſing, eſpecially through the ſhire of Ayr, which had ſuffered ſo much the laſt year by the Highland hoſt.

Claverhouſe, marching into Galloway with ſome Engliſh dragoons, &c. ſcarcely made any diſtinction between thoſe who had been at Bothwell and others, ſeized all the horſes they could find, plundered the houſes, particularly in the pariſhes of Carſphairn, Balmaclellan, and Glencairn; ravages, murders, and the moſt atrocious debaucheries, being his grand object.

Soon after this, the Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth publiſhed a pardon and indemnity to all tenants and ſubtenants who had been at Bothwell, in caſe they ſubmitted themſelves againſt ſuch a day. There was likewiſe a bond required of the heritors in the weſt country, obliging themſelves to uſe their utmoſt for ſecuring thoſe who did not accept of this favour. But as few of the tenants chooſed to venture themſelves into the hands of the magiſtrates at that time, ſo the heritors chiefly concerned refuſed the bond. On the 6th, the Duke took his leave of the Council, and in two or three days returned to England.

ARCHIBALD

ARCHIBALD EARL OF ARGYLE.

A SHORT ACCOUNT *of the* TRIAL, ESCAPE, RETURN, *and* EXECUTION *of* ARCHIBALD EARL *of* ARGYLE.

IN the year 1681, matters were come to a very low paſs; for, on the one hand, the generality of the Preſbyterian miniſters had ſo far complied with the indulgence, that they who ſtrictly adhered to the principles maintained by Mr Cameron and Mr Cargill had no freedom to ſubmit to them; and having none now to officiate among them as miniſters, ſince the martyrdom of Mr Cargill, they judged it expedient, in their preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances, to form themſelves into ſocieties; and the better to maintain the common cauſe of religion and liberty, they united in a general correſpondence, to be kept up through the ſhires ſeverally, and all the ſhires conjunctly, where ſuch as owned their teſtimony againſt Popery, Prelacy, Eraſtianiſm, and Tyranny, reſided. By this means, though they were ſtill the more open to the reſentment of their perſecutors, yet they attained to a better underſtanding of one another, and were in a capacity to contribute more to their mutual advantage. They had their firſt general meeting on the 15th of December this year, at the Logan-houſe, in the pariſh of Leſmahago, in the ſhire of Lanark, where they agreed upon their teſtimony againſt the laſt parliament, the Duke of York, a Papiſt, as being commiſſioner; and appointed it to be publiſhed at the market-croſs of Lanark, on the 12th of January next year. They held their general meetings once a-quarter, or oftener, as they could moſt conveniently.

But the moſt remarkable thing about this time was the proſecution of Archibald Earl of Argyle, for his explication of the teſt, which he had before oppoſed in parliament. This Noble Peer was the repreſentative of one of the moſt ancient and powerful families in Scotland; and, by reaſon of the offices he held, was comprehended under the teſt-act.

When the Earl was at Edinburgh, he was ordered by one of the clerks of the Council to attend next council-day, being the 3d of November, and take the teſt. The Earl, upon this, went to the Duke of York, and complained of this treatment, ſince the time appointed by the parliament was not yet expired; but all was to no purpoſe. The Duke wanted to get rid of this Noble Peer, who ſtood in the way of his deſigns. However, matters were ſo managed, that the Earl,

with the approbation both of the Duke and Council, was permitted to take the oath with an explanation, which indeed was no more than the Council themſelves had done, which makes their treatment of him the more baſe and unaccountable. Accordingly, on the 3d of November, his Lordſhip came to the Council, and, with a loud voice, made the following explanatory declaration: "I have conſidered the teſt, and am deſirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am confident the parliament never intended to impoſe contradictory oaths; therefore I think no man can explain it but for himſelf. Accordingly I take it in as far as it is conſiſtent with itſelf and the Proteſtant religion: and I do declare, I mean not to bind up myſelf, in my ſtation, and in a lawful way, to wiſh and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the church or ſtate, not repugnant to the Proteſtant religion and my loyalty; and this I underſtand as a part of my oath." Then the oath was adminiſtered to him; and immediately he took his place as a privy-counſellor. Next day he waited on his Royal Highneſs, by whom he was told, that his explication did not pleaſe him; that he thought it was to be a ſhort one like Queenſberry's; and added, Well, it paſſed with you, but it ſhall paſs ſo with no other. The Earl underſtood this as an acceptance; and that, if he had committed any fault, the Duke had paſſed it over, and would puſh the matter no farther. But his Lordſhip was miſtaken; for a deſign was formed to proſecute him for high-treaſon on account of his explanation: and the ſame day Argyle was called before the Council, as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, again to take the teſt. Whether this was not requiring a vain repetition of the oath, muſt be left to the reader. The Earl offered to take the teſt as before; whereupon a member of the Council deſired the words might be repeated. His Lordſhip, obſerving a deſign upon him, declined repeating, till, being urged by the Duke, he told, that he had committed to writing what he had delivered, to prevent miſtakes, which was produced and read. Argyle would have ſigned it; but perceiving their intentions, he waved that: Upon which he was removed; and, after they had concerted their meaſures among themſelves, was called in again, and told, that he had not given the ſatisfaction required by the act of parliament, and ſo could not ſit in Council, nor act as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. His Lordſhip made a proper reply, and removed. Next morning he waited on the Duke, and expreſſed his ſurpriſe that what he had ſaid in his explication ſhould be thought a crime. The Duke ſaid, that the words were unneceſſary and groundleſs, and that he was not tied up by the oath as he imagined; and, after a

pauſe,

pauſe, added, As I have already told you, you have cheated yourſelf, you have taken the teſt. Then the Earl anſwered, that he hoped his Highneſs was ſatisfied. The Duke then complained, that the Earl had not voted the Council's explication. Argyle anſwered, that he was not preſent at the debates. The Duke inſiſted, that he could not but underſtand the affair; and added, with a frown, You, with ſome others, have deſigned to bring trouble upon a handful of poor Catholics, that would live peaceably however they were uſed; but it ſhould light upon others. This was plain dealing, and ſhewed what was to be expected when he ſhould have the whole management in his own hands. They parted, after the Duke had laid his commands on him, not to go out of town till he ſaw him again; which his Lordſhip complied with.

The deſign againſt the Earl being now formed, he was ordered that ſame night to continue at Edinburgh till next council-day, which was November 8. when the Council ſent one of their clerks to command him to enter himſelf priſoner in the caſtle of Edinburgh before twelve o'clock next day; which he alſo complied with, and ordered the Advocate to purſue him for treaſon, or ſuch other crimes as ſhall be thought moſt convenient, as the act of Council more fully bears; and at the ſame time they wrote an account of their proceedings to the King: but it is remarkable, that they ordered this Noble Peer to be proſecuted, as above, before they had any permiſſion from the King. On the 22d of November, the King's letter, dated November 15. was read in Council, in which he ſignified his approbation of their proceedings againſt the Earl; only required them to acquaint him before they came to any ſentence. But before the Council had this return, Argyle was ſummoned to anſwer a charge of leaſing-making, and depraving the King's laws. And ſuch was the baſeneſs of his Lordſhip's perſecutors, that they pretended, nay, one of them told him, that nothing was intended againſt him but to take his heritable offices from him: And when the Duke of York was told, that it was a hard meaſure, upon ſuch grounds, to threaten ſuch a perſon with the forfeiture of life and fortune, he anſwered, Life and fortune! God forbid; and, if he was privy to the deſigns then formed, he acted only ſuitable to his religion. When the King's letter was received, the Advocate was appointed to form an indictment for treaſon and perjury, as leaſing-making, and depraving the King's laws, to which he was to anſwer before the Lords of Juſticiary on the 12th of December next.

On the 12th of December, his Lordſhip was brought before

fore the Juſticiary, conſiſting of the Earl of Queenſberry, Juſtice-general, Lords Nairn, Collingtown, Forret, Newtown, and Kirkhouſe. The indictment was read, in which he was charged with declaring againſt and defaming the act enjoining the teſt, by inſinuating that the parliament had impoſed a contradictory oath, and that the ſaid oath was inconſiſtent with itſelf, and with the Proteſtant religion, and conſequently that the King and Parliament had acted inconſiſtent with the Proteſtant religion; and for treaſonably invading the royal legiſlative power, &c. as the indictment itſelf more fully bears. An unbiaſſed reader, by comparing this nobleman's explication with his indictment, will ſee, that the crimes charged upon him were without any ſolid foundation. Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Dalrymple pleaded with great accuracy and judgement for the Earl, ſo that the debates continued till nine o'clock at night. There were but four of the Lords, with the Juſtice-general, at the debates. The Lord Nairn, who was then old and infirm, could not continue all the time of the trial, and ſo went home to bed. The Lords Collingtown and Kirkhouſe inſiſted, that the Earl was not guilty of leaſing-making and treaſon; and the other two, viz. Newton and Forret, inſiſted that he was, Queenſberry not chooſing to give the caſting vote againſt the Earl. Nairn was brought from his bed to the Court, that numbers might ſupply the want of law and reaſon, and give his vote againſt the Earl. It was two in the morning before theſe things were over, and then they adjourned till next day, when the Lords pronounced their interlocutor, wherein they declared the Earl's defences with reſpect to perjury to be ſufficient, but not with reſpect to treaſon and leaſing-making.

The paper delivered by the Earl, containing his explication of the teſt, was then produced as evidence againſt him; whereupon the jury withdrew, and in a little brought in their verdict, That the Earl was *guilty of treaſon, leaſing-making, and leaſing-telling, but not guilty of perjury.* The Council upon this met, and wrote an account of what had paſſed to the King; from all which it is evident, that a deſign was formed againſt the Earl's life. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "No ſentence, in our age, was more univerſally cried out on than this. All people ſpoke of it, and of the Duke who drove it on, with horror. All that was ſaid to leſſen that was, that Duke Lauderdale had reſtored the family with ſuch an extended juriſdiction, that he really was the maſter of all the Highlands; ſo that it was fit to attaint him, that, by a new reſtoring them, theſe grants might be better limited.

However,

However, all his friends were of opinion, that he ought to provide for his ſafety. A gentleman was diſpatched to Court by the Earl, who, as ſoon as the King's mind, in anſwer to the Council's letter, was known, came off, and outrode the bearer of it. By him Argyle found, that the ſentence of death was to be paſſed upon him, and that the King would be prevailed with to yield to the execution; nay, before the gentleman's arrival, his Lordſhip had notice, that on the 21ſt he was to be ſent the to common jail, to which Peers uſed to be removed a few days before their execution: and therefore, on Tueſday the 20th, about eight in the evening, he came out in diſguiſe, and very narrowly eſcaped.

When the Earl got out, he rode, without ſtopping, to a country ale-houſe, near the houſe of Mr George Pringle of Torwoodlee, who, by concert, was to meet him there, and conduct him to Mr William Veitch's houſe in Northumberland, already taken notice of. The Earl went by the name of Mr Hope.

Mr Hope and Mr Pringle came ſafe to Mr Veitch's, while he was at Berwick viſiting his friends. The beginning of the following week, Mr Hope, Mr Veitch, and two ſervants, ſet out for London; but they were obliged to part with the two ſervants on the road, to prevent ſuſpicion; for the alarm of the Earl's eſcape was now general, and a reward of 500l. was offered to any one who ſhould apprehend him. However, he and Mr Veitch got ſafe to Batterſea, near London, where they were conducted to the houſe of Mr Smith, a ſugar-baker, whoſe lady was a gentlewoman of great piety, prudence, and generoſity. He continued concealed in and about London till he got over to Holland.

The deliberations in Holland, ſays Burnet, among the Engliſh and Scots that fled thither, came to ripen faſter than was expected. Lord Argyle had been quiet ever ſince 1683, and had lived moſtly in Frieſland, though he came frequently to Amſterdam, and met with ſeveral of his countrymen who lay concealed there; the chief of whom were, the Lord Melvill, Sir Patrick Hume, and Sir John Cochrane. With theſe his Lordſhip communicated all the advices he received. In ſhort, upon the death of the late King, he judged he had a favourable opportunity to attempt the reſcue of his country, from that Popery and ſlavery wherewith it was threatened by acceſſion of the Duke of York; and therefore reſolved to make a deſcent upon Scotland, where he hoped to be joined by a number ſufficient for anſwering his deſign; and at the ſame time prevailed with the Duke of Monmouth to make a deſcent upon England; but Argyle wanted money, which could

could not but be a great baulk to this undertaking: however, that want was ſupplied by means of a rich widow in Amſterdam, who furniſhed him with 10,000l. Sterling. With this he bought a ſtock of arms and ammunition, which was very dexterouſly managed by one who traded at Venice, as if intended for the ſervice of that republic.

On the 7th of April, there was a meeting at Amſterdam, at which were preſent the Earl of Argyle, Mr Charles Campbell his ſon, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, George Pringle of Torwoodlee, William Denholm of Weſt Shields, George Hume of Baſſinden, John Cochrane of Waterſide, Mr George Wiſhart, William Cleland, James Stuart advocate, and Mr Gilbert Elliot.

On the 28th the parliament ſat down, which was juſt a few days before Argyle ſet ſail from Holland.

The Earl of Argyle, being ready for his expedition, and the Duke of Monmouth having engaged that he would not ſtay in Holland ten days after him, embarked, on the 1ſt of May, with three ſhips, and a conſiderable number of arms, and in three days reached Orkney. They had not above 300 men in all.

From Orkney they ſteered their courſe by the inſide of the weſtern iſlands; and, had they got in time to Iſlay, would have ſurpriſed Ballechan with a party of 400 or 500 men; but they came juſt an hour too late. They next dropt anchor near Tobermore in Mull, where they were detained three days, which was very much to their diſadvantage. From Mull they ſailed to Kintyre; and here they were diſappointed of many whom they expected would join them. However, his Lordſhip, and thoſe with him, publiſhed a declaration, which had ſcarcely the wiſhed-for effect.

On the 11th of June, the parliament paſſed an act, after a great multitude of acts of the parliament, and other unexampled perſecutions, after the Earl's landing, which they called, An addreſs againſt the arch-traitor Archibald Campbell, ſome time Earl of Argyle, wherein they beg, that the Earl's family, the heritors, ringleaders, and preachers, that joined him, ſhould be for ever declared incapable of mercy, and of bearing any honours or eſtate in the kingdom, and that all ſubjects be diſcharged from interceding for them any manner of way.

His Lordſhip having arrived at Tarbet, he publiſhed a declaration to his clan. There he was joined with 1000 men, under Sir Duncan Campbell; and, having modelled his little army into three regiments, each conſiſting of not much above 500 men, he determined to have attacked Ballechan, who had

not above 600 men with him: but Sir John Cochrane, and others with him, would not go in with this propoſal. A council of war was called, where it was reſolved, contrary to the Earl's ſentiments, to invade the Lowlands.

The Earl being diſappointed in all his attempts, and finding it impracticable either to rally his friends, or return to Argyleſhire, attempted to diſguiſe himſelf under the appearance of a country-man: but he fell into one difficulty after another, till he was attacked at the water of Inchinan, on the 17th of June, by two of the militia, who laid hold of him, one on each ſide, all on horſeback. He grappled with both, and one of them, with the Earl, went to the ground. His Lordſhip got up, and rid himſelf of them both, by preſenting his pocket-piſtols; and would have made his eſcape, had not five more come and knocked him down with their ſwords.—When they knew who he was, they ſeemed to be much concerned; but durſt not let him go. He was then brought in priſoner to the Earl of Dumbarton at Glaſgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, under a ſtrong guard; and, according to the order of Council, dated June 20. was carried up the ſtreet, with his hands tied behind his back, bare-headed, in the midſt of Captain Graham's guards; the hangman went before him, the horſe-guards before and behind: and thus his Lordſhip was conducted in diſmal proceſſion, to the caſtle, and there laid in irons.

There was a great debate at Edinburgh, whether to bring him to trial for his preſent attempt, or to execute him on the ſentence pronounced againſt him 1681; but ſuch was the zeal of the preſent managers, that they would not ſeem to call the juſtice of their former ſentence in queſtion, (though, by the way, all the world muſt look upon it as the moſt unrighteous ſentence that could be paſſed); and therefore they looked upon him as already condemned.

On the 29th, a letter from the King was read in Council, ordering them to bring the Earl to condign puniſhment within the ſpace of three days after the receipt of it, and in the mean time, to bring him to a confeſſion of his aſſociates and correſpondents, &c. In conſequence of this, his Lordſhip was ordered to be beheaded next day, and his head to be affixed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh, on an high pin of iron. He declared in the morning to a friend, that he had more joy and comfort this day, than the day after he eſcaped out of the caſtle.

His Lordſhip's carriage, before his execution, was both pious and edifying. He ſpent the 28th of June, which was

the Sabbath before his death, in a moſt becoming way. The manner in which he took leave of his ſiſter, the Lady Loudon, was very moving.

His Lordſhip dined with a grave and becoming cheerfulneſs in the caſtle. And being uſed to ſleep a little after meat, he retired to his cloſet, and laid himſelf down on a bed, and, for about a quarter of an hour, ſlept as ſweetly and pleaſantly as ever. The time being come when Argyle muſt for ever leave the caſtle, he was, by the Council's permiſſion, allowed two Epiſcopal miniſters to attend him, viz. Mr Annand, Dean of Edinburgh, and Mr Laurence Charteris, for they would permit no Preſbyterian miniſters to wait on him. Their diſcourſe with him, and prayers on this tragical occaſion, were very pertinent and becoming; and his Lordſhip delivered a very judicious and pious diſcourſe to the ſpectators, in which, among other things, he ſaid, "Job tells us, *Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble;* and I am a clear inſtance of it. I ſhall not now ſay any thing of my ſentence or eſcape,—nor of the ground of my return:—that which I intend mainly to ſay now, is, to expreſs my humble, and I thank God cheerful, ſubmiſſion to his divine will, and my willingneſs to forgive all men, even my enemies. I know afflictions ſpring not out of the duſt, are not only foretold, but promiſed to Chriſtians, and are not only tolerable, but deſirable; for God chaſtiſes his own, to refine and not ruin them, whatever the world thinks. I know many, like Hazael, 2 Kings viii. 13. go to exceſſes they never thought they were capable of. Let rulers and others ſeriouſly read and weigh Prov. i. 20. &c. 2 Chron. xxv. 6.—16. Prov. xxiv. 10.—12. and xxviii. 10. and Iſ. lix. eſpecially verſe 15. and avoid what is bad, and follow what is good. For me, I hope, by God's ſtrength, to join with Job xiii. 15. and the Pſalmiſt, Pſalm xxii. 4.; and to truſt, as Pſalm cxlviii. 11.; and ſhall pray, as Pſalm lxxiv. 19. &c. cxxiii. 6. &c. and Luke i. 74. 75.; and ſhall hope, as Pſalm xciv. 15. I do hereby forgive all that directly or indirectly have been the cauſe of my being brought to this place,—and pray that God may forgive them," &c.—When he had ended, he turned to the ſouth ſide of the ſcaffold, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not miſconſtruct my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done againſt me, as I deſire to be forgiven of God." Mr Annand repeated the words louder to the people, as he did when his Lordſhip ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe from the north ſide; and ſaid, "This nobleman dies a Proteſtant." The Earl ſtept forward again, and ſaid, "I die not only a Proteſtant,

ſtant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, Prelacy, and all ſuperſtition whatſoever." Having taken his leave of his friends, he at laſt kneeled down, and, embracing the maiden, (the inſtrument for beheading), ſaid, "This is the ſweeteſt maiden I ever kiſſed, it being the mean to finiſh my ſin and miſery, and is my inlet to glory, for which I long." Then he prayed a little within himſelf, thrice uttering theſe words, "Lord Jeſus, receive me into thy glory;" and lifting up his hand, which was the ſignal, the executioner did his work.

Thus died the Noble Earl of Argyle, a martyr not only to the Proteſtant religion, but alſo bearing his laſt teſtimony againſt Prelacy as well as Popery. His too great compliances with the managers, previous to the affair of the teſt, lay heavy upon him to the laſt: but nothing grieved him ſo much as the unhappy vote he gave againſt Mr Cargill. Paſſing theſe things, as he was executed, not on account of his late attempt, but in purſuance of a ſentence paſſed three years before, for his explication of the ſelf-contradictory teſt, his death was looked upon as no better than murder.

On the 6th of July, Monmouth's army was defeated near Bridgewater, and himſelf ſoon after taken and beheaded.

As ſoon as the Marquis of Athole and Earl of Breadalbane heard of Argyle's being taken, they exerciſed great ſeverity upon the Earl's friends, &c. Four or five gentlemen of the name of Campbell, after having received quarter and protection when they ſurrendered, were ſent to Athole by one of Argyle's near relations. The Marquis ordered them and eighteen more to be put to death. He would have proceeded in that work, had not even the Council diſcharged more lives to be taken. Parties were afterwards ſent to pull down houſes, break millſtones, and burn woods; and the whole ſhire of Argyle was dreadfully depopulated, haraſſed, and plundered, for thirty miles round Inverary. The Earl's eſtate was given to ſtrangers, his children brought to extreme neceſſity, his creditors defrauded, his brother, Lord Neil Campbell, was forced to go at the peril of his life to America, and leave his lady and family behind. In a word, the heritors and gentlemen of the name of Campbell, being generally averſe to Popery and Prelacy, were univerſally oppreſſed throughout the kingdom

COLONEL RICHARD RUMBOL.

An ACCOUNT *of the* APPREHENSION, TRIAL, *and* EXECUTION, *of* COLONEL RICHARD RUMBOL.

COLONEL RICHARD RUMBOL, one of Argyle's officers, and taken about the ſame time with him, was ordered, by the Council, to be conducted to the caſtle of Edinburgh in a cart, with a rope about his neck, fettered and bare-headed. The hangman's man led the cart; Colonel Graham attended with the guard, with drums beating, and colours flying; and next day the Advocate was ordered to proſecute him before the Juſticiary.

On the 24th, the Council iſſued a proclamation for apprehending thoſe concerned with the Earl of Argyle. It is eaſy for the reader to conceive the ſtrain of it. On the 25th they ordered Colonel Rumbol to be executed in the following manner: That, on the morrow, on his being found guilty by the Lords of Juſticiary, he be taken from their bar to the low council-houſe, and from thence to be led down by the hangman, with his hat on, to the ſcaffold, and there to be drawn up the gibbet with a rope about his neck, and immediately to be let down, his heart to be cut out by the hangman, and ſhewn to the people on the point of a bayonet or dagger, ſaying, "Here is the heart of a bloody traitor and murderer;" and then to be thrown into a fire prepared on purpoſe on the ſcaffold; after that his head to be cut off, and ſhewn to the people in the ſame manner; and then his body to be quartered, one part of it to be fixed at the port or tolbooth of Glaſgow, another at Jedburgh, a third at Dumfries, the fourth at the Newtoun of Galloway, and his head on a high pole at the Weſt-port of Edinburgh. He bore the baſe inſults of the Council with much compoſure, owned the cauſe he appeared for, and expreſſed his joy in his ſufferings; whereupon one of them called him a confounded villain. He replied with the utmoſt ſedateneſs, "I am at peace with God through Jeſus Chriſt; to men I have done no wrong; what then can confound me?"

On the 26th he was arraigned accordingly before the Juſticiary, brought in guilty, condemned, and executed. He was ſo weak, when brought to the ſcaffold, that, not being able to walk alone, he was ſupported by two officers. When, in his laſt ſpeech, he bleſſed God that it was on no ill account, but for owning and adhering to the Lord's diſtreſſed work and intereſt,

reſt, that ſuch a lot was carved out for him, the drums beat; at which he ſhook his head, and ſaid, "Will they not ſuffer a dying man to ſpeak his laſt words to the people?" And then went on, declaring his confidence of the righteouſneſs of the cauſe he was engaged in; and, among other things, ſaid, "I confeſs, enemies think they have got their foot on the neck of the Proteſtant intereſt now; but I am perſuaded it is as true as I am this day entering into eternity, that Chriſt ſhall be glorious in theſe lands, and even in poor Scotland, and that ſhortly: and it is like, many who ſee me die this day may be witneſſes thereof; yea, he ſhall govern theſe nations with a rod of iron, and that to the terror of his enemies." After this he prayed, and, when praying for the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and other ſuperſtitions, the drums beat again. He forgave the executioner, and all men, and, when he had again prayed within himſelf, he gave the ſignal, and was executed according to the ſentence.

Thus fell Richard Rumbol. Burnet ſays, "This was the perſon who dwelt in Rye-houſe, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and preſent King. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when the King departed from the legal meaſures of government, the people had a right to aſſert their liberties, and to reſtrain him. He did not deny but that he had heard many propoſitions at Weſt's chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had ſaid, it would have been eaſily executed near his houſe; upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed how it might have been managed: but he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolved on." He farther ſaid, "He did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt."

APPENDIX.

23 AP 57

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION,	19
Mr Patrick Hamilton,	27
Mr George Wiſhart,	32
Mr Walter Mill,	45
James Stuart, Earl of Murray,	48
Mr John Knox,	58
Mr George Buchanan,	73
Mr Robert Rollock,	78
Mr John Craig,	81
Mr David Black,	84
Mr John Davidſon,	87
Mr William Row,	90
Mr Andrew Melvill,	92
Mr Patrick Simpſon,	100
Mr Andrew Duncan,	108
Mr John Scrimgeour,	112
Mr John Welch,	115
Mr Robert Boyd,	133
Mr Robert Bruce,	135
Mr Joſias Welch,	143
John Gordon, Viſc. Kenmuir,	145
Mr Robert Cunningham,	161
Mr James Mitchell,	162
Mr Alexander Henderſon,	169
Mr George Gilleſpie,	175
Mr John M'Clelland,	179
Mr David Calderwood,	184
Mr Hugh Binning,	188
Mr Andrew Gray,	194
Mr James Durham,	198
Mr Samuel Rutherford,	206
Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyle,	216
Mr James Guthrie,	229
John Campbell, Earl of Loudon,	239
Mr Robert Bailey,	249
Mr David Dickſon,	253
Sir Archibald Johnſton, Lord Warriſton,	261
Mr James Wood,	271
Mr William Guthrie,	275
Mr Robert Blair,	289
Mr Hugh M'Kail,	306
Mr John Nevay,	314
Mr John Livingſton,	316
Mr John Semple,	325
Mr James Mitchell,	329
Mr John Welwood,	341
William Gordon of Earlſtoun,	346
Meſſ. John Kid and John King,	349
Mr John Brown,	352
Henry Hall of Haugh-head,	354
Mr Richard Cameron,	357
David Hackſton of Rathillet,	366
Robert Ker of Kerſland,	370
Mr Donald Cargill,	374
Mr Walter Smith,	388
Mr Robert Garnock,	391
Mr Robert M'Ward,	408
Captain John Paton,	411
John Niſbet of Hardhill,	424
Mr Alexander Peden,	437
Mr John Blackadder,	450
Mr James Renwick,	453
Mr Alexander Moncrief,	477
Mr Angus M'Bean,	481
Mr Thomas Hog,	485
Mr Robert Fleming,	497
Mr Alexander Shields,	504
Mr John Dickſon,	523
Sir Rob. Hamilton of Preſton,	530
Mr William Veitch,	540
John Balfour of Kinloch,	552
Meſſ. Robert Trails	ib
Mr Andrew Simpſon,	554
Mr William Scott,	ib.
Lord Warriſton's Speech,	555
The three following articles not in any former edition.	
Battle of Bothwell-bridge,	560
Trial, &c. of Archibald Earl of Argyle,	573
Ditto, Colonel Rumbol,	589

APPENDIX, containing a ſhort Account of the Perſecutors, 1—48

EDINBURGH, *March* 2. 1797.

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION,

In Three Large Volumes Octavo,

A BEAUTIFUL EDITION

OF

THE WHOLE WORKS

OF

EBENEZER ERSKINE,

Late Miniſter of the Goſpel at Stirling.

CONTAINING

About One Hundred and Twenty SERMONS *and* DISCOURSES *on the* MOST IMPORTANT *and* INTERESTING SUBJECTS.

CONDITIONS.

I. THE Work will be neatly printed on a fine paper, and elegant new type, and put to preſs as ſoon as a ſufficient number of ſubſcribers are obtained.

II. The whole Work will conſiſt of about 1800 pages, the ſame ſize as the Worthies, making three volumes octavo.

III. Price to ſubſcribers, Twelve Shillings Sterling.

IV. In order to make the purchaſe eaſy to ſubſcribers, a Number will be publiſhed regularly every Four Weeks, containing 9½ ſheets, or 152 pages, as nearly as can be calculated at preſent, ſtitched in blue paper, price 1s. to be paid on delivery.

V. Subſcribers for Twelve Copies will have one *gratis*.

From the proſpect of ſucceſs the Editors already have, they hope the Work will be in the Preſs in a few weeks; therefore, thoſe who mean to ſubſcribe are requeſted to give in their names, without delay, to *Schaw* and *Pillans* Printers, weſt from Adams's Square, or *Alex. M'Laren* Bookſeller, Horſe Wynd, Edinburgh.

TO THE PUBLIC.

To attempt any recommendation of the Works of the pious Author, would be ſuperfluous, as the reception they have met with from the religious and well diſpoſed part of the community, as well as the ſeveral editions which have been ſold, ſuperſedes any thing we could offer upon that ſubject. We have to lament, however, the little attention, in general, paid to the printing by the Editors of religious books, who, in order to bring them cheap to market, throw off large impreſſions on coarſe paper, with types hardly legible. To prevent the leaſt ſurmiſe of ſuch an intention, the Editors of the intended edition, pledge themſelves, that the work ſhall be well printed, with a type entirely new, and on a fine paper.

APPENDIX.

The JUDGEMENT and JUSTICE of GOD Exemplified; or, A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT of the *Wicked Lives* and *Miſerable Deaths* of ſome of the moſt remarkable Apoſtates and bloody Perſecutors in Scotland, from the Reformation till after the Revolution. Collected from Hiſtorical Records, Authenticated Writings, *&c. &c.*

But thou, O God, ſhalt bring them down to the pit of deſtruction. Bloody and deceitful men ſhall not live out half their days. PSAL. lv. 23.

He hath alſo prepared for him the inſtruments of death; he ordained his arrows againſt the perſecutors. PSAL. vii. 12.

It is a righteous thing with God to recompenſe tribulation to them that trouble you. 2 THESS. i. 6.

——*Immemores Dei*
Gentes mors inopina
Æternis tenebris premit.

PSAL. ix. 17.——BUCHANAN.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IT is preſumed, that any perſon, who has diligently peruſed the hiſtory of the lives of our noble Scots Worthies, will by this time be able to form ſome idea in their own minds of the religious, virtuous, and faithful lives, joyful and comfortable deaths, of a certain number of Chriſt's noble witneſſes, confeſſors, and martyrs, who through much tribulation emerged forth of all their difficulties in much faith and patience, and are now inheriting the promiſe in that land, and celeſtial Jeruſalem above, *where the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and where the weary be at reſt.*

It now follows of courſe, that another ſcene ſhould be brought to the reader's view, viz, a ſhort index or memorial of the wicked, apoſtate, perfidious, and flagitious lives, and miſerable and lamentable deaths, of ſome of the moſt particular perſons that oppoſed and oppreſſed the church of Chriſt, and maltreated and perſecuted them. But previous to the opening of this tragical train of examples, let the following few particulars be obſerved.

1*ſt*, Let none think that this is a ſubject foreign or remote to either ſcripture, apocrypha, or hiſtory. No; we might inſtance Cain, the proto-perſecutor and murderer; Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red ſea; Corah and others, who were ſwallowed up quick, and burnt before the Lord; Saul, who finiſhed his own regicide; wicked Joram, whoſe bowels fell out; apoſtate Joaſh and Jehoiakim, who burnt the roll, came to ignominious ends; Ahab and Zedekiah, falſe prophets, whom the king of Babylon roaſted in the fire; Haman, who was

hanged; Antiochus Epiphanes, who was eaten of vermin, and rotted while alive; Melenaus the apoſtate, who was ſmothered to death in aſhes; Herod, who killed the children of Bethlehem, and had the ſame fate with Antiochus; Herod Antipas, who killed John Baptiſt; Herodias, and Salmon the dancer, came to fearful ends; Judas and Caiaphas became their own executioners; Pilate alſo ended his own wretched life; Herod Agrippa was eaten up of worms; Nero and all the ſucceeding emperors, authors of the ten perſecutions; Phillip II. of Spain, Charles IX. Henry III. and IV. Kings of France, Dukes of Guiſe, Anjou, Auſtria, &c. the Cardinals Wolſey and Pool, bloody Mary of England, Biſhop Gardiner, with an immenſe number both of this and inferior ranks too tedious here to mention, came all to deſerved wretched deaths, ſuitable to ſuch wicked and bloody lives.—Nay, God will have ſuch reverence paid to what bears the name of Deity and religion, that even amongſt the very heathens, who had not the knowledge of the true God, thoſe who blaſphemed or affronted the gods, robbed their temples, or maltreated and perſecuted their prieſts, did not paſs without ſome public mark of divine diſpleaſure, (of which a number of inſtances from hiſtory might be given were it needful). And ſhould ſuch as are favoured with an objective revelation of the true God, and way of ſalvation in and by him, who deſtroy his heritage, perſecute his people, blaſpheme his name, and make a mock of religion, go unpuniſhed? Nor,

2*dly*, Is the collecting of ſuch exemplary inſtances without precept or precedent. Moſes, by the Lord's direction, commanded the cenſers of thoſe who were burnt up when offering ſtrange fire to be made broad plates for a covering to the altar, for a memorial to the children of Iſrael.—And paſſing other inſtances in ſcripture, hiſtorians, and martyrologers, we find the reformed church of the Netherlands at the famous ſynod of Embden 1571, amongſt other things, enacted and ordered the Lord St Atergonde to write the hiſtory of the perſecution by the Duke de Alva, with the viſible judgements that befel the perſecutors at that time. The ſame thing was agitated and concluded upon by the united ſocieties in Scotland, both before and after the Revolution, which, had their reſolutions been accompliſhed, had either anticipated this publication, or rendered it more complete than what it can otherwiſe be expected. Nor,

3*dly*, Can it be expected, that all our Scots apoſtates and perſecutors are here narrated. No; there have many of God's eminent ſaints and dear children made their exit out of this world without any note or obſervation: in like manner, every wicked and notorious offender has not been made a Magor Miſſabib, a wonder unto themſelves and others. We can aſcribe this to nothing but divine wiſdom and ſovereignty. But there have been as many inſtances of both kinds as may ſerve as a monitor both to ſaints and ſinners, to encourage the one, and deter the other, and *that others may hear and fear*. Again, there have been ſeveral of theſe wicked enemies of God even in our own land, whoſe deaths have been as remarkable as thoſe now related, which have either not been recorded, or elſe the records have been loſt, and cannot now, after ſuch a long time elapſed, be retrieved *. And,

4*thly*, This may be obſerved, that though numbers in this black catalogue

* Such as Earlſhall, the Laird of Meldrum, Livingſtone, bloody Douglas, Major White, &c.; as for Lieutenant Drummond, Captain Windrum, Lieutenants Bruce and Turner, who went over with the reſt of the Dundee officers to France, they died at Tourelliers in hoſpitals, in 1693 and 1694, miſerable enough.

catalogue have nothing different as to the taking away of the life temporal, ſuch as by heading, hanging, &c. from what has befallen God's dear children and martyrs—yet it is the cauſe of their death, their diſpoſition and frame at that time, muſt only caſt the ſcale of balance. Jeſus, as man, and the obſtinate malefactor on the croſs, are an illuſtrating proof of this: for, while the one goes off the ſtage triumphing in the juſtice of their cauſe, under the ſenſible manifeſtations of God's gracious preſence, crying out, Farewell, friends and relations, holy ſcriptures, duties, ſun, moon, ſtars,—all created enjoyments:—Welcome, death, ſcaffold, gibbet, for precious Chriſt; welcome eternity, glory, angels, ſpirits of juſt men made perfect; welcome, Jeſus Chriſt, Spirit of all grace, God the judge of all, and life for evermore:—The other, (although we do not meddle with their eternal ſtate, as being nowiſe our province or prerogative to determine upon), at leaſt thoſe we have here condeſcended upon, died either in a ſenſeleſs, ſecure, ſupine ſtupidity, or elſe belching out the moſt fearful oaths, and imprecations againſt themſelves or others, or worſe, if worſe may be, roaring out in diſpair, in the moſt dreadful horror of an awakened conſcience, under the ſenſe of God's wrath and fiery indignation ready to be poured forth upon them for their former wicked lives; which muſt be one of the moſt exquiſite torments in this life, as expreſſed by the poet,

——Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus.——

Nay, ſome have had very wicked lives, or actions in life, and yet through the Lord's goodneſs have obtained mercy at laſt; though none of this ſtamp, to our knowledge, as far as could be diſcerned, are brought into this category *. And,

5*thly*, Let none think that we have dragged any in here, becauſe they were king, queen, or biſhop: no, there are others here; it was becauſe they were tyrants, apoſtates, perjured wretches, wicked perſecutors, and bloody deceitful men: a Charles on the throne, a Lauderdale in the ſtate, a M'Kenzie at the bar, a Jeffries on the bench, a Dalziel in the army, and a Judas Sharp in the church, amongſt others inrolled in the annals of time, (and we may fear in eternity too), are terrible monuments of this. It is true, all this black group attained not the ſame altitude of wickedneſs; but they all acted from the ſame principle, and bended toward the ſame point, and that was to propagate Satan's kingdom, and perſecute the ſaints of the Moſt High, as far as their power, ſtation, and office would allow, (although ſome of them were more humane than others); yet they muſt all be brought to the ſame ſtandard, ſeeing divine ſovereignty has ordered it ſo.

6*thly*, It is here hoped, that none of the offspring of thoſe will be offended at what is related of their anceſtors, unleſs they approve of their deeds; ſeeing no man can help the evil qualities of his forefathers. A good Jehoſhaphat begat a wicked Jehoram and a wicked Ahaz, and Amnon

* Paſſing ſcripture-inſtances, ſuch as a Manaſſeh amongſt the thorns, a penitent thief upon the croſs,—the late Earl of Argyle, who was executed 1685, was a member of the bloody Council many years; but this he lamented at his death, particularly his caſting vote on Mr Cargill; and for ought we can learn, in charity, we muſt ſuppoſe he obtained mercy. And the youngeſt bailie in Edinburgh, who gave the covenants out of his hand to the hangman to be burnt, was afterwards thought to be a good man, and ever lamented that action, and did much ſervice to Chriſt's priſoners after: Yet the Lord would not ſuffer him to go unpuniſhed in this life; for, it is ſaid, he never had the uſe of that hand after; and for all his ſtately buildings, they were burnt to aſhes in 1700.

begat a good Josiah. And though the Lord has declared that he will visit the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, yet he has also said, The son shall not die for the iniquity of his father; if he turn from it, he shall live. It is granted, that virtuous and religious lives are necessary to be set before us for our example; and why should not the contrary vices be eschewed, by viewing a portrait of the reverse qualities? for he who has said, that the memory of the just shall be blessed, has also said, that the memory of the wicked shall rot; that is, they shall either sink into oblivion, or else, in consuming away, shall become nauseous unto posterity, as says the prophet, *Their everlasting confusion shall never be forgotten.*

Lastly, For the following examples, though there be severals of them touched at in the lives of the Scots Worthies, as connected with the subject, yet they are brought into this composition, that the reader may view them all at once; they are also arranged as near the order of time when they died as could be guessed, and as concise as possible, being restricted to such narrow limits. As for the authority of the authors from whom they are collected, they are much the same with those of the lives of the Worthies, historical faith being all that can be claimed in human and imperfect compositions.

And for a conclusion, let us, through the foregoing mirror and following prospect, view the Lord's admirable goodness to his own dear children, even when walking through the furnace of affliction, with his just and severe indignation and resentment, even in this life, upon his and their enemies. Let us behold the one wafted over the dark river in the arms of a Redeemer, though sometimes on a bloody bottom, unto the flowery banks of Immanuel's land; while the other is with an awful gloom of horror hurled head-long into the pit of destruction. Let us by faith apprehend those thousands of thousands at Christ's right-hand, singing, *Allelujah! true and righteous are his judgements; he hath judged the great whore, and avenged the blood of his servants;* with a numberless throng, on his left hand, of these miscreants sentenced unto that place of torment and woe, where they shall have an eternity to bewail their infidelity, impiety, avarice, ambition, cruelty, and stupidity. And, in fine, if the following hints shall serve for no other purpose, they will stand for an inconteſtible evidence of the very first principle of religion, that there is a God to reward the righteous and punish the wicked; *so that men shall say, Verily, there is a reward for the righteous; verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

23 AP 57

The Judgement and Juſtice of GOD *Exemplified*, &c.

JOHN CAMERON, ſometime Biſhop of Glaſgow, was a moſt wicked wretch; he not only committed many acts of avarice and cruelty upon the poor people of his dioceſe, but alſo encouraged thoſe in place and power to do the like: ſo that he became the author of almoſt all the miſchief in that part of the country. But in this he did not long eſcape the juſt judgement of God; for, in the night before (what they call) Chriſtmas-day 1446, as he lay in his own houſe in Lockwood, about ſeven miles from Glaſgow, he ſeemed to hear an audible voice ſummoning him to appear before Chriſt's tribunal, to give an account of his doings. He got up affrighted, and called for his ſervant, to bring a light, and ſit by him: he himſelf took a book, and began to read; but the voice was heard a ſecond time, louder, which ſtruck all his ſervants with horror. His ſervant being gone, the voice called a third time, more terrible than before; at which the Biſhop was heard give a groan, and ſo was found dead in his bed, with his tongue hanging out of his mouth; and ſo came to an end deſerving of ſuch a life.—*Buchanan and Spottiſwood's Hiſtories.*

SIR GEORGE STEEL, a parafite and mighty flatterer of James V. but one of the greateſt enemies to God and his people that was in all the Court, being ſuch a bigotted Papiſt, that, one day, in a large audience, he renounced his portion of Chriſt's kingdom, if the prayer of the Virgin Mary did not bring him hither. But one day, while in preſence of the King, he dropped down dead from his horſe, and never ſpoke a word.—*Knox's Hiſtory.*

JAMES HAMILTON, a natural brother to the Earl of Arran, was, by the Popiſh clergy's influence, advanced in the reign of ſaid James V. and was ſo cruel and terrible againſt all ſuch as were ſuppoſed to favour the Proteſtant religion, that even ſome of his own relations were brought under his power; being, by the interceſſion of theſe Poplings, by the King, made Judge, or Lord Juſtice, for that purpoſe. But while he was employing himſelf to cruſh the goſpel in the very bud, his couſin, James Hamilton, ſheriff of Linlithgow, whom he had cauſed to be baniſhed before on that account, returned home, and accuſed him of treaſon; and in ſpite of all the Popiſh clergy could do in his behalf, he was arraigned, condemned, beheaded, and quartered at Edinburgh, and his quarters placed upon the public places of the city.—*Buchanan and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

THOMAS SCOTT, a Privy Counſellor and Juſtice-Clerk to the ſaid James V. was a notable enemy and perſecutor of theſe profeſſing the reformed religion. But falling ſick at Edinburgh, he fell into diſpair: He was moſt vexed for what he had done againſt Chriſt's witneſſes, and ſtill cried out, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum;* I am condemned by God's juſt judgement, and damned without

out

out remedy. And, it is ſaid, when the monks began to comfort him, he charged them to be gone with their factions and trumperies, ſaying, "Till now, I never believed there was God or devil, heaven or hell. I acted only as a politician to get preferment and money, and for that purpoſe I joined the Biſhop's ſide, and prevailed with the King to caſt out their adverſaries. All your maſſes can do me no good; the devil has me already in his gripes, to carry me to hell and torment me eternally." In this ſituation he died the ſame night; he appeared to the King, when lying at Linlithgow, with a company of devils, and uttered theſe words to him, O woe to the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice; for the ſerving of thee againſt God, againſt his ſervants, and againſt juſtice, I am adjudged to endleſs torment.—*Knox's Hiſtory, Appendix to Spira's Relation.*

Alexander Campbell, a Dominician friar, a man of wit and learning, who, though he agreed almoſt in every point with Patrick Hamilton, yet being more deſirous to ſave than hazard his life for the truth, was prevailed upon by his friends, not only to prefer a public accuſation againſt the ſaid Patrick, but even when bound at the ſtake in the fire, over the belly of the light of his own conſcience, continually cried out, "Convert, heretic; call on our lady: ſay, *ſalve regina*," &c.; to whom the martyr ſaid, "Depart from me, and trouble me not, thou meſſenger of Satan." But whilet his friar roared out theſe words with great vehemency, he ſaid again to him, "O thou vileſt of men, thou art convinced that theſe tenets which thou now condemneſt, are certainly true, and didſt confeſs to me that they are ſo. I cite thee againſt a certain time before the tribunal ſeat of Chriſt Jeſus," &c. In a few days after, Campbell turned quite mad, and died in Glaſgow as one in deſpair.—*Buchanan, Knox, and others.*

James V. ſon to James IV. who began to reign 1514, notwithſtanding a quick genius, and inclination at firſt to ſobriety and juſtice, yet ſoon became corrupted with licentiouſneſs and avarice, the bane of that age; and, being wholly under the direction of the Pope, and his poplings in Scotland, he turned a moſt violent perſecutor of the profeſſors of the true religion, which then began to dawn; inſomuch that Patrick Hamilton, of the royal ſtock, behoved to ſuffer the flames; many others were oppreſſed, and baniſhed the nation as heretics. Nay, ſuch was his furious zeal, that he was heard to ſay, that none of that ſort need expect favour at his hand, were it his own ſons, if guilty: and it appears he would have been as good as his word, from a paper or liſt of their names given in by the clergy, found in his pocket at his death, had not Divine Providence interpoſed: for being puſhed into an unjuſt war with the Engliſh, by the advice of Oliver Sinclair and others, his army was ſhamefully defeated at Solway moſs, where this Oliver, his general, fled and was taken: upon which James fell into a delirium, ſtill crying out, "O fled Oliver! is Oliver taken?" After viſiting ſome of his miſtreſſes, he went to Falkland, after he had had ſome frightful dreams at Linlithgow, and hearing the Queen was delivered of a daughter, he broke forth into this deſperate expreſſion, "The devil go with it;

it came with a woman, and will go with a woman," &c. But ſtill his continued cry was, Is Oliver taken? &c. till Cardinal Beaton came, whoſe intrigues with the Queen were before known, and by whoſe direction it was ſuppoſed the King received a doſe, of which he ſoon expired in that ſituation, 1542.—*Buchanan*, *Knox*, &c.

DAVID PANTHER, Biſhop of Galloway, was a violent enemy to the goſpel. For advancing the Queen Regent's intereſt, he got an abbey in France. He would by no means admit of a diſputation with any of the reformed; but recommended fire and ſword for the only defence of the Catholic religion. "Our victory," ſaid he, "ſtands neither in God nor his word, but in our own wills; otherwiſe we will no more be found the men we are called, than the devil will be approved to be God," &c. Amongſt other extravagancies, he became a notable Epicurean, eating and drinking becoming the only paſtime of his life, and in that exceſs he at laſt fell down and expired.—*Knox*, &c.

—— DURY, a fowl of the ſame neſt, was, for his filthy courſe of life, called Abbot Stottikin. But being a furious Papiſt, he obtained the ſee of Galloway, and became ſuch a perſecutor of the reformation, that he roundly vowed, that, in deſpite of God, as long as the prelates lived, that word called GOSPEL ſhould never be preached in this realm. But his boaſting laſted not long; for being ſuddenly ſeized by death, the articles of his belief, or dying words, were, "Decarte, you, ha, ha! The four kings and all made, the devil go with: it is but a varlet from France; we thought to have got a ruby, but we got nothing but a cohoobie." And ſo this filthy enemy of God ended his life.—*Knox*, &c.

DAVID BEATON was made Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and by the Pope Cardinal of Scotland. But, being a man of a cruel diſpoſition, he ſet himſelf to cruſh the profeſſors of the reformed religion with fire and faggot. Captain Borthwick was by his influence accuſed, but fled to England: four men were by his direction burnt on the Caſtle-hill of Edinburgh 1538; as were Ruſſel and Kennedy the year after. Thus he continued at this game, at the ſame time wallowing, like a hog in a ſtie, in all manner of filthineſs, till 1546, that he got that man of God, George Wiſhart, brought to the flames. While he was at the ſtake, before the Cardinal's caſtle at St Andrew's, that the Cardinal might gratify his eyes with this deſirable ſight, the cuſhions were laid for him and his company to lean upon, while looking forth at the windows. After the fire was kindled, the martyr ſaid, amongſt other things, "This fire torments my body, but no ways abates my ſpirit: but he who now looks down ſo proudly from yonder lofty palace", pointing to the Cardinal, "and feeds his eyes with my torment, ſhall ere long be hung out at that window as ignominiouſly, as he now there leans with pride." Accordingly ſome gentlemen vowed to avenge Mr Wiſhart's death. The wicked monſter getting previous notice, ſaid, "Tuſh, a fig for the fools, a button for the bragging of heretics. Is not the Lord Governor mine? witneſs his oldeſt ſon with me as a pledge. Have not I the Queen at my devotion? Is not France

my

my friend? What danger ſhould I fear?"---But in a few days, Norman Leſly, John Leſly, and the Laird of Grange, entered the caſtle in the morning, juſt as one of his harlots, Mrs Ogilvie, was gone out of bed from him. The noiſe ſoon alarmed the Cardinal, who was but a little before fallen aſleep. He got up and hid a coffer of gold in a corner. Afterwards with ſome difficulty they got in. John Leſly drew his ſword, and in ſober terms told him their errand; but could bring him to no ſigns of repentance, or preparation for death. Whereupon they ſtabbed him; upon which he cried out, "I am a prieſt: fy, all is gone;" and ſo he expired. The provoſt and his friends came in a fray, and demanded what was become of him, and would not depart; which made them hang his carcaſe over the window, according to Mr Wiſhart's words; and then they departed:---after which he lay a conſiderable time unburied *.

A French Officer, and gentleman volunteer in the Queen Regent's army, whom ſhe employed to cut off the profeſſors of the reformed religion, after ſeveral outrages by him committed in Fife upon them, entered into a poor woman's houſe, with a ſmall family, at Whiteſide, to plunder it. She offered him ſuch proviſions as ſhe had; but this would not ſatisfy him; for, notwithſtanding all her tears and intreaties, the cruel wretch muſt have what little meal and beef ſhe had to ſuſtain her and her young infants. She perceiving this, upon his ſtooping down into a large barrel or pipe, to take what was there, firſt turned up his heels, and then, with what help her family could afford, kept him in, till amongſt the meal he ended his wicked life.—*Knox.*

Mary of Lorrain, ſiſter to the Duke of Guiſe, and ſecond wife to James V. after her huſband's death, aſpired to the regency; and, being born of a family who always had ſhewn themſelves inveterate and implacable enemies to the kingdom of Chriſt, ſhe ſet herſelf with might and main to exterminate the goſpel and its profeſſors out of Scotland. She told them, in plain words, that in deſpite of them, and their miniſters both, they ſhould be baniſhed out of it, albeit they preached as true as ever St Paul did: and for that purpoſe, procured to her faction in Scotland ſome thouſands of French ſoldiers; which obliged them to lift arms in their own defence. One time theſe cruel ſavages having obtained a ſmall advantage in a ſkirmiſh at Kinghorn, and committed many outrages of plunder in Fife, ſhe broke out into the following expreſſion: "Where is now John

* Buchanan mentions not his burial. Knox ſays, they gave him ſalt enough and a lead cap, and ſet him in the ſea-tower to ſee what the biſhops would procure for him. Fox and Clark ſay, he lay ſeven months unburied, and then like a carrion was thrown on a dunghill.—Sir David Lindſay of the Mount made the following ſtanza on his death.

As for the Cardinal, I grant,
He was the man we well could want,
God will forgive it ſoon:
But of a truth, the ſooth to ſay,
Altho' the lown be well away,
The fact was foully done.

John Knox's God? My God is ſtronger than his, even in Fife."— At another time, when the reformed had pulled down ſome monuments of idolatry at St Johnſtoun, this Catholic heroine vowed,— "She ſhould deſtroy both man, woman, and child in it, and burn it with fire; and that, if ſhe had a fair pretext for the deed, ſhe would not leave an individual of the heretical tribe, either his fortune or life." Again, 1560, when her Frenchmen had obtained another victory at Leith, and having ſtripped the ſlain, and laid their bodies upon the walls before the ſun, at the beholding of which from the caſtle of Edinburgh, it is ſaid ſhe leaped for joy, and ſaid, "Yonder is the faireſt tapeſtry I ever ſaw! I would the whole field was covered with the ſame ſtuff." But God ſoon put a ſtop to this wicked contumely; for in a few days (ſome ſay the ſame day) her belly and legs began to ſwell of that loathſome and ugly diſeaſe whereof ſhe died in June following. Before her death, ſhe ſeemed to ſhew ſome remorſe for her paſt conduct; but no ſigns of true repentance, elſe ſhe would not have received the Popiſh ſacrament of extreme unction. The Papiſts having now loſt their head, and the church not ſuffering her to be buried with the ſuperſtitious rites of Popery, ſhe was coffined, and kept four months, and then ſent to France: and ſo ſhe, who a little before made the followers of Chriſt, when killed, lie unburied, could not obtain a burial in the kingdom of Scotland *.

David Rizio, or Riccio, born at Turin in Savoy, came over, and was introduced unto Queen Mary's muſicians, being of that craft, and complying with her humour in every thing, he was advanced to be one of her ſecretaries. But being one of the Pope's minions, and a deadly enemy to the cauſe of Chriſt in Scotland, he laid continual ſchemes to ruin the noble reformers. He laid a plot to murder the good Earl of Murray with his own hand, but it miſcarried. He had a principal hand in the Queen's match with Darnly; but ſoon became his rival, and the Queen's paramour.† He exceeded the King in apparel and furniture, and intended to have cut off the Scots nobility, and brought in a ſet of foreign miniſters. He counterfeited the King's ſeal, and nothing could be done without him at Court. He was appriſed of his hazard, but nothing could affright him. Whereupon the King, with James Douglas, Patrick Lindſay, &c. knowing that he was gone in privily to the Queen one night, as his cuſtom was, came in upon them, while he was ſitting by the Queen at ſupper. She ſought to defend him by the interpoſition of her body; but bringing him into an outer chamber, at firſt they intended to have hanged him publicly, which

* Spottiſwood would have us believe, there was nothing remarkable in her life, or about her death, more than what is incident to princes: but we muſt rather believe and follow Knox in this.

† The Queen was at this time pregnant with James VI. Some hiſtorians have been inclined to think, from the intrigues this Rizio had with the Queen that James VI. Charles I. and II. and James VII. had more of the nature, qualities, features, and complexion of the Italian fidler, than of the ancient race of Stuarts, Kings of Scotland.

would have been a moſt grateful ſpectacle to the people; but being in haſte, James Douglas gave him a ſtroke with his dagger, which was by the company repeated, to the number of fifty-three ſtrokes, and ſo he ſoon expired, March 9. 1566.

HENRY STUART, ſon to the Earl of Lennox, returned to Scotland 1565, and was married to the Queen; and being a bigotted Papiſt, the reforming Lords oppoſed his marriage, but were obliged to flee to England. While matters went well betwixt him and the Queen, he was wholly at her devotion, and, at her inſtigation, caſt the Pſalms of David into the fire. But after Rizio's death, the Earl of Bothwell becoming the Queen's beloved paramour, ſhe fell in diſguſt with the King; and he being miſled in Popery, and ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken of the Queen, and deſpiſed by her faction of the nobility, wrote to the King of France, that the country was all out of order, becauſe the maſs and Popery were not again fully erected in Scotland. But the Queen, to be rid of him, cauſed to be given him a doſe of poiſon. But being in the prime of youth, he ſurmounted the diſorder. Being a man wholly given to ſenſual pleaſure, he was eaſily deceived; the Queen decoyed him to Edinburgh, where ſhe and Bothwell laid a plan for his life, wherein Bothwell was to be the aggreſſor. In proſecution of which, he, with ſome others, entered the King's lodging in the night, and, while he was aſleep, ſtrangled him and one of his ſervants, and drew him out at a little gate they had made through the wall of the city, and left his naked body lying; and ſo, like another Johoiakim, who burnt the roll, was *caſt without the gates of Jeruſalem*.

JOHN HAMILTON was, by his brother the Regent, after the Cardinal's death, made Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. He exactly trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſors; and that not only in uncleanneſs, taking men's wives from them for his concubines, as the Popiſh clergy muſt not be married, but was alſo a violent oppreſſor and perſecutor of Chriſt's goſpel in his myſtical members. Adam Wallace and Walter Mill were by his direction committed to the flames. Again, when Mr Knox went with the Lords to preach at St Andrew's, he raiſed 100 ſpearmen to oppoſe him. He had a hand in moſt of the bloody projects, in the Queen Regent's management. In her daughter Mary's reign, he followed the ſame courſe. He had a hand in Henry Stuart's death, and was afterwards one of the conſpirators of the death of the good Regent, the Earl of Murray; but the reformed getting the aſcendant, he was obliged to flee to the caſtle of Dumbarton, and was there taken, when it was taken by the Regent Earl of Marr, and for his former miſdemeanours was hanged up by the neck like a dog at Stirling, about the year 1572.

WILLIAM MAITLAND, commonly called in hiſtory young Lethington, though a man of no ſmall parts or erudition, yet became ſadly corrupted by the Court. He was made ſecretary to Queen Mary, and with her became a prime agent againſt the reformation. He oftentimes diſputed with Mr Knox, and at laſt gave in a charge of treaſon againſt him on account of religion. And one time, he

was ſo chagrined at the preachers of the goſpel, particularly Mr Craig, that he gave himſelf to the devil, if after that day he ſhould care what became of Chriſt's miniſters, let them blow as hard as they would. He had a prime hand in the Queen's marriage with Darnly, and againſt the Lords who profeſſed the reformed religion. After the Queen fled to England, he was the principal manager of all the Popiſh plots and tragical diſaſters that for ſome time happened in England and Scotland. But the Queen's affairs growing deſperate, he fled to Edinburgh caſtle, which was then held for the Queen by the Laird of Grange. Mr Knox ſent a meſſage to them of their danger, and what would befall them. But Lethington made a mock of Mr Knox and his advice; but the caſtle being taken 1573, he was impriſoned in the ſteeple of Leith, where ſix eſcaped further ignominy by public puniſhment. It was ſaid he poiſoned himſelf, and lay ſo long unburied, that the vermin upon his body were creeping out of the doors of the houſe, in under the ground of the ſteeple.—*Calderwood's Hiſtory.*

James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, was a wicked vicious man from his very infancy. At firſt he ſeemed as inclined to the Proteſtant ſide, but becoming the Queen's principal minion, he apoſtatiſed to Popery, becauſe it was her religion. He vigorouſly oppoſed the work of reformation, attempted to murder the good Earl of Murray, but was prevented. After the ſlaughter of Rizio, he ſucceeded in his place, and became a partaker of the King's bed. After which he murdered him, and married the Queen, although he had three wives living at that time. He deſigned to have murdered James VI. then a child, but was prevented by the Lords who roſe in defence of religion and their liberties. The Queen was by them made to abandon him, which made him flee to Shetland, where he became a pirate; but was obliged to flee from thence to Denmark, where after near ten years confinement, he became diſtracted, and died mad.

James Douglas, Earl of Morton, was a man of no ſmall natural endowments, but a man of a covetous and lecherous diſpoſition. While Chancellor, he got the Fulcan biſhopricks erected *, that the biſhops might have the title and honour; but the nobility got the profit, or church revenues. After he became Regent, though things came to a more ſettled ſtate, yet, for his own political ends, he oppreſſed the people, but eſpecially the clergy, by promiſes to aſſign them ſtipends in pariſhes. He extorted from them the rights to the thirds of the benefice, and oftimes cauſed one miniſter to ſerve four or five pariſhes, while himſelf took all the ſtipends but one, ſo that by the end of the century, ſome miniſters had but 11l. and ſome but the half, and miſerably paid. He was the firſt that introduced Prelacy into Scotland. Says a hiſtorian, "He threatened ſome of the miniſters, miſliked general aſſemblies, could not endure the free and open re-

 buke

* Mr John Douglas, once a great Preſbyterian, was the firſt Biſhop that thus entered by Prelacy in Scotland; after which he became ſlothful and negligent in his office. But one time coming into the pulpit, at St Andrew's he fell down in it, and died.—*Naphtali.*

buke of ſin in the pulpit, maintained the biſhops, and preſſed his own injunctions and conformity with England; and had without queſtion ſtayed the work of God, had not God ſtirred up a faction of the nobility againſt him." For, firſt the King took upon him the regency: then he was accuſed of the late King's murder. He had amaſſed great ſums of money together; but it was partly embezzled by his friends, and partly conveyed away in barrels and hid; ſo that when brought to Edinburgh, he had to borrow twenty ſhillings for the poor. Thus having loſt both his friends and his money, which might have procured him friends, he was condemned and executed at Edinburgh, June 2. 1581. And ſo, for advancing the King's authority and ſupremacy over the church, and introducing biſhops into it, he was by him and them but poorly rewarded.—*Calderwood, and Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

JAMES STUART, ſon to the Lord Ochiltree, was from a ſingle centinel advanced to a captain in King James's minority; but becoming ſtill greater at Court, he aſſumed unto himſelf the title of Earl of Arran. He became the King's only favourite, and was by him advanced unto the helm of affairs; and then he ſet himſelf to ruin the church of God: for firſt he got the King's ſupremacy in all cauſes, civil and eccleſiaſtic, aſſerted by the parliament; and then he got a ſet of wicked and profane biſhops, like himſelf, again reinſtated in the church. In a word, this ambitious, covetous, bloody, ſeditious Cataline, and ſcorner of religion and enemy to the commonwealth, was the author of all the broils and diſorders in church and ſtate, from 1680 to 1685; and would have done more (being now made Chancellor, and captain of the Caſtle of Edinburgh), had not the Lord, by his own immediate hand of providence, interpoſed in behalf of his church; for ſo, by being diſgraced at Court, while on the pinnacle of dignity, he was tumbled down unto his firſt original: then taking a tour through Kyle, came near Douglas, and was at laſt ſet upon by James Douglas (afterwards Lord Fotherald) in the valley of Catſlaks, in revenge for his accuſation of his friend the Earl of Morton, and thrown from his horſe, and killed with a ſpear, and his body left lying expoſed to be devoured of dogs upon the King's high way.—*Calderwood, Spottiſwood, and Melvill's Memoirs.*

MARY STUART, daughter to James V. firſt married the Dauphin of France, and after his death returned home, and took on her the regal government of Scotland. Though ſome hiſtorians repreſent her for a woman of a quick judgement and good natural abilities, yet it is evident ſhe was of a revengeful temper and lecherous diſpoſition; and being brought up in Popery from her infancy, her oppoſition to the Proteſtant reformed religion ſeems all of a piece. It would fill a volume to recite the wickedneſs, miſchiefs, and tragical diſaſters, that, through her inſtigation, by her command or example, were committed during her reign. For, not to mention her intrigues with Rizio, and Chattelet the French dancer, whom ſhe cauſed at laſt to be hanged, the Court rung with all manner of wickedneſs, impiety, and profanity. About 1566, ſhe entered into

a league with Charles IX. of France, to extirpate the reformed religion. She and her favourites robbed the church of the patrimony to maintain the Court: So that they could all have ſcarce 20000l. yearly. Nor upon all their petitions, though in a ſtarving condition, could they get any redreſs from her. She married Darnly, then fell in adultery with Bothwell, then they concerted his murder: and after ſhe married the Regicide, lifted arms againſt the profeſſors of the true religion, by whom ſhe was obliged to flee to England. In a word, every dreary year of her unfortunate reign was blackened with ſome remarkable diſaſter, and by ſuch acts of impudence and injuſtice, as corrupt nature and Popiſh cruelty could ſuggeſt. After her elopement to England, the Popiſh faction, of which ſhe was the head, kept the nations in continual inteſtine broils, till a ſcheme was by them laid, to marry the Duke of Norfolk, a Papiſt, get rid of her ſon James, and Queen Eliſabeth, and graſp both kingdoms into their hands; but this proving abortive, ſhe next endeavoured to have herſelf declared Second in England: whereupon Queen Eliſabeth ſigned a warrant ſomewhat precipitately for her execution; and ſo ſhe was beheaded in Fotheringay caſtle, February 18. 1586, or according to ſome 1587. She died with ſome fortitude, but would have nothing to do with the Proteſtant clergy at the place of execution, ſaying, ſhe would die in the Catholic religion, wherein ſhe was bred and born, willing only to have her confeſſor: at laſt ſhe lifted the crucifix and kiſſed it. And ſo ſhe ended her days as ſhe lived; and with her ended bare-faced Popery for a time in Scotland.—*Knox, Melvill, Spottiſwood*, &c.

Mr Patrick Adamson, firſt miniſter of Paiſley, was a preacher of much repute in the church; but ambition and private intereſt had more ſway with him than the intereſt of Chriſt. And having wrought himſelf into the King's favour, by undermining the government and diſcipline of the church, he was declared biſhop by Morton about 1578. But he got the Biſhoprick of St Andrew's 1584; after which he not only ſpoke and wrote in favour of Prelacy, but became a perſecutor of his faithful brethren. In the height of his grandeur, he uſed to boaſt that three things could not fail him, his learning, the King's favour, and his riches. For the firſt, in the juſt judgement of God, he could not ſpeak a word of ſenſe before or after his meat. For the ſecond, he loſt the King's favour, and had his biſhoprick taken from him, and was heard to ſay, he was ſure the King cared more for his dogs than for him. And for his riches, he was ſo reduced, that he had to get charity from thoſe miniſters whom before he haraſſed. Before, for his pride, contumacy, and other enormities, he was excommunicated by the church; but being now in extreme poverty and ſickneſs, he made a recantation and confeſſion, ſupplicating the church he might be abſolved from the cenſure; which at laſt was by them granted. Whether this repentance proceeded from conſtraint to get a little outward ſuſtenance, as was ſuſpected, we cannot ſay; but in this ſituation he died, in great want and extreme miſery, about the year 1591.—*Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, &c.

Mr

Mr James Nicolson, a creature of the ſame make, one eminent for parts and learning in theſe times, and at firſt a great oppoſer of Prelacy. But being ſtill gaping for riches, honour, and preferment, ſhifted from one benefice to another, till he got the biſhoprick of Dunkeld: yea, ſo forward was he to eſtabliſh Prelacy, that he behoved to be one of thoſe who aſſiſted the King at Hampton Court, againſt eight of his brethren, who were more faithful than himſelf, in 1606. But his honour continued not long, for being ſtricken with ſickneſs of body, and ſeized with melancholy of mind, and horror of conſcience, he could have no reſt. Phyſicians being brought, he told them his trouble was of another kind, for which they could give him no cure; for, ſaid he, "The digeſting of a biſhoprick hath racked my conſcience. I have againſt much light, and over the belly of it, oppoſed the truth, and yielded up the liberties of Chriſt, to pleaſe an earthly king," &c. And ſo in great horror of conſcience he made his exit, Auguſt 1609.—*Calderwood*, &c.

George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, one of King James's creatures, and the only inſtrument, we may ſay, uſed by him at that time to overturn the Preſbyterian form of church government and diſcipline, and introduce Prelacy into Scotland: for which purpoſe he was by him ſent as Commiſſioner to both the General Aſſemblies 1608 and 1610. He brought ſome Engliſh doctors to perſuade, a ſtrong guard to intimidate the faithful, and money to bribe thoſe of a contrary diſpoſition; which he diſtributed to thoſe mercenary creatures for their votes. He ſo far ſucceeded, as to get a new ſet of biſhops erected, and then returned to England, where, with the wages of iniquity, he built a ſumptuous palace at Berwick. When he intended to keep St George's day, and ſolemniſe his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden, the Lord pulled him down from the height of all his honours by a ſudden and ſurpriſing death. *That day his thoughts periſh*, and, with the builder of Jericho, for all his acquiſitions in Scotland and England, in a ſhort time there was not a foot-breadth of land left of it to his poſterity.—*Calderwood, Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, &c.

Mr George Gladstone, at firſt was ſuch a zealous Preſbyterian, that he vowed he ſhould never be Biſhop of St Andrew's, becauſe they were hated, and came all to untimely ends. But his motives not being good, he returned from Court 1605, with a preſentation to the very ſame biſhoprick. Again, when called up to Court next year, to aſſiſt the King againſt the faithful Scottiſh miniſters, he was adjured by his brethren of the miniſtry in the preſbytery of St Andrew's, that, as he ſhould be anſwerable to God, he ſhould do nothing to the prejudice of the church of God: he took God to witneſs, it ſhould be ſo. But they ſoon found the contrary, to their ſad experience? for he not only became a cruel enemy to his brethren who continued faithful, but alſo a lazy time-ſerving hireling, oft-times loitering upon his bed in the very time of ſermon. Inſtance, being one time on his bed in time of the afternoon ſermon, both he and the congregation were alarmed with the cry of *Murder*, his

his ſiſter's ſon in the houſe having killed his cook with a dagger, as he was making ready his ſupper. At this rate he continued till 1615, that he was ſeized with a fearful and ſtrange diſeaſe, which hiſtorians forbear to name, and, what was worſe, with obſtinate and ſenſeleſs ſtupidity, approving of his former courſes; and in that ſituation he died, May 2. 1615.---*Calderwood and others.*

Mr Alexander Forbes, a bird of the ſame feather, was firſt made Biſhop of Caithneſs, then of Aberdeen. He was not only an enemy to the faithful ſervants of Chriſt, but even of ſuch a poor, low diſpoſition, and ſuch a table-friend and flattering ſpunger, that he was nicknamed Collie; becauſe ſo impudent and ſhameleſs, that he would follow the Lords of Seſſion, advocates, &c. when they went to dinner, and cringe about, and ſometimes follow them uncalled, and ſit down in their houſes at table. At laſt he was ſeized with ſickneſs at Leith, and fell under ſore remorſe of conſcience for his paſt life: he ſent for Biſhop Spottiſwood, and would gladly have communicated his mind to him; but it ſeems he would not leave his playing at cards, albeit it was on the Sabbath-day; and ſo he in this condition died.---*Calderwood.*

Mr Andrew Forrester, ſometime miniſter at Dunfermline, when ſent to the General Aſſembly 1610, was by his brethren adjured, that, as he ſhould anſwer to Jeſus Chriſt, he ſhould conſent to no alteration in the government of the church: yet, having received 50 merks from Dunbar, (a ſmall equivalent to the cauſe of Chriſt), he voted for Prelacy. After which, he was convicted of taking ſilver out of the poor's box with falſe keys, and then fell into a fearful diſtemper; inſomuch, that, from ſome words of the Chancellor, apprehending he ſhould be hanged, he run out of the pulpit one day when going to preach, in a fit of diſtraction, confeſſing he had ſold Chriſt at that Aſſembly. He was alſo ſeized with ſickneſs. Mr Row made him a viſit, and found him in a lamentable condition. He aſked, if he was perſuaded that God had called him to the miniſtry. He anſwered, "Nay, I ever ſought the world, and ſo is ſeen on me." He next aſked, what he got at the Aſſembly for ſelling the liberties of the church? He anſwered, fifty merks; at which his horror recurred, apprehending that he was inſtantly to be executed. Mr Row deſired him to pray; he ſaid he could not. Mr Row prayed, in time of which the buttons burſt off his breaſt, and the blood guſhed terribly both from mouth and noſe. After prayer, he aſked if he was prepared for death? He anſwered, No, woes me! Next day he made him another viſit, and found him ſenſeleſs and ſtupid, and ſo left him. After which he died, in great infamy, poverty, and miſery. Nor was Mr Paton, another of the ſame ſtamp, much better. This and more was declared anent them by Mr Row, before the Aſſembly at Glaſgow 1638.---*Stevenſon.*

Mr William Cooper, ſometime miniſter at Perth, witneſſed no ſmall zeal againſt Prelacy, both doctrinally and from the preſs, and yet, through covetouſneſs and court-preferment, he was made Biſhop of Galloway: after which none was more forward for the corruption

corruption of the times. He left his dioceſe, ſays the hiſtorian, and took up his reſidence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and committed his miniſterial affairs to others, by whom was extorted the enormous ſum of 100,000l. In his viſits once in two years, he behaved moſt impiouſly, thruſt in ignorant perſons to cures, and admitted his ſervant unto the miniſtry at his bed-ſide; deſired the preſbytery of Kirkcudbright to diſpenſe with one who kept a woman with him in fornication; and, above all, was a fervent preſſer of the King's injunctions for keeping Chriſtmas, &c. and ſent up his advice, 1619, for puniſhing thoſe who did not comply. Some time before his death, he took a hypochondriac diſtemper, apprehending his head was all glaſs, which much affrighted him. Some brought his former diſcourſes to him to reconcile, which diſquieted him more.—Being at his paſtime at Leith, he apprehended he ſaw armed men coming upon him: the company ſhewing him the contrary, he fell a-trembling, went home and took bed; and being in great anguiſh and trouble of ſpirit, he would often point with his finger to the earth, and cry, "A fallen ſtar, a fallen ſtar!" and ſo he ended his life in great horror and anguiſh of mind *. On his court-advancement, Mr Simſon of Stirling made the following line,

Aureus, heu! fragilem confregit malleus urnam.

Mr Patrick Galloway was another of this fraternity; for when miniſter of Perth, he was not only a ſtrenuous oppoſer of Prelacy in the church, but alſo, for his faithful and free rebukes to Arran and Lenox, who carried on the court-affairs then, he was perſecuted, and obliged to abſcond for ſome time about 1584. But afterwards, being carried down with the current of the times, he was tranſported to Edinburgh, where he became a mighty ſtickler for Prelacy, eſpecially the five articles of Perth; inſomuch, that by the year 1620 he preſſed kneeling at the ſacrament with much impudence and indecency; and though he would not preach on Sabbath, yet he behoved to preach on Chriſtmas. At his Chriſtmas ſacrament 1621, he commanded the communicants to kneel, and he himſelf bowed with the one knee, and ſat with the other. Thus he continued to the dotage of old age, and at laſt died upon the ſtool, eaſing himſelf; and, as worthy Mr Welch had before foreteld, without the leaſt ſenſe or ſigns of true repentance.

——Hamilton, the Marquis of Hamilton, for his many good ſervices to King James againſt the Preſbyterian intereſt, was by him appointed Commiſſioner to the Parliament 1621, on deſign to have the five articles of Perth (viz. 1. Kneeling at the communion; 2. Private communion; 3. Private baptiſm; 4. Obſervation of holidays; 5. Confirmation of children) ratified: all the faithful miniſters being by him diſcharged, the city and the parliament guarded, that no proteſtations might be got offered. Through threats and flattery, he got that diſmal affair effected; but not without a notable mark of divine diſpleaſure: for, in that moment he aroſe to touch the act with the ſceptre, a terrible flaſh of fire came in at the window, followed with three

* Mr Clark, in his Lives, repreſents Mr Cooper as an eminent ſaint. No doubt he had his credentials from the biſhops. But we muſt rather follow Mr Calderwood, and the author of the Fulfilling of the Scriptures.

three fearful claps of thunder, upon which the heavens became dark, and hailſtones and a terrible tempeſt enſued; which aſtoniſhed every beholder, and made the day afterwards be called the Black Saturday; becauſe it began in the morning with fire from earth, and ended in the evening with fire from heaven. And on the Monday, when the act was read at the croſs of Edinburgh, the fire and thunder again recurred. However, the Marquis having got the King's deſign partly accompliſhed, returned to Court; and not long after, for ſuch ſervices, it is ſaid, he was poiſoned by the King's principal minion, the Duke of Buckingham.—*Calderwood*, &c.

JAMES STUART, ſon to Mary Stuart Queen of Scotland, was in his youth educated by the famous Buchanan, and brought up in the true reformed Proteſtant Preſbyterian religion, then eſtabliſhed in Scotland, which was by him more than once ratified when he was in his ſwaddling clothes; as one well obſerves, Chriſt reigned in Scotland in his minority. The church had its various turns according to the diſpoſitions of the regents, the King's favourite flatterers and court-paraſites; but whenever he began to think of obtaining the crown of England, he began to introduce Epiſcopacy into the church of Scotland, to gain the Engliſh nation. And though he was a habitual groſs ſwearer, and ſuch a maſter of diſſimulation, that what he exalted at one time, he ſet himſelf to deſtroy at another: he carried ſtill a face of religion in profeſſion while in Scotland. The church had many ſtruggles, ſometimes Iſrael prevailed, and ſometimes Amalek prevailed; but as ſoon as he aſcended the throne of England, he wholly aſſumed an arbitrary power, and abſolute ſupremacy over the church, which before he had long graſped at. And though he had ſworn to maintain the Preſbyterian form of church government and diſcipline, &c. his deſire of unlimited authority made him now reliſh Epiſcopacy to the higheſt degree: the Biſhops were his creatures. By bribery, falſehood, and perſecution, he introduced Prelacy into Scotland, created ſuch biſhops whom he knew would ſtick at nothing to ſerve his purpoſe. Such as oppoſed his meaſures in both kingdoms, eſpecially in Scotland, ſhared deep in his perſecuting vengeance; ſome were impriſoned, others deprived of their offices; while numbers fled to foreign countries, where they might ſerve God with a ſafe conſcience. Toward the end of his reign, he waxed ſtill worſe: a high commiſſion court was by him erected 1610: a ſet of wicked profane biſhops inſtalled about 1618; by the help of whom, and other corrupt clergy, he got the five articles of Perth agreed to by a patched Aſſembly that year, in 1621. He got them ratified by act of parliament, and then they began to be preſſed with rigour. In England matters were but little better: a declaration was emitted for uſing ſports and gaming on the Lord's day after ſermon; which profanations continue there to this day. He had before wrote againſt the Pope, threatening a malediction upon any of his poſterity that ſhould apoſtatiſe to Popery; but now he haſtened towards Rome; for, upón the match of his ſon with France, he agreed to the following articles: 1. That all laws formerly made

againſt Popery ſhould not be executed: 2. That no new laws ſhould be made againſt Roman Catholics, but they ſhould have a free toleration in England, Scotland, and Ireland. At the ſame time, to the Archbiſhop of Embrun he acknowledged the Pope's authority, and, it is ſaid, concluded on a convocation for that purpoſe, at Dover or Boulogne, in order to effect a more full toleration for Papiſts. By his management in favours of Popery, his ſon-in-law, the Proteſtant King of Bohemia, loſt a kingdom. In Scotland, ſeveral were incarcerate and fined for non-conformity. He had commanded Chriſtmas communion to be kept at Edinburgh; but, by the Lord's immediate hand in the plague, he was in that defeated. The next year, being 1624, he reſolved to have it kept with great ſolemnity; but before that he was cut off on March 27. by what they call a Quartan ague, in the 59th year of his age *, but rather of poiſon, as has been ſuppoſed, with ſuch ſuſpicious circumſtances, ſays a hiſtorian, as gave occaſion of inquiry into the manner of his death, in the firſt two parliaments of his ſon; all which came to nothing by their ſudden diſſolution.—*Welwood's Memoirs, Calderwood, Burnet, Bennet's Memorial of Britain's Deliverances*, &c.

Patrick Scott, a gentleman in Fife, being a violent enemy to the cauſe of Chriſt and religion, after he had waſted his patrimony, had to take himſelf to ſeveral wretched ſhifts at Court; and, amongſt others, ſet forth a recantation under the name of Mr David Calderwood, then under baniſhment; in which, it was thought, he was aſſiſted by the King. But this project failing, he ſet off for Holland, in queſt of Mr David, with a deſign, as appeared, to have diſpatched him. But providentially he was detained in Amſterdam, till he heard that Mr Calderwood was returned home. This made him follow. After which he publiſhed a pamphlet full of lies, entitled *Vox Vera*, but as true as Lucian's *Hiſtoria*. But after all his unlawful ſhifts, he became ſo poor, and at laſt died ſo miſerable, that he had nothing to bury him: ſo that the Biſhop had to contribute as much as got him laid below ground for the good ſervice had done the King and biſhops.---*Calderwood.*

Mr William Forbes, (perhaps a ſon of the forementioned Forbes, was firſt made Doctor in Aberdeen 1621 and 1622. When the people of Edinburgh had made choice of faithful Mr Andrew Cant for their miniſter, the provoſt ſent and brought this Forbes, as one whom he and the Epiſcopal faction knew would pleaſe the King; and in this they ſucceeded to their deſire; for he was not only a violent preſſer of Perth articles, but he alſo preached up Arminianiſm, and eſſayed to reconcile the Papiſts and the church of Scotland together anent juſtification. And when complained of by ſome of the bailies of Edinburgh, all the redreſs they got was to be

* This King's reign has by hiſtorians been repreſented with different features; ſome making him a juſt, religious, and wiſe prince; bu' whatever his abilities were, and whatever advantage the church got iu his minority, yet it is ſure his reign was almoſt one continued ſcene of affliction to Chriſt's faithful witneſſes, and laid the foundation of all the evils that followed.

be brought before the Council, and by the King's order handled ſeverely, by fining and baniſhment. When Charles I. came to Edinburgh, 1633, he erected a new biſhoprick there, to which he nominated this Forbes for biſhop, as one ſtaunch to his intereſt. No ſooner got he this power than he began to ſhew his teeth, by preſſing conformity both by word and writing; and for that purpoſe, ſent inſtructions to all the preſbyteries within his juriſdiction. The people of Edinburgh were alſo threatened by the Biſhop's thunder; for on the firſt communion, finding them not ſo obſequious as he would have had them, he threatened that, if his life was continued, he ſhould either make the beſt of them communicate kneeling, or quit his gown; and who doubts of his intention to do as he had promiſed? But he ſoon found he had reckoned without his hoſt; for before he could accompliſh that, God was pleaſed to cut him off on the 12th of April following, by a fearful vomiting of blood, after he had enjoyed this new dignity about two months. Burnet ſays, he died ſuſpected of Popery.—*Burnet's Hiſtory, and Stevenſon's Hiſtory, vol.* 1.

Mr John Spottiswood was firſt miniſter at Calder; but by his undermining practice he got himſelf wrought into the biſhoprick of Glaſgow, and a Lord of the Seſſion, 1609. From thence he jumped into the archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's 1615, and aſpired ſtill higher, till he was made Chancellor of Scotland. He was a tool every way fit for the court-meaſures, as he could be either Papiſt or Prelate, provided he got profit or preferment. When in France with the Duke of Lennox, he went to maſs, and in Scotland he had a principal hand in all the encroachments upon the church and cauſe of Chriſt from 1596 to 1637. And for practice, a blacker character ſcarcely ever filled the miniſterial office. An adulterer, a ſimoniac, a drunkard, tippling in taverns till midnight, a profaner of the Lord's day, by playing at cards and jaunting through the country, a falſifier of the acts of Aſſembly, a reproacher of the national covenant; for which crimes he was excommunicated by the Aſſembly at Glaſgow 1638; after which, having loſt all his places of profit and grandeur, he fled to England, the aſylum then of the ſcandalous Scots biſhops, where he died about 1639, in extreme poverty and miſery; according to Mr Welch's words, he ſhould be as a ſtone caſt out of a ſling by the hand of God, and a malediction ſhould be on all his poſterity; which all came to paſs; his eldeſt ſon, a baron, came to beg his bread; his ſecond ſon, Preſident of the Seſſion, was executed in Montroſe's affair; his daughter, who married Lord Roſlin, was ſoon rooted out of all eſtate and honours. *Their fruit ſhalt thou deſtroy from the earth, and their ſeed from amongſt the children of men* *.—*Calderwood, Stevenſon,* &c.

John Logie, ſtudent in the univerſity of Aberdeen, was ſuch a

 malignant

* The Biſhop of Wincheſter, who wrote Spottiſwood's life, now prefixed to his Hiſtory, repreſents him, for moderation, patience, and piety, as one of the greateſt ſaints that ever lived. He ſays, he was always beloved of his Maſter, and the only inſtrument for propagating Epiſcopacy in Scotland, to which he gave a teſtimony in his dying words; with much more fulſome ſtuff!

malignant enemy to the work of reformation and the national covenant, that when commiſſioners were ſent from Edinburgh there in 1638, in order to reconcile them to the covenant, while Mr Henderſon was preaching in the Earl Marſhal's cloſe for that purpoſe, he threw clods at them with great ſcorn and mockery. But in a few days he killed one Nicol Ferrie, a boy, becauſe the boy's father had beat him for ſtealing his peaſe; and though he eſcaped juſtice for a time, yet he was again apprehended, and executed in the year 1644. Such was the conſequence of diſturbing the worſhip of God, and mocking the ambaſſadors of Jeſus Chriſt.—*Stevenſon*, &c.

CHARLES I. ſucceeded his father James VI. and exactly trod in the ſame ſteps, and with no better ſucceſs. He graſped at the prerogative; and to eſtabliſh abſolute power, Prelacy, ſuperſtitition, and Arminianiſm, ſeemed his principal aim. In England he infringed the liberties of parliament, and by his marriage the nations became peſtered with Papiſts. In Scotland he preſſed Perth articles, the ſervice-book, and then, by Laud's direction, the book of canons which he and the reſt of the biſhops had compiled for them about 1637, contrary to his coronation-oath taken at Edinburgh 1633. But in theſe he was repulſed by the Scots covenanters, 1639 and 1640. Again, when he was confirming all oaths, promiſes, ſubſcriptions, and laws for eſtabliſhing the reformation in the Scots parliament 1641, in the mean time he was encouraging his Iriſh cut-throats to murder betwixt 2000 or 3000 innocent Proteſtants in Ireland, the letters that he had ſent for that purpoſe being produced afterwards. After his return to England, matters became ſtill worſe betwixt him and the Engliſh parliament; ſo that both parties took the field, in which by his means a ſea of innocent blood was ſpilt, (the Scots aſſiſting the parliament, as bound by the ſolemn league), that he might overturn the covenanted intereſt in that land. Notwithſtanding all his ſolemn engagements, oaths, and confirmations of acts of parliament, by his direction, Montroſe was ſent down from Court to raiſe an inſurrection in the Highlands; by whom the bloody Iriſh were invited over, whereby in a few years many thouſands of the covenanters, his beſt ſubjects, were killed. But all his bloody ſchemes for overturning that covenanted intereſt that he had ſo ſolemnly bound himſelf to defend and maintain, proving abortive, he fell at laſt into the hands of Cromwell, and the Independent faction, who never ſurceaſed till they brought him to the block, January 30. 1649. At his death, notwithſtanding his religious pretences, being always a devotee of the church of England, he was ſo far from repentance, that he ſeemed to juſtify the moſt part of his former conduct *.—*Civil Wars of Great Britain, Baillie's Letters, Bennet, Welwood, and Guthrie's Memoirs*, &c.

JAMES Duke of Hamilton, though none of the moſt violent proſecutors

* The high-fliers and Engliſh hiſtorians lay the blemiſhes of this reign on the covenanters, and make Charles I. the martyr. As to his eternal ſtate, it is not our part to determine; God has judged him; but ſure, he was the prime inſtrument of all the broils and bloody diſaſters that took place in theend of his reign.

proſecutors of the malignant intereſt againſt the reformation, yet was always one who conformed to his maſter's (Charles I.) meaſures, and was by him ſent down Commiſſioner to the Aſſembly 1630, which he commanded to diſſolve, though they did not obey, and left it. He publiſhed the King's declaration againſt the covenants and covenanters. And though none of the moſt rigid, yet he may be juſtly accounted the head of the malignant faction in Scotland, from 1638 to 1648, ſince he, contrary to the ſolemn league and covenant, raiſed a large army in Scotland, and went to England in behalf of the King. But he was ſhamefully defeated by Cromwell, and taken priſoner to London. After a ſhort confinement, he was executed.—*Baillie's Letters, Civil Wars*, &c.

JAMES GRAHAM, Earl, afterwards Marquis, of Montroſe, in 1638, took the covenanters ſide, was a prime preſſer of the covenants, was one of the commiſſioners ſent to Aberdeen 1638 for that purpoſe, and in 1639 was ſent north to ſuppreſs the malignant faction of the Huntleys. The ſame year he was ordered north again to quell Aboyne and the Gordons, whom he routed at the bridge of Dee. He commanded two regiments of the covenanters under General Leſly 1640, and led the van of the army for England. But ſhifting ſides 1643, he offered to raiſe forces for the King, came from Court, and ſet up the King's ſtandard at Dumfries. From thence he went to the north, and joined M'Donald, with a number of bloody Iriſh, where they plundered and waſted the country of Argyle, marched ſouthward and gained ſix battles over the covenanters, viz. at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochy, Alſoord, Aldearn, and Kilſyth, where many, ſome ſay, thirty thouſand, of the covenanters were killed. But at laſt was defeated at Philiphaugh by Leſly, 1645. For this conduct he was excommunicated by the General Aſſembly. He went abroad, and there remained till 1650, that when the treaty was on the very anvil with Charles II. he received another commiſſion from him to raiſe a new inſurrection in the north, but was defeated by Colonels Strahan, Kerr, and Halket, and afterwards taken in the Laird of Aſon's ground, and brought to Endluiſh, where he was condemned to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high, and then quartered, and his legs and arms hung up in the public places of the kingdom, May 21. 1650. Mr Blair and ſome other miniſters were ſent to him to uſe means to perſuade him to repentance for his apoſtate and bloody life; but by no means could they perſuade this truculent tyrant and traitor to his country to repent. He excuſed himſelf, and died under the cenſure of the church, obſtinate and utterly impenitent.—*Montroſe, Guthrie, and Blair.*

WILLIAM MONRO, a kind of gentleman in the pariſh of Killearn, was a hater of God and every thing religious; for while Mr Hog was miniſter there, ſome time before the Reſtoration, a gentleman in the pariſh having one of his family dead, intended to bury in the church; but this being contrary to an act of the General Aſſembly, Mr Hog refuſed it. But Monro, being a briſk hectoring fellow, promiſed to make their way good in ſpite of all oppoſition.

Accordingly;

Accordingly, when they came to the church-door, Mr Hog oppoſed them; whereupon Monro laid hands on him, to pull him from the door; but Mr Hog, being able both of body and mind, wreſted the keys from the aſſailant, telling him, that if he was to repel force by force, perhaps he would find himſelf no gainer; withal, telling the people, that that man had grieved the Spirit of God, and that they ſhould either ſee his ſpeedy repentance, or elſe a ſingular judgement upon him. He went on in his wicked courſes a few months, till in one of his drunken revels, he attacked a mean man, and threw him in the fire. The poor man in this extremity, drew out the wretch's own ſword, and thruſt it through his belly, on which his bowels came out, and ſo he expired in a miſerable condition.—*Memoirs of the Life of Mr Hog.*

John Earl of Middleton, at firſt lifted arms with the covenanters, and had a ſhare of the victory of the Gordons at the bridge of Dee. Yea, he was ſo zealous in that profeſſion, that one time having ſworn the covenants, he ſaid to ſome gentlemen preſent, that it was the pleaſanteſt day he ever ſaw; and if he ſhould ever do any thing againſt that bleſſed day's work, he wiſhed that arm (holding up his right arm) might be his death. But finding Preſbyterian diſcipline too ſtrict for a wicked vicious life, he ſhifted ſides, and became major-general to Duke Hamilton 1648, and came upon a handful of covenanters at a communion at Machlin muir; and, contrary to his promiſe, killed a number of them. He became a great favourite of Charles II. and laid a ſcheme to take him from the Convention of Eſtates to the north, to free him of any further covenant-engagements, for which he was excommunicated by the church; and though the ſentence was taken off upon his feigned repentance, yet it was never by him forgot, till he got the blood of the pronouncer, Mr Guthrie. After the Reſtoration, he was advanced to great honour, and ſent down Commiſſioner to the parliament 1661, where he got the covenanted work of reformation wholly overturned by the infamous act reſciſſory,—oath of allegiance,—act eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy and biſhops in Scotland,---the act againſt the covenants, &c. But this would not do, he muſt have a glut of the blood of Argyle and Mr Guthrie; and more, he behoved to come weſt, and grace that drunken meeting at Glaſgow, by whom ſeveral hundreds of the faithful miniſters were thruſt out. From thence, he arrived at Ayr, where he and ſome more drunken prelates drank the devil's health at the croſs, in the middle of the night. It were endleſs almoſt to ſum up the cruelties by his orders exerciſed upon thoſe who would not conform to Prelacy, for the ſpace of two years; inſomuch, that he impoſed no leſs than the enormous ſum of one million ſeventeen thouſand and three hundred and fifty pounds in the parliament 1662, of fines. So that in the ſouth and weſtern parts of Scotland, men either loſt their conſciences or their ſubſtance. But being complained of at Court, that he had amerced large ſums into his own hands, he haſtened up, but was but coldly received by the King, (who had now got his turn done by him),

Lauderdale being now his rival: He loſt his office and honour, and lived ſober enough, till, as an honourable kind of baniſhment, he was ſent off as governor to Tanquirs, on the coaſts of Africa; but he lived but a ſhort and contemptuous life there, till the juſtice and judgement of God overtook him; for, falling down a ſtair, he broke the bone of his right arm; at the next tumble, the broken ſplinter pierced his ſide; after which, he ſoon became ſtupid, and died in great torment. This was the end of one of thoſe who had brought the church of Scotland on her knees by Prelacy.---*Wodrow.*

Robert Milne, bailie (or according to ſome provoſt) ſometime of Linlithgow, ſwore the covenants with uplifted hands; but ſoon after the Reſtoration, to ſhew his loyalty, did, in a moſt contemptuous manner, burn the ſaid covenants, the Cauſes of Wrath, *Lex Rex*, Weſtern Remonſtrance, with ſeveral other acts of church and ſtate, at the croſs; and to grace the ſolemnity, French and Spaniſh wine was diſtributed moſt liberally, wherein the King's and Queen's healths were drunken. But this vile pageantry, ſimilar to Balſhazzer's quaffing in the holy veſſels, did not paſs long without a note of obſervation; for though Milne had ſcraped together much riches, yet, in a ſhort time, he became an inſolvent bankrupt, and was forced to flee to the Abbey; after which he became diſtracted, and died in great miſery at Holyrood-houſe.—*Wodrow.*

——Maxwell of Blackſton roſe with Caldwall, Kerſland, and ſome others of the Renfrew gentlemen, who intended to join Col. Wallace, and that handful who roſe 1666; but being by Dalziel prevented from joining them, was obliged to diſperſe, and though Blackſton was a *ſocius criminis*, (had it been a crime), yet to ſave his eſtate and neck, he went firſt to the Archbiſhop, then to the Council, and accuſed and informed againſt the reſt: and though he thus purchaſed his liberty, he had nothing afterwards to boaſt of; for theſe gentlemen moſtly got honourably off the ſtage; whereas after that he never had a day to do well, (as himſelf was obliged to confeſs), every thing in providence went croſs to him, till reduced; and then he took a reſolution to go to Carolina, but in this he was diſappointed alſo; for he died at ſea in no comfortable manner, and was turned into the fluid ocean as a victim for fiſhes to feed upon.—*Wodrow.*

David M'Bryar, an heritor in Irongray pariſh, was choſen a commiſſioner of the burgh for Middleton's parliament, in which he intended to have charged his miniſter, Mr Welch, with treaſon. After which he became a cruel perſecutor; nor was he leſs remarkable in that country for a wicked and villanious practice, than for his furious rage againſt the godly; but in a ſhort time, he became inſolvent, and for fear of caption was obliged to ſkulk privately among his tenants. In the mean time, one Gordon, a north-country man of the ſame ſtamp, coming forth to agent a curate's cauſe in that country, and travelling through Irongray pariſh, found Mr M'Bryar in the fields very dejected and melancholy like, and concluding him to be one of the ſufferers, commanded him to go with him to Dumfries. But M'Bryar, fearing nothing but his debt, refuſed;

fuſed; whereupon Gordon drew his ſword, and told him he muſt go. He ſtill refuſed, till in the ſtruggle Gordon run him through the body, and ſo he expired. Gordon made it no ſecret, that he had killed a Whig, (as he called him); but when they ſaw the body, they ſoon knew who it was; and immediately Gordon was taken to Dumfries himſelf, and hanged for killing one as honeſt as himſelf. Here remark a notable judgement of God, M'Bryar was killed under the notion of one of thoſe he perſecuted, and then one perſecutor was the inſtrument to cut off another.—*Wodrow, Fulfilling of the Scriptures.*

Sir Wm Bannatine, another of this wicked perſecuting gang, having got a party under command, took up garriſon in the caſtle or houſe of Earlſton, after Pentland, where he committed ſuch cruelties upon the poor people in theſe bounds, who would not comply with Prelacy, as are ſhocking to nature to relate. In the pariſhes of Dalry, Carſphairn, and Balmaghie, he fined and plundered numbers. He tortured a poor woman, becauſe he alledged ſhe was acceſſory to her huſband's eſcape, with fire-matches betwixt her fingers, till ſhe almoſt went diſtracted, and ſhortly after died. He alſo tortured James Mitchel of Sandywell the ſame way, though nothing but 16 years of age, becauſe he would not tell things he knew nothing of. Sometimes he would cauſe make great fires, and lay down men to roaſt before them, if they would not or could not give him money, or information concerning thoſe who were at Pentland. But his cruel reign was not long-lived; for the managers not being come to that altitude of cruelty as afterward, an inquiry was made into his conduct, and he laid under two hundred pounds of fine; and becauſe Lauderdale would not remit this, it is ſaid, he attempted to aſſaſſinate him. However, he was obliged to leave the King's dominions, and go over to the wars in the low countries, where, at the ſiege of Graves, as he was walking ſomewhat careleſsly, being adviſed to take care of himſelf, he ſaid, cannons kill none but fey-folk. At that very nick of time, a cannon ball came, and ſevered his heart from his body, to a conſiderable diſtance, according to a wicked imprecation often uſed by him in his ordinary diſcourſe, that if ſuch a thing were not ſo, he wiſhed his heart might be driven out of his body.—*Wodrow.*

Mr James Hamilton, brother to Lord Belhaven, but of the clerical order. Before the 1638, he had received Epiſcopal ordination; but upon the turn of affairs then, he became a zealous covenanter; and being ſettled miniſter at Cambuſnethen, ſuch was his zeal, that he not only bound his people to theſe covenants, but excommunicated all from the tables who were not true to them; uſing Nehemiah's form, ſhaking the lap of his gown, ſaying, *So let God ſhake out every man*, &c. But how he himſelf kept them, the ſequel will declare. For his cunning time-ſerving temper made him too volatile for a Preſbyterian; for no ſooner did Prelacy again get the aſcendant after the Reſtoration, than he got himſelf into the firſt leet of biſhops, and muſt needs go up to London to be conſecrated. The biſhopriek of Galloway came to his ſhare; and then he

he began to ſhow his teeth againſt the covenanters, and procured letters from the Council againſt ſeveral of the field-preachers; and having got Sir Thomas Turner ſouth for that purpoſe, he oft-times hunted him out, beyond his intention, unto many outrageous oppreſſions, though Turner was one like himſelf every way qualified for ſuch exerciſes. Thus he continued for about twelve years, till at laſt he was called before the ſupreme tribunal to anſwer for his perfidy, apoſtacy, treachery, and cruelty, by a death ſuitable and ſimilar unto ſuch a life. The circumſtances of which, for want of certain information, we are not able to relate at preſent *.

Mr Andrew Honeyman, ſon to a baker, who dedicated more than one cake to the muſes; for all his four ſons were ſcholars. Mr Andrew, the eldeſt, was firſt miniſter at Ferry Parton, then tranſported to St Andrew's; and being zealouſly affected to Preſbyterian church-government, and one of good parts, he was employed by the preſbytery to draw up a teſtimony for the ſame, about 1661. Nay, ſuch was his zeal, that he ſaid, if ever he ſpoke or acted otherwiſe, he was content to be reckoned a man of a proſtitute conſcience; and that, if he accepted a biſhoprick, he wiſhed he might worry on it. But on an interview with Sharp at Balmany Whins, he firſt got the arch-deanry of St Andrew's, and then the biſhoprick of Orkney; and having always ran greedily after the error of Balaam, from a zealous covenanter, he became a fiery bigot for Prelacy, and was the firſt after the Reſtoration that wrote in defence of that conſtitution (againſt Naphtali), for which that hand, upon the wriſt, received the piſtol-ſhot intended for Sharp, 1668. But this did not deter him from his former wicked practices, till about the year 1677, he met with harſher treatment (ſays the hiſtorian) from a more dreadful quarter, when he died at his houſe in Orkney.—*Sharp's Life, Wodrow.*

Mr Thomas Bell, born in Weſtruther in Berwickſhire, was, by Mr John Veitch's generoſity, put to ſchool, and being miniſter there, he procured alſo a burſary for him; but after his laureation, falling into drunkenneſs, he went over to the Engliſh ſide; where ſhifting ſides, he obtained a parſonage, and became curate of Longhorſly, and was a violent perſecutor of the Preſbyterians; eſpecially thoſe who had fled from Scotland, and particularly Mr William

* Here obſerve, that Mr William Violant, formerly miniſter at Ferry Parton in Fife, was indulged to Cambuſnethan 1699, (whom Mr Wodrow calls a man of ſingular learning, moderation, and temper,—perhaps becauſe he wrote a pretended anſwer to the hiſtory of the indulgence). Upon a time hearing ſome relate Mr Cargill's faithfulneſs and diligence in preaching at all hazards, &c. Mr Violant ſaid, What needs all this ado? we will get heaven, and they will get no more. This being again related to Mr Cargill, he anſwered, Yes, we will get more: we will get God glorified on earth, which is more than heaven. However, Mr Violant outlived the Revolution, and was ſometime miniſter of the eſtabliſhed church, being one of theſe nominated by the General Aſſembly 1690, to viſit the ſouth of Tay. While on his deathbed, one of his brethren came to viſit him, and aſking how it was with him now? his anſwer was, "No hope, no hope." Whether this terminated in his final deſtruction or otherwiſe, we know not; but ſure we may ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *Thou tookeſt vengeance of their inventions.*

Veitch, (brother to his former benefactor), then at Stanton-hall; and being one time drinking with ſome Papiſts who were ſtimulating him on againſt Mr Veitch and his meeting, he vowed he ſhould either ruin him, or he him: in which he was as good as his word; for having brought him to many hardſhips, he at laſt got him apprehended, and ſent off to Edinburgh, 1679. He did not long continue this trade; for, meeting with a gentleman, he boaſted that this night Mr Veitch would be at Edinburgh, and to-morrow hanged. But in three days, he himſelf being abroad, and drinking at a certain place till ten o'clock at night, muſt needs ſet home. The curate of the place urged him to ſtay, the night being ſtormy, and the water big, but he would not: ſo ſetting off, and loſing his way, and coming to the river Pont, where, as was ſuppoſed, he alighted to find the way, by reaſon of the ſnow; and ſtepping over the brink of the river, to the armpit, where the old ice bare him up, and the new ice, by reaſon of ſome days thaw, froze him in; ſo that, after two days, he was found ſtanding in this poſture, with the upper part of his body dry. Some went to help him out, but few could be got to give his corpſe a convoy; ſo that they were obliged to lay him acroſs a horſe's back, with a rope about his neck, and through below the beaſt's belly, faſtened to his heels, and ſo he was carried off, by a death ſuitable enough to ſuch a wicked malevolent life.---*Veiteh's Life at large.*

Mr James Sharp, was ſon to William Sharp, and grandſon to the piper of ———, ſo much famed for his ſkill in playing a ſpring called Coffee. However, the wind of the bag procured James a handſome education; after which, he obtained a regent's poſt in the Univerſity of St Andrew's. To relate every thing in the black and diſmal ſtory of his life, would fill a volume. We ſhall only point at the principal lineaments thereof. While regent, he furiouſly beat one of his colleagues, honeſt Mr Sinclair, on the Lord's day at the college table. He took up his lodging in a public inn, and there got the hoſtler, one Iſabel Lindſay, with child. When ſhe came to be delivered, he prevailed with her, upon promiſe of marriage, to conſent to murder the infant; which he himſelf effected with his handkerchief, and then buried it below the hearth-ſtone. When the woman, after he was biſhop, ſtood up once and again before the people, and confronted him with this, he ordered her tongue to be pulled out with pincers, and, when not obeyed, cauſed her to be put in the branks, and afterwards baniſhed with her huſband over the water. For this, and the ſtriking of Mr Sinclair, he pretended a great deal of repentance, and exerciſe of conſcience; and being one eloquent of tongue, he ſoon deceived the miniſtry, and was by them advanced to be miniſter at Crail; and then to make ſure, he took the covenants a ſecond time. In Cromwell's time, he took the tender, and became a thorough-paced Cromwellian. When the time of his advancement approached at the Reſtoration, being one of a zealous profeſſion, his brethren ſent him (as one whom they could confide in) over to Charles II. at Breda, that they might have the Preſbyterian form of church-go-

vernment

vernment continued. In the mean time, he, in their name, ſupplicated him to have Epiſcopacy reſtored; becauſe he ſaw it would pleaſe the malignant faction. After the King's arrival, he was again employed in the ſame errand; and, while at London undermining that noble conſtitution, he made his brethren believe all the while, by letters, how much he had done for their cauſe, till he got it wholly overturned; and then, like another Judas, he returned, and for his reward obtained the archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's; and, according to ſome, 50,000 merks a-year, and counſellor and primate of Scotland. No ſooner was the wicked Haman advanced, than he began to perſecute and haraſs all who would not comply with his meaſures. He perjured himſelf in Mr Mitchell's caſe, had an active hand in all the blood ſhed on ſcaffolds and fields, from 1660 till his death; and kept up the King's orders of indemnity, till the laſt ten of the Pentland men were executed. Nor was he any better in his domeſtic character; for ſometimes he would, when at table, whiſper in his wife's ears, the devil take her, when things were not ordered to his contentment. In a word, the ambition of Diotrephes, the covetouſneſs of Demas, the treachery of Judas, the apoſtacy of Julian, and the cruelty of Nero, did all concenter in him. But to come to his death, having hunted out one Carmichael to haraſs the ſhire of Fife, a few Fife gentlemen went out in queſt of the ſaid Carmichael, upon the 3d of May 1679.---But miſſing him, they providentially met the Biſhop his maſter; which they took as a kind of providential call to diſpatch him there. And having ſtopt his coach, commanded him to come out and prepare for death. But this he refuſed. This made them pour in a number of ſhot upon him; after which, being about to depart, one behind heard his daughter, who was in coach, ſay, There is life yet. This made them all return. The commander (Burly), finding him yet ſafe, and underſtanding ſhooting was not to do his turn, commanded him to come out, and told him the reaſon of their conduct; namely, his oppoſition to the kingdom of Chriſt, murdering of his people, particularly Mr James Mitchell, and James Learmond. The Biſhop ſtill lingered, and cried for mercy, and offered them money. He ſaid, *Thy money periſh with thee.* He again commanded him to come out, and prepare for death and eternity. At laſt he came out; but by no means could they prevail with him to pray. Upon which they all drew their ſwords, and then his courage failed him. The commander ſtruck him, which was redoubled by the reſt, until he was killed. And ſo he received the juſt demerit of his ſorceries, villanies, murders, perfidy, perjury, and apoſtacy. *Then Phinehas roſe, and executed juſtice.---Vid. his Life, Wodrow.*

JOHN Earl (afterwards Duke) of ROTHES, was ſon to that famous reformer the Earl of ROTHES. He at firſt ſet out that way. But, after the Reſtoration, being one of a profane wicked life, he exactly anſwered the taſte of King and Court. So he was made Preſident of the Council, and on Middleton's fall, Commiſſioner, with many other places of power and truſt heaped upon

him; all which titles, &c. died with him. After Pentland, with others he made a tour through the weſt, and cauſed twelve more of the Pentland men to be executed at Irvine and Ayr.---He perjured himſelf in Mr Mitchell's cauſe, and was the contriver of that barbarous unheard-of cruelty, exerciſed on worthy Hackſton of Rathillet. Nay, ſuch was his zeal in ſerving his maſter Charles, (or rather Deabolus), that he profeſſed his willingneſs to ſet up Popery in Scotland at the King's command; for which, with his other flagitious wickedneſs, ſuch as uncleanneſs, adulteries, ordinary curſing, ſwearing, drunkenneſs, &c. he was one of thoſe excommunicated by Mr Cargill at Torwood, Sept. 1680. Thus he continued to wallow in all manner of filthineſs, till July next year, that death did arreſt him. Mr Cargill being then in cuſtody, he threatened him with a violent death; to whom Mr Cargill anſwered, that die what death he would, he ſhould not ſee it: which came to paſs; for that morning (Mr Cargill was to be executed in the afternoon) Rothes was ſeized with ſickneſs, and a dreadful horror of conſcience; ſome of his wife's miniſters were ſent for, who dealt ſomewhat freely with him; to whom he ſaid, "We all thought "little of that man's ſentence, (meaning Mr Cargill), but I find "that ſentence binding on me now, and will bind me to eternity." And ſo roaring out, till he made the bed ſhake under him, he died in that condition.---*Wodrow, Walker's Life of Mr Cargill*, &c.

Hugh Pinaneve, factor to the Lady Loudon, while the Earl was a refugee in Holland, was a moſt wicked wretch, both in principle and practice! and an inveterate enemy to the ſufferers; inſomuch, that being at a market at Mauchlin, ſome time after Mr Cameron's death, when drinking in a room with one Robert Brown, before they took horſe, he brake out in railery againſt Mr Cameron and the ſufferers: Mr Peden, overhearing him in the next room, came to the chamber-door and ſaid, Sir, hold your peace, ere twelve o'clock, you ſhall know what ſort a man Mr Cameron was: God ſhall puniſh that blaſphemous mouth and tongue of yours, in a moſt remarkable manner, for a warning to all ſuch railing Rabſhakehs. Brown, knowing Mr Peden, haſtened the factor home, and went to his own houſe, and Hugh to the Earl's houſe. But when caſting off his boots, he was ſuddenly ſeized with great pains through his whole body. Brown, uſing to let blood, was immediately ſent for.---But when he came, he found him lying, and his mouth gaping wide, and his tongue hanging out: he let a little blood, but to no effect; he died before midnight, in this fearful condition.---*Peden's Life*, &c.

John Nisbet, factor to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, was a drunkard, a hater of all religion and piety, and ſuch a profeſſed malignant wretch, that when Mr Cargill was brought in priſoner to Glaſgow, July 1681, looking over a ſtair to him, in way of ridicule, cried three times over, Will you give us one word more, (alluding to a word Mr Cargill ſometimes uſed in his pathetic way of preaching). To whom Mr Cargill, with much regret and concern, ſaid,..." Mock not, leſt your bands be made ſtrong. Poor

" man,

man, the day is coming ere you die, that you ſhall deſire to have one word, and ſhall not have it." Shortly he was ſuddenly ſtruck by God, and his tongue three days ſucceſſively ſwelled in his mouth, ſo that he could not ſpeak one word. Two Glaſgow men made him a viſit, and deſired him to commit to writing the reaſon of this, and if he deſired to ſpeak; to whom he wrote, "That it was the juſt judgement of God, and the ſaying of the miniſter verified on him, for his mocking of him; and if he had the whole world, he would give it for the uſe of his tongue again. But that he never got, but died in great torment and ſeeming horror.—*Wodrow, Walker,* &c.

J—— Ellies, was one employed by the bloody managers about Bothwell affair; and being a lawyer, he behoved to ſhew his parts in pleading againſt the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, namely, in the trial of Meſſ. Kid and King: and though he got their lives pleaded away, and his conſcience kept quiet for a little, yet ſhortly death did arreſt him; and then his conſcience awakened, and under the horror of that he died in a very pitiful and ſhocking manner.—*Hiſtory of the Sufferings,* &c.

John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, at firſt ſet up for a prime covenanter, and ſwore them more than once; and, if we miſtake not, was the ſame called Lord Maitland, ruling elder from Scotland to the Weſtminſter Aſſembly, and had a principal hand in the whole management during the ſecond reformation period; but falling in with Charles II. he ſoon debauched him. After the Reſtoration, he became a furious malignant, and being one whoſe nature and qualifications did exactly correſpond with the King's, he complied in every thing that pleaſed him, for which he heaped upon him titles, places of power, profit, and preferment, all which died with himſelf. He was made Secretary of State, Preſident of the Council, and Commiſſioner to the parliament 1669, where he got that hell-hatched act of ſupremacy paſſed, which has plagued this church and nation ever ſince; at the inſtigation of Dr Burnet, he ſet the indulgence on foot 1670; got the act againſt conventicles made, which occaſioned ſo many hardſhips and bloodſheds in this land: nay, ſuch was his fury, that when they would not comply, he uncovered his arm to the elbow in Council, and ſwore by Jehovah he would make the beſt of them ſubmit. In a word, he was the prime inſtrument of all the cruelties exerciſed for a number years, while he obtained the King's ear. Nor was this all; for he became notorious for a wicked profligate life and converſation; a thing common with apoſtates: a Sabbath-breaker, gaming on the Lord's day, a profane ſwearer and blaſphemer, a jeſter on ſcripture and things religious, one time ſaying to Prelate Sharp, *Sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footſtool.* He perjured himſelf in Mr Mitchell's caſe, promiſing in Council he ſhould be indemnified to life and limb, and then ſwearing before the Juſticiary, that there was no ſuch promiſe or act made. For theſe, with his other ſins of adultery, counſelling the King, and aſſiſting him in all his tyrannies, in overturning the work of reformation,

tion, and murdering thoſe who adhered to theſe covenants that he himſelf had engaged in, he was alſo one of thoſe excommunicated at Torwood, 1680. Towards the end of his life, he became ſuch a remarkable Epicurean, that it is incredible the fleſh, or juice of fleſh, it is ſaid he devoured in one day, eating and drinking being now his only exerciſe and delight. His ſcheme of management had rendered him odious to the Engliſh patriots. Now his effeminate life made him unfit for buſineſs: ſo, about 1681, he was obliged to reſign his offices; after which, by old age, and vaſt bulk of body, his ſpirits became quite ſunk, till his heart was not the bigneſs of a walnut: and ſo at laſt upon the chamber-box, like another Arius, he evacuated ſoul, vital life, and excrements all at once; and ſo went to his own place.---*Burnet and Wodrow's Hiſtories, and Walker's Remarks.*

J—— Wylie, though of no great note, yet for a wicked life and practice was a tool fit enough for the dreary drudgery of perſecution: in which he got a party of ſoldiers to aſſiſt him as often as he would. In this deviliſh employment, amongſt other inſtances, he got a pārty of Balcarras's troop 1683, and came upon John Archer, while his children was ſick, and himſelf ill of the gravel; yet he muſt needs have the mother of the children too, though ſhe could not leave them in that condition. While he inſiſted, one of the dragoons ſaid, "The devil ding your back in twa: have ye a coach and ſix for her and the children?" Wylie, with curſing, anſwered, "She ſhall go, if ſhe ſhould be trailed in a ſledge;" which was his common bye-word when hauling poor people to priſon. However, he got Archer and five ſmall children to Kirkaldy tolbooth. But what then? In a little after, having taken a gentleman priſoner, he went with him to a public houſe near Clunie, in the pariſh of Kinglaſſie, to ſee ſome public matters accommodated; but not agreeing, Wylie made a great ſplutter, and, amongſt other imprecations, ſaid, "The devil take me, if I carry him not to Cupar tolbooth this night." The gentleman's man, a young hardy fellow, told him roundly, his maſter ſhould not go there. Upon which, Wylie gave him a blow: the fellow ran to a ſmith's ſhop, and getting a goad of iron, made at Wylie. A ſcuffle enſued, in which he broke Wylie's back in two; which obliged them to get two ſledges, and tie him acroſs on them, and ſo carry him home; and in a ſhort time he died in great agony. *The Lord ſhall break the arm of the wicked.—Wodrow.*

Mr Francis Gordon, a volunteer in the Earl of Airly's troop, but chiefly ſo from a principle of wickedneſs. He had committed ſeveral outrages upon the ſuffering people of God, and intended more, as appeared from ſeveral of their names in his pocket to be taken at his death, had not God cut his days ſhort; for he and another wicked companion, left their troop at Lanark, and came with two ſervants and four horſes to Kilkeagow, ſearching for ſufferers. Gordon rambling through the town, offering to abuſe ſome women; at night coming to Eaſt ſeat, Gordon's comrade went to bed, but he would ſleep none, roaring all night for women. In

the morning, he left the reſt, and with his ſword in his hand, came to Moſs-plate. Some men who had been in the fields all night, fled; upon which he purſued. In the mean time, ſeeing three men, who had been at a meeting in the night, flee, he purſued and overtook them; one of them aſked, why he purſued them? He ſaid, to ſend them to hell. Another ſaid, That ſhall not be; we will defend ourſelves. Gordon ſaid, Either you or I ſhall go to it juſt now; and ſo, with great fury, run his ſword at one of them, which miſſed his body, but went through his coat. The ſaid perſon fired at him, but miſſed him; whereupon he roared out, God damn his ſoul; another fired a pocket-piſtol, which took his head; and ſo he fell down dead. Thus his aſſiduity brought him to his end, near four miles from the troop, and one from his companion.—*Walker.*

Thomas Kennoway, an officer of the guards, and another booted apoſtle for the propagation of Epiſcopacy, was with Dalziel at Pentland, and at the apprehending of Mr M'Kail at Braid's craigs, and the apprehending of Mr King after Bothwell. He attacked a meeting at Bathgate, ſhot one dead, and took fourteen priſoners, who were afterwards baniſhed 1681. He came with a party to Livingſton pariſh; where he rifled houſes, broke open cheſts, abuſed women with child, took an old man and his ſon, and offered to hang them on the two ends of a tow. He ſpent the Lord's day in drinking, ſaying, he would make the priſoners pay it. He was a profane adulterer, a drinker, a fearful blaſphemer, curſer, and ſwearer. He would ſometimes ſay, Hell would be a good winter, but a bad ſummer quarters. One aſked him, if he was never afraid of hell? He ſwore he was never afraid of that; but he was ſometimes afraid the rebels (ſo he called the ſufferers) ſhout ſhoot him dead at a dikeſide. In the midſt of this career, he comes out of Edinburgh, Nov. 1683, with a roll of 150 perſons, probably of his own upgiving, to be apprehended. He alights at Livingſton, where he meets one Stuart. When drinking, he ſhewed him his commiſſion, and told him, he hoped in a few days to be as good a laird as many in that country; but regretted he was now ſo old, and would not get it long enjoyed. They came to Swine's-abbey, where they continued ſome days drinking, laying their projects. But on the 20th of November, being ſomewhat alarmed, they run to the door of the houſe, thinking none would be ſo bold as attack them; but were inſtantly both ſhot dead on the ſpot *. And thus their wicked lives were ended, and their malevolent deſigns left unaccompliſhed.---*Wodrow.*

James Irvine of Bonſhaw, at firſt a trader in Iriſh horſes, then a highway-man, but one who loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs;---for having got notice of Mr Cargill, Mr Smith, &c. he went to the Council, and got a commiſſion and a party, and ſurpriſed them at Coventoun mill. This made him cry out, "O bleſſed Bonſhaw! "and bleſſed day that ever I was born! that has found ſuch a "prize!"

* The author of Claverhouſe's Memoirs, ſays, that they were ſhot by James Carmichael, Laird of little Blackburn, and fifty Whigs.—Vid. p. 17.

"prize!" meaning the 5000 merks ſet on Mr Cargill's head. At Lanark, when tying Mr Cargill's feet hard below the horſe's belly, Mr Cargill ſaid, "Why do you tie me ſo hard? Your wickedneſs "is great: you will not long eſcape the juſt judgement of God; and "if I be not miſtaken, it will ſeize you near this place." Nor was this all; having apprehended George Jackſon, 1683, in the Lord's night, he offered to ſet him on a horſe's bare back, and tie his head and feet together, and offered him the King's health, which he refuſed. On the morrow, when ſetting him on the horſe, he cauſed hold a trumpet to his ear, and bad ſound him to hell: at which the martyr ſmiled. In the ſame year, having apprehended twelve priſoners, he carried them to Hamilton, then to Lanark, where they were augmented to thirty. They were caſt at night into a dungeon, without fire or candle; next morning, he tied them two by two on a horſe's bare back, and their legs twiſted below the horſes bellies, to the effuſion of their blood, and ſo drove them to Edinburgh at the gallop, not ſuffering ſo much as one of the poor priſoners, to alight to eaſe nature. But being now arrived at the very ſummit of his wicked cruelty, he returned to Lanark; and at the very place where he had bound Mr Cargill, one of his drunken companions and he falling at odds, while he was eaſing himſelf on a dunghill, his comrade coming out with a ſword, ran him through the body, till the blood and dirt, with Eglon's, came out. His laſt words were, "God damn my ſoul "eternally, for I am gone."—*Miſchief ſhall hunt the violent man, till he be ruined.---Wodrow, Walker's Remarks.*

CHARLES II. ſucceeded his father Charles I. He was from his infancy ſuch a diſſembler, that he could metamorphoſe himſelf into any profeſſion that was moſt for his carnal ends and political intereſt. In his exile, he confined himſelf to Popery. When he came to treat with the Scots, for a crown, he became a Proteſtant, and a Preſbyterian too. So that he took the covenants twice in one year, at Spey and Scone; and emitted a declaration at Dunfermline of his own ſins, and his father's wickedneſs. Upon his being again expelled theſe dominions, he turned Papiſt again, and came under obligations to promote that intereſt, if ever he ſhould be reſtored again. No ſooner was he reſtored, than he reſtored Epiſcopacy in England, and, by the help of a ſet of poor time-ſerving wretches, got the work of reformation overturned in Scotland; and then Epiſcopacy, Prelacy, and arbitrary power, began to ſhake its bloody dart. The perſecuting work began; Preſbyterian miniſters were driven from their charges, and killed or baniſhed. He got himſelf advanced head of the church, and then commanded theſe covenants he had more than once ſworn, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; and then the laws againſt covenanters were written in blood, and executed by dragoons. It were almoſt endleſs to relate all the cruelties exerciſed upon the poor wanderers during his reign, before, at, and after Pentland, by the Highland hoſt.—At and after Bothwell, boots, thumbkins, and cutting off of ears, came in faſhion. Some put to death on ſcaffolds, ſome in the fields, and

and ſome made a ſacrifice to the *manes* of Sharp: ſome drowned on ſhip-board, ſome women hanged and drowned in the ſea-mark; ſome kept waking for nine nights together; ſome had their breaſts ript up, and their hearts plucked out, and caſt into the fire; others not ſuffered to ſpeak to the people in their own vindication, for the beating of drums, &c. Nor were things in England much better; two thouſand miniſters were thruſt out by the Bartholomew act, and laid under a train of cruel hardſhips, even ſuch as were a ſhame to any Proteſtant nation. Many of the Engliſh patriots were murdered; Eſſex, Ruſſel, and Sidney, came to the razor and the block. And for his practice, he was now drunken in all manner of uncleanneſs and filthineſs. For all the number of ſtrumpets and harlots he had, his own ſiſter, the Ducheſs of Orleans, could not be exempted. But drawing near his end, the Popiſh faction of York, his brother, grew ſtronger, on ſuſpicion that he intended to curb them. To cut the matter ſhort, he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, or rather had got a doze of poiſon: he formerly profeſſed to careſs the church of England; now, in views of death, Father Huddleſton was brought to adminiſter the Popiſh ſacraments of the hoſt, and extreme unction, abſolution, and the euchariſt. The hoſt ſticking in his throat, water was brought inſtead of wine, to waſh it down. Afterward Biſhop Ken came and pronounced another abſolution upon him. And here obſerve, that he who was juſtly excommunicated by a lawful miniſter of the church of Scotland, for his groſs perjury, contempt of God and religion, lechery, treachery, covenant-breaking, bloodſhed, &c. was now abſolved; firſt by a Popiſh prieſt, and then a prelate of the church of England, and all without any of the leaſt ſigns of repentance; elſe he would never, in his laſt words, have recommended the care of two of his harlots (one of whom being in bed beyond him, his Queen being elſewhere) to the care of his brother. And ſo, having drunk his death in a Popiſh potion, he died unlamented. For his character, in all reſpects, in nature, feature, and manners, he reſembled the tyrant Tiberius; and for all the numerous brood of baſtards begot on other men's wives, he died a childleſs poltroon, having no legitimate heir to ſucceed him of his own body, according to the Divine malediction, *Write this man childleſs: for no man of his ſeed ſhall proſper, ſitting on the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah.*

Thomas Dalziel of Binns, a man naturally fierce and rude, but more ſo from his being brought up in the Muſcovy ſervice, where he had ſeen little elſe than tyranny and ſlavery: Nay, it is ſaid, that he had there ſo learned the arts of devilliſh ſophiſtry, that he ſometimes beguiled the devil; or rather his maſter ſuffered himſelf to be outwitted by him. However, he behoved to return, and have a ſhare of the perſecuting work; and after murdering a number of the Lord's witneſſes at Pentland, he came weſt to Kilmarnock, where he committed many unheard-of cruelties; for inſtance, his putting a woman in the thieves hole there, in the Dean, amongſt toads and other venomous creatures, where her ſhrieks were heard at a diſtance; but none durſt help her, and all becauſe a man pur-

ſued ran through her houſe; and alſo his ſhooting one Findlay at a poſt, without the leaſt crime or ſhadow of law; with the many cruelties exerciſed upon the country after Bothwell; for theſe, and his uncleanneſs and contempt of marriage from his youth, drunkenneſs, atheiſtical and irreligious converſation, he was another of thoſe who was excommunicated at Torwood. After which, he waited ſome time on the Council at Edinburgh, to aſſiſt them in the perſecuting work there; till the year 1685, that one William Hannah was brought before the Council, and, when pleading, he was too old to baniſh; Dalziel told him roughly, he was not too old to hang; he would hang well enough. This was among the laſt of his public manœuvres: For that ſame day, Auguſt 22d, when at his beloved exerciſe, drinking wine, while the cup was at his head, he fell down, (being in perfect health), and expired.—*Wodrow, Hind let looſe, Naphtali*, &c.

GEORGE CHARTERS, ſome time a kind of factor to the Duke of Queenſberry, in imitation of his maſter, was ſuch an aſſiduous perſecutor, "that he could boaſt that he had made twenty-ſix "journeys in a year, in purſuit of the Whigs." And, if the ſame with Bailiff Charters, who was on the ſcaffold with John Niſbet of Hardhill, and though the martyr ſpoke moſt meekly there, yet this Charters was rude to him. But that night he had a child overlaid in the bed, and in two days fell into a great horror of conſcience, crying out, Oh! for the life of John Niſbet! His friends thought to have kept it ſecret, and diverted him; but he became worſe and worſe, ſtill crying out, Oh! for the life of John Niſbet! until he fell into a terrible diſtraction. So that he ſat night and day wringing about his noſe, and roaring ever, John Niſbet, to the terror of all around him *.—*Appendix to the Cloud of Witneſſes, and Lady Earlſtoun's Letter from Blackneſs in Manuſcript.*

MR —— EVANS, a man of no great note, but abundantly qualified to make merchandiſe of the people of God; for being maſter or commander of a ſhip wherein 190 of Chriſt's priſoners were put to be baniſhed, 1685, to the Weſt-Indies, during their voyage of three months ſpace, he made them endure the moſt excruciating hardſhips. They were crammed in ſo cloſe, night and day, that they could have no air; and ſo tormented with hunger and thirſt, that they were obliged to drink their own urine: Whereby thirty-two of them died. After their arrival in Jamaica, they were impriſoned and ſold for ſlaves. But Evans fell ſick, and his body rotted away piece-meal, while alive: ſo that none could come near him for ſtink. This wrought horror of conſcience in him; whereupon he called for ſome of the priſoners, and begged forgiveneſs, and deſired them to pray for him, which they did; ſo he died. Howard's caſe, who got the price, was ſtill leſs hopeful; for he fell down betwixt two ſhips, and periſhed in the Thames. Nor were the ſhip's crew who aſſiſted them much better; for forty of them

* We have no account of Charters's death, but it is more than probable he died in that condition, as few or none of that tribe we read of were ever again recovered.

them took a peſtilent fever, and turned mad, and leapt over board and periſhed.—*Wodrow.*

Sir Robert Laurie of Maxwelton, was another enemy to the poor people of God. When Cornet Baillie had met with W. Smith in Glencairn pariſh, 1684, his father being one of Sir Robert's tenants, went to beg favour for his ſon. But Sir Robert inſtantly ſentenced him to preſent death. Baillie refuſed to execute it becauſe illegal. But the cruel monſter threatened him to do it without delay; and being ſhot, Maxwelton refuſed him burial in the church-yard. The ſame day, being the day of his daughter's marriage, his ſteward declared, that a cup of wine, that day, being put into his maſter's hand, turned into congealed blood. However, in a ſhort time, he fell from his horſe and was killed.—*Wodrow, Appendix to the Cloud*, &c.

—— Whiteford, ſon to Whiteford, pretended Biſhop of Brichen, (who was excommunicated by the Aſſembly 1638), went firſt to England; thence to Holland, where he killed Doriſlaus; and being turned Papiſt, to be out of Cromwell's reach, he went over to the Duke of Savoy's ſervice, and was there when the terrible maſſacres was committed upon the poor Vandois, about 1655, where he committed many barbarous murders upon them with his own hands. He returned home, and it appears was made a captain of the guard, and had a ſhare in the perſecuting work. However, he had a ſmall penſion given him for ſuch ſervice. But he ſickened before York's parliament ſat down, 1686; and being haunted with an intolerable horror of conſcience for the execrable murders he had committed, called for ſome miniſters, and told them his abhorrence of Popery: "For," ſaid he, "I went to prieſts of all ſorts; they all juſtified me in what I had done, and gave abſolution. But now I am perſuaded by an awakened conſcience." And ſo he died as one in deſpair, roaring out againſt that bloody religion that had undone him.—*Burnet's Hiſtory*, &c.

Philip Standfield, ſon to Sir James Standfield of New-milns, was a mocker of God and all things religious. While ſtudent at the univerſity of St Andrew's, he came to a meeting where Mr John Welch was preaching in Kinkell cloſe: in the time of the ſermon, out of malice and mockery, he caſt ſomewhat that hit the miniſter, who ſtopped and ſaid, he knew not who it was, that had put that public affront upon a ſervant of Chriſt; but be who it would, he was perſuaded there would be more preſent at the death of him who did it, than were hearing him that day; and the multitude was not ſmall. However, this proſligate went home, and continued his wicked courſes, till the year 1688, that he murdered his own father; for which he was taken to Edinburgh, and executed. In time of his impriſonment, he told ſome, he was confident that God was now about to accompliſh what he had been before by his ſervant forwarned of.---*Wodrow.*

John Allison, ſome time chamberlain to the Duke of Queenſberry, to pleaſe his maſter, became a moſt violent perſecutor of God's people. It were needleſs to condeſcend upon particular in-

ſtances: the way and manner of his death, plainly ſhews what his conduct had been, and from what principle he had acted: for being ſeized with a terrible diſtemper, wherein he had the foretaſte of hell, both in body and ſoul; in body he was ſo inflamed, that it is ſaid, he was put in a large pipe of water, and the water to ſhift ſucceſſively as it warmed. But the horrors of his awakened conſcience they could by no means cool; but ſtill he cried out in deſpair, that he had damned his ſoul for the Duke his maſter, till he died.---*M. S. and Appendix to the Cloud*, &c.

George Lord Jefferies, an Engliſhman, was born about 1648. He firſt ſtudied the law, then he became ſerjeant of the city of London; he next ſtepped to the recorderſhip of the city; from thence he became Chief Juſtice of the city of Cheſter; and in 1683, was made Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench. In this, as in all his other offices, he behaved moſt indecently; for, beſides his being ſcandalouſly vicious, he was almoſt every day drunk, beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper, by which he brought the Lord Ruſſel, and the famous Algernon Sidney, unto their ends. He alſo handled Mr Baxter and others ſeverely. But the moſt tragical ſtory of his life fell out 1685. After Monmouth was defeated, and himſelf and many of his little army taken, Jefferies was ſent by his maſter King James to the weſt, as ordinary executioner, to try the priſoners; and here his behaviour was beyond any thing ever heard of, we believe, in a Chriſtian nation. He was perpetually after drink or in a rage, liker a fury than a judge: where no proof could be had, he commanded the pannels to plead guilty, if they deſired mercy; and then, if they confeſſed any thing, they were immediately hung up. In a few towns in the weſt of England, he pronounced ſentence of death on 500 or 600 perſons, 292 of them received this ſentence in an hour's ſpace; and of theſe 600, 250 were executed; others had the benefit of his avarice; for pardons were by him ſold from 10 pound to 14,000 guineas. He ſentenced the Lady Leſly for harbouring a ſtranger one night. Miſs Gaunt was burnt. A poor man was hanged for ſelling three-pence worth of hay to Monmouth's horſe. Some were hanged at the ſtanchions of windows; others had their bowels burnt, and their bodies boiled in pitch, and hung round the town. Bloody Kirk put in for part of the honour. At Taunton he hanged nine without ſuffering them to take leave of their wives and children. At ſome places they caſt off ſo many with a health to the King, and a number more with a health to the Queen, drinking it at every turn; and perceiving the ſhaking of their legs in the agonies of death, they ſaid, they were dancing, and called for muſic, and to every one caſt over a ſpring was played on pipes, hautboys, drums, and trumpets, with a huzza and a glaſs of wine. Jefferies ſentenced one Tutchin for changing his name, to ſeven years impriſonment, and whipping through all the market-towns in the ſhire, which was once a fortnight during that time; which made Mr Tutchin petition the King for death. Many other cruelties were then committed, but the foregoing ſwatch may ſuffice. Jefferies returned to London,

London, where his maſter, James, for his good ſervices, made him Lord Chancellor. Being now above the reach or envy of the people, he ſet himſelf to aſſiſt his maſter in bringing in Popery; but their mad haſty zeal ſpoiled the project, and ſo his maſter having to flee his dominions, Jefferies, diſguiſed in a ſeaman's dreſs, eſſayed to eſcape after, and in imitation of his maſter; but was taken and ſeverely drubbed by the populace, and then brought to the Lord Mayor. Jefferies, to be freed of the people, deſired to be ſent to the Tower, becauſe they were waiting with clubs upon him. The Mayor ſeeing this, and the Chancellor in ſuch a gloomy appearance, was ſo ſtruck that he fell into fits and ſoon died. Jefferies, being ſent to the Tower, continued with few either to pity or ſupply him. At laſt, a barrel of oyſters being ſent him, he thanked God he had yet ſome friends left; but when tumbled out, with or without oyſters, a ſtrong cord halter fell out, which made him change countenance on the proſpect of his future deſtiny. A diſtemper, with the gravel, ſeized him, contracted through his former intemperate, wicked, bloody life, and the horrors of an awakened conſcience; and at laſt, whether nature wrought out itſelf, or if he himſelf helped the fatal ſtroke, as is moſt likely, is uncertain, 1698.---*Vide his Life, and the Weſtern Martyrology, or Bloody Aſſizes*, &c.

JOHN GRAHAM of Claverhouſe, in Angus, a branch of the houſe of Montroſe, another champion for the prince of the kingdom of darkneſs. To improve the cruelty of his nature, he was ſome time in the French ſervice. He returned to Scotland 1677. The vivacity of his genius ſoon recommended him to Charles and James, who beſtowed upon him the command of a troop of horſe: and then he began the ſpoiling and killing the people of God; wherein he was always ſucceſsful, except at Drumclog. One of his exploits was at Bewly-bog, where the writer of his Memoirs ſays, he killed ſeventy-five, and took many priſoners. After Bothwell, had Monmouth granted it, he would have killed the priſoners, burnt Glaſgow, Hamilton, and Strathaven, and plundered the weſtern ſhires. To enumerate all the cruelties, bloodſhed, and oppreſſion, committed by him, while he ranged up and down the country for ten years ſpace, were a taſk here too tedious; in which time, it is ſaid, he killed near 100 perſons in cold blood. In Galloway, he and his party raviſhed a woman before her huſband's eyes, took a young boy, tied his two thumbs with a cord, and hung him to the balk or roof of the houſe. Another they took and twiſted a ſmall cord about his head with their piſtols to his ſcull. In 1682, he purſued and ſhot one W. Graham when eſcaping from his mother's houſe. In 1683, he ſhot four men on the water of Dee, and carried two to Dumfries, and hanged them there. In 1685, he cauſed ſhoot one in Carrick; and in the ſame year, moſt cruelly ſhot John Brown at his own door in Moor-kirk, and a little after ſhot A. Hiſlop in Annandale. Theſe and ſuch ſervices procured him a higher title of honour: he was created Viſcount Dundee, and made Privy Counſellor. In York's reign, his conduct was much of a piece, running up and down the country, making people ſwear they would never lift arms againſt King James. He was always

always ſtaunch to Popery; and when the convention met at Edinburgh, he went off with ſome horſe to the north, and raiſed the clanſhips for James's intereſt; where he ſhifted from place to place, till June 13. 1689, that he came to a pitched engagement with General Mackay, on the braes of Gillicrankie, on the water of Trumble. The battle was very bloody, and by Mackay's third fire, Claverhouſe fell, of whom hiſtorians give little account; but it has been ſaid for certain, that his own waiting-ſervant taking a reſolution to rid the world of this truculent bloody monſter; and knowing he had proof of lead *, ſhot him with a ſilver button he had before taken off his own coat for that purpoſe. However, he fell, and with him Popery, and King James's intereſt in Scotland. *Behold thou art taken in thy miſchief, becauſe thou art a bloody man.*—*Claverhouſe's Memoirs, Hiſtory of the Sufferers, Defoe's Memoirs*, &c.

ALEXANDER GORDON of Kilſtuers in Galloway, ſet out amongſt the ſuffering remnant, joined the United Societies, who followed faithful Mr Renwick, and was for ſome time moſt zealous for that cauſe; for which he was apprehended, but reſcued at Enterkinepath, Auguſt 1684, when going to Edinburgh; at which ſome of the ſufferers were not a little (if not too much) elated. But never being right principled, as Mr Peden perceived, when he refuſed to ſail the ſea with him from Ireland before this. He firſt fell in with Langlands and Barclay, in favour of Argyle's attempt, 1685; and from that time, he became a moſt violent traducer and reproacher of Mr Renwick and the faithful party, both by tongue and pen, to render them odious; then he fell into a kind of profligate life, (as Mr Renwick often ſaid, that thoſe who fell from ſtrictneſs in principle, would not long retain ſtrictneſs of practice). At laſt being at Edinburgh, he got drunk, and then muſt needs fight, as is uſual with ſuch miſcreants; and having in the ſquabble loſt much blood, his head became light, ſo that when going up ſtairs, he loſt his feet, and falling down, brained himſelf, and ſo expired.—*Faithful Contendings, Walker's Remarks.*

SIR GEORGE M'KENZIE of Roſehaugh, was another notorious apoſtate; for after he had made no ſmall profeſſion of Preſbyterian principles, and holineſs of life, he, after the Reſtoration, not only apoſtatiſed from that profeſſion, but fell into a moſt wicked and flagitious life and converſation; which were qualifications good enough then to gain him the poſt of an Advocate. Some time after Pentland, he pleaded the ſufferers part; but afterwards ſhifted ſides, (being advanced to be King's Advocate), and pleaded moſt ſtrenuouſly againſt them, and even with ſuch a degree of fury, that neither Prelate nor bloody manager could ever charge him with

* Perhaps ſome may think this anent proof of ſhot a paradox, and be ready to object here, as formerly concerning Biſhop Sharp and Dalziel, "How can the devil have or give a power to ſave life?" &c. Without entering upon the thing in its reality, I ſhall only obſerve, 1. That it is neither in his power or of his nature to be a ſaviour of men's lives; he is called Apollyon, the deſtroyer. 2. That even in this caſe, he is ſaid only to give inchantment againſt one kind of mettle, and this does not ſave life: for the lead would not take Sharp and Claverhouſe's lives, yet ſteel and ſilver could do it: and for Dalziel, though he died not on the field, he did not eſcape the arrows of the Almighty.

with the leaſt thing that looked like moderation. It were needleſs to relate what hand he had in the bloody work at that time, ſeeing he pleaded away almoſt the lives of all that were executed from 1677 to 1688. Nay, ſuch was his rage at the cauſe of Chriſt and his people, that before they eſcaped his hands, he would charge them with what in his conſcience he knew was falſe: and if they would not anſwer queſtions to his mind, he would threaten to pull out their tongues with pincers. At the ſame time, he pleaded that murderers, ſorcerers, &c. might go free. In one of his diſtracted fits, he took the Bible in his hand, and wickedly ſaid, it would never be well with the land till that book was deſtroyed. Theſe and the like, procured him a place in that black liſt excommunicated at Torwood. After the perſecuting work was over, he went up to London, where he died with all the paſſages of his body running blood, (like Charles IX. of France, author of the Paris maſſacre). Phyſicians being brought, could give no natural cauſe for it, but that it was the hand of God on him for the blood he had ſhed in his own land.—*Vid. Weſt's Memoirs, and Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland.*

Sir James Johnston of Weſter-raw (alias Weſterhall), another of the ſame kidney, was an egregious apoſtate. He was ſuch a zealous profeſſor, that when the teſt was firſt framed, he could boaſt that he was an actual covenanter, and ſo ſcorned it. But, on the firſt trial, he not only took it, but furiouſly preſſed it on others; and, having gathered the pariſh for that purpoſe, 1683, he, in one of his rages, ſaid, "The devil damn his ſoul; but before "to-morrow's night, they ſhould all be damned by taking it as "well as he." And for perſecuting work, he exacted 11,000 l. in Galloway by oppreſſion, digged a man's body out of the grave, plundered the poor widow woman's houſe where he died, becauſe he was one of the ſufferers, and cauſed Claverhouſe, ſomewhat contrary to his mind, to ſhoot A. Hyſlop, becauſe taken on his ground. He lived till or after the Revolution, that he died in great torture of body, and grievous torment and horror of conſcience, inſomuch, that his cries were heard at a great diſtance from the houſe, as a warning to all apoſtates.—*Wodrow, Appendix to the Cloud*, &c.

Sir John Whiteford of Milton (Carluke pariſh), was a wicked man, and ſuch a perſecutor, that he was ſaid, with his ſervants, to have murdered ſeverals when flying from Pentland, and had a principal hand in informing againſt Gavin Hamilton in Mauldſlie, who was taken and executed with others at Edinburgh, Dec. 7. 1666; and was one of the teſt-circuits 1683. This, and other pieces of the like employment, made James Nicol a martyr ſay, That the world would ſee that houſe a deſolation, and nettles growing in its cloſs:—which came to paſs ſoon after the Revolution; when he became inſolvent, his eſtate ſequeſtrated, and orders obtained to apprehend him; which at laſt was effected, although he defended himſelf ſome time with ſtones from the battlement. The lands changed many maſters, and for ſome years lay deſolate; and it has been obſerved, that till of late no man dwelt in it above the ſpace of ſeven years.—*M. S.*

—— DOUGLAS, Laird of Stenhouſe, was another of this fraternity. He aſſiſted Maxwelton at the murder of William Smith in Hill; and, though but a man of mean eſtate, for this and his exceſſive haraſſing, ſpoiling and fining the people of God, and becauſe a profeſſed Papiſt, he was advanced to the honour of being ſometime Secretary to King James VII. (whether it was he that was advanced to be Earl Milford, we know not), but his wicked honours were ſhort lived; his name ſoon became extinct, having neither root nor branch, male nor female, for a remembrance left of him. *Their fruit ſhalt thou deſtroy from earth, and their ſeed from among the children of men.*

WILLIAM, Duke of QUEENSBERRY, was a prime inſtrument in managing the perſecuting work in that period; he once ſaid, they ſhould not have time to prepare for heaven, hell was too good a place for them to dwell in. He was, while an Earl, for his zeal in ſuppreſſing the rebels, (as they called them), made a Chancellor and Treaſurer in 1679.—He was afterwards made a Duke, and appointed commiſſioner by James VII. to the parliament 1685, where he got an act made for taking the teſt,---act of regularity,---act for taking the alledgiance,---and that heaven-daring act declaring it treaſon to take the covenants,---with a great number baniſhed during the parliament. Such was his vigilance, by his factors and emiſſaries, that ſaints blood was ſhed like water; and his own tenants were cruelly ſpoiled and haraſſed; and though he fell ſomewhat out of King James's favour in the laſt years of his reign, yet he ſtill retained his perſecuting ſpirit, even after the Revolution; for he oppoſed Mr Veitch's ſettlement at Peebles, and for ſeven ſeſſions, pleaded it both before the Lords and the church, till he got him removed, 1694.---But all this did not paſs without a note of obſervation of divine vengeance even in this life; for, taking a fearful diſeaſe, it is ſaid, that, like another Herod, the vermin iſſued in ſuch abundance from his body, that two women were conſtantly employed in ſweeping them into the fire. Thus he continued, till the fleſhy parts of his ſubſtance were diſſolved, and then he expired *.---*M. S. Hiſtory of the Sufferings*, &c.

JOHN

* Concerning the death of the Duke of Drumlanrig, alias Queenſberry, we have the following relation:—That a young man perfectly well acquainted with the Duke, (probably one of thoſe he had formerly baniſhed), being now a ſailor and in foreign countries, while the ſhip was upon the coaſt of Naples or Sicily, near one of the burning mountains, one day they eſpied a coach and ſix all in black, going toward the mount with great velocity; when it came paſt them, they were ſo near that they could perceive the dimenſions and features of one that ſat in it. The young man ſaid to the reſt, If I could believe my own eyes, or if ever I ſaw one like another, I would ſay, that it is the Duke. In an inſtant, they heard an audible voice echo from the mount, Open to the Duke of Drumlanrig; upon which the coach, now near the mount, evaniſhed. The young man took pen and paper, and marked down the months, day, and hour of the apparition; and upon his return, found it exactly anſwer the day and hour the Duke died. Perhaps ſome may take this repreſentation of his future ſtate for a romance; but it is, as it has been oft-times related by old men of good credit and reputation.

JOHN MAXWELL of Milton, commonly called Milton Maxwell, another of the perſecuting tribe, cauſed apprehend George M'Cartny, and was preſident of the aſſize who condemned thoſe ten of the Pentland ſufferers, that ſuffered at Ayr and Irvine 1666; after which he haraſſed the poor perſecuted people in Galloway, particularly on the water of Orr. After Neilſon of Corſack's execution, he came with a party upon his houſe, and riffled it, carrying away every thing portable; he deſtroyed the reſt, and turned out the whole family, with the nurſe and ſucking child, to the open fields, Lady Corſack being then at Edinburgh. But, with all this ill-gotten gain, then and afterwards he was but ill ſerved; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to ſeek from his betters, and amongſt other places came to the houſe of Corſack, and cringed for an alms from the ſame Lady Corſack, before her window, which ſhe generouſly gave him; but at the ſame time reminded him of his former wicked life, particularly his perſecuting the people of God. He went off, but with ſmall amendment; and ſome time after ended his wretched life.---*Samſon's Riddle, A -d- -k --n*, &c.

—— NISBET, commonly called Lieutenant Niſbet, a man of no high extraction, but born of creditable parents in the pariſh of Loudon; being inliſted a ſoldier, obtained, for his good ſervices in the perſecuting works ſome time after Bothwell, a lieutenant's poſt, which he managed with fury againſt the poor perſecuted wanderers for the cauſe of Chriſt, as made him break over all limits or bonds of religion, reaſon, or natural affection or relation; ſo that he apprehended James Niſbet, a couſin-german of his own, while attending a friend's burial who was executed at Glaſgow; where the ſaid James was alſo executed; and, while ranging up and down the country, like a mercileſs tyger, he apprehended another of his couſins, John Niſbet of Hardhill, and with him George Woodburn, John Ferguſhill, and Peter Gemmel, in the pariſh of Fenwick; which three laſt he took out, and immediately, without ſentence, ſhot dead; and then carried Hardhill, after he had given him ſeven wounds, to Edinburgh, where he was executed. He alſo apprehended ſeverals in the ſaid pariſh that were baniſhed; and upon their return at the Revolution, he was amongſt the firſt they ſaw at Irvine after they landed. At firſt they were minded to have juſtice executed upon him; but on a ſecond thought referred him to the righteous judgement of God. After the Revolution, he ſoon came to beg his bread, as old ſoldiers oft-times do; and it was ſaid, that coming to a certain poor woman's houſe in the eaſt country, he got quarters, and for a bed ſhe made him what we call a ſhake-down, before a mow of peats, being all her ſmall convenience could afford. On which he lay down, ſhe going out on ſome neceſſary errand; a little after, when ſhe returned, ſhe found the wall of peats fallen upon him, which had ſmothered him to death; a very mean end for ſuch a courageous ſoldier.---*Wodrow*, &c.

JAMES GIBSON, called ſome time Bailie Gibſon of Glaſgow, brother to the merchant, but one qualified to barter the bodies of Chriſt's ſuffering members. He got the command of his bro-

ther's ſhip, with thoſe ſufferers that were baniſhed to Carolina in the year 1684. The inhumanity he exerciſed upon them in their voyage is incredible: they were thruſt below hatches, and a mutchkin of water allowed them in twenty-four hours: ſo that ſome of them died of thirſt, although they had fourteen hogſheads to caſt out on their arrival. Theſe who were ſick, were miſerably treated; and two endeavouring to eſcape, were by him beat eight times a-day, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery. Nor could they have liberty to ſerve God; when they began to worſhip, they were threatened by him in an awful manner. After their arrival, they were by him ſold for ſlaves, and for the moſt part died in that country. He returned to ſpend their price till 1699, that he again ſet out captain of the Riſing Sun, with that little fleet for the ſettlement at Darien. But being one of the moſt wicked wretches that then lived, and ſome of the reſt nothing better, the judgement of God purſuing him and them, they fell from one miſhap into another, until put off by the Spaniards from thence, they went to Jamaica; from thence every one made the beſt of their way to their own country. Captain Gibſon ſet off from Blue-fields, July 21. 1700: but before he made Florida, their maſts were off by the boards, which made them with much difficulty come up to Carolina, and making Charleſtown bar, the very place where he landed Chriſt's priſoners, juſt as one of the miniſters were gone out, and ſome more with him, a hurricane came down September 3. and ſtaved the ſhip all in pieces, where Gibſon and 112 perſons every ſoul periſhed in the ſurges of the rolling ocean. *The Lord is known by the judgements which he executeth.*—*Wodrow, Hiſtory of Darien*, &c.

JAMES, Duke of YORK, a profeſſed Papiſt, and another excommunicated tyrant, uſed no ſmall cruelties while in Scotland 1679, 1681, and 1684; but after his aſcenſion to the crown 1685, he threw off the maſk, and ſet himſelf with might and main to advance Popery, and exterminate the Proteſtant religion in theſe nations, and for that purpoſe ſet all his engines at work to repeal the penal ſtatutes againſt Papiſts; but that not ſpeeding to his wiſh, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power, and to an almoſt boundleſs toleration; of which all had the benefit, except the poor ſuffering remnant in Scotland, who were ſtill haraſſed, ſpoiled, hunted like partridges on the mountains, and ſhot in the field. Nay, ſuch was his rage, that he ſaid, it would never be well, till all the weſt of Scotland and ſouth of Forth were made a hunting-field; and to recite the cruelties by his orders exerciſed in the weſt of England, by ſhooting, beheading, hanging, and baniſhing over ſeas, thoſe concerned in Monmouth's affair, beggars all deſcription. However, matters go on; he ſends Caſtlemain to the Pope; the Pope's nuncio arrives in England; the King declares himſelf a member of the royal ſociety of Jeſuits, impriſons the ſeven biſhops in the Tower, and threatens to convert England to Popery, or die a martyr. But the Prince of Orange arriving in England, and his army forſaking him, he ſets off in a yacht for France; but is taken for a Popiſh prieſt by ſome fiſhermen, and brought back. His affairs becoming

deſperate, he ſets off again for France; from thence, with 1800 French, he landed next year in Ireland, being joined by the bloody Iriſh Papiſts. He, like his predeceſſors, had no ſmall art in diſſimulation. Now, he told them in plain terms, he would truſt or give commiſſions to no Proteſtants; they ſtank in his noſtrils; he had too long careſſed the damned church of England; but he would now do his buſineſs without them. Accordingly, a Popiſh parliament was called, wherein 3000 Proteſtants were forfeited, and to be hanged and quartered when taken, whereof many were plundered and killed, his cut-throats boaſting, they would ſtarve the one half, and hang the other. In ſhort, they expected nothing but another general maſſacre. But being defeated on the banks of the Boyne by King William, July 1. 1691, he ſet off to France, never to return. Here he continued till 1700, or by ſome 1701, that he took a ſtrange diſeaſe, which they were pleaſed to call a lethargy; wherein he became quite ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, and ſo died at St Germain's, in that ſituation, after he had lived ten years a fugitive exile. *He poureth contempt upon Princes, and cauſeth them to wander in the wilderneſs*, &c.---*Hiſtory of Popery under James, Martyrs in Flames*, &c.

Sir Archibald Kennedy of Colzen, was another violent perſecutor in Carrick and parts adjacent; for having got the command of a troop of militia, he ranged the country in queſt of the ſufferers; and, amongſt other cruelties, killed one William M'Kirgue, at Blairquachen-mill, 1685; and the ſame year, ſurpriſed a meeting for prayer, near Kirkmichael, and ſhot Gilbert M'Adam, for eſſaying to eſcape. And though he got over the perſecuting work, he obtained no reformation of a cruel and wicked life, for ſome time after the Revolution.—The remarkable occurrence at his burial, is ſufficient to indicate in what circumſtance he died; for, if we ſhall credit one preſent, as ſoon as the gentleman lifted his corpſe, a terrible tempeſt of thunder aroſe, to the terror of all preſent: when going to the church-yard, it ceaſed a little; but when near the place of interment, it recurred in ſuch a fearful manner, that the flaſhes of fire ſeemed to run along the coffin, which affrighted them all; nay, from the lightneſs of the bier, it is ſaid, that ſome were apt to conclude the body was thereby conſumed, or elſe taken away by the devil from among their hands, before they gained the place of interment. *Upon the wicked he ſhall rain fire and brimſtone, and an horrible tempeſt.---Crookſhanks, A---d R---n.*

Duncan Grant, a cripple, with a tree leg, who vaunted of his wickedneſs, was another of this helliſh crew. His leg did not hinder him from running, or rather riding up and down the country, oppreſſing and killing God's people. In Clydeſdale, he uplifted 1500 l. of fines. And being one of Lord Airly's petty officers, he got a commiſſion 1683, to hold courts in Eaſt Kilbride pariſh, upon which he quartered his party, and haraſſed them in a cruel manner. He ſpoiled the houſe and goods of John Wilſon in High-Flat, to the value of 673 l. ſeizing crops and land and all; and though he got the gift of ſome land there, he did not long poſſeſs

it; for, after the Revolution, he was reduced to extreme poverty, and went through the country now begging, inſtead of robbing, until the day of his death. He at laſt came to a kind of gentleman's houſe, in the eaſt country, for quarters. The gentleman, coming to the hall, and ſeeing him in a dejected and melancholy ſituation, aſked the reaſon. At laſt, Grant told him, that, by a former paction, the devil was to have him ſoul, and body, that night. Whether the gentleman believed the reality of this, or rather took him to be crazed, we cannot ſay; but it was ſaid, he gave him ſuch advices as occurred to him, to break off his ſins by repentance, and implore God's mercy, who was able to pardon and prevent his ruin. He went to bed in the gentleman's barn. It appears, he aſked no company. However, he was not like to open the door next morning, which made them at laſt break it open; where they found his body diſſected on the floor and his ſkin and quarters in ſuch a poſition, as we ſhall forbear to mention, leſt they ſhould ſhock the humane reader's mind.—*Hiſtory of the Sufferings*, &c. *A—d R—n.*

Alexander Hume, commonly called Sheriff Hume, probably becauſe employed by the ſheriff or ſheriff's depute in Renfrew, as a kind of inferior officer, and of that kind to perſecute, purſue, and oppreſs the ſufferers, in which he proved a moſt induſtrious labourer, wherein he would run upon the leaſt notice of any field-preaching, and haraſs people, particularly in the pariſh of Egleſham, where he moſtly reſided; for inſtance, hearing that Mr Cameron was preaching at a place in that pariſh, called Mungo-hill, he and one R---t D---p, another of theſe vaſſals, ſet off; and while in the tent, they laid hold on it to pull it down, becauſe he was on Eglinton's ground. Mr Cameron told them, he was upon the ground of the great God of heaven, unto whom the earth and its fulneſs did belong, and charged them in his Maſter's name to forbear; and ſo they were detained by the people till all was over. Sometimes he, with the foreſaid D--p, would go to the outed people's houſes, and offer to throw them down, or inform againſt them, whereby he got ſums of money or other conſiderations. But all this, beſides a large patrimony by his parents of ſome thouſands of pounds, did not ſerve him long; for he came to beggary, wherein he was ſo mean, as to go to ſome of thoſe men's houſes he had before offered, or laid hands on, to caſt down, ſome of whom ſerved him liberally. We ought not to be raſh in drawing concluſions on the occurrences of Divine Providence, but people could not help obſerving, that, having a little pretty girl, who was one moon-ſhine night playing with the children in the village, a mad dog came and paſſed through them all, and bit her; whereof ſhe grew mad, and, it is ſaid, was bled to death; whereby his name, and offspring of a numerous family of ſeventeen or eighteen children, became extinct. At laſt he died in miſery, and was buried. Upon his grave, the ſchool-boys caſt their aſhes, (the ſchool being then in the church), till it became a kind of dunghill, and ſo remains to this day. *A---d R---n.*

JOHN GIBB, from the largeneſs of his body, commonly called meikle John Gibb, ſhipmaſter and ſailor in Borrowſtounneſs, ſet out amongſt the moſt zealous of the ſufferers; but being but badly founded in principle, about the year 1681, he aſſociated three men and twenty-ſix women to himſelf, and, on a pretence of religious zeal to ſerve God, took to the deſert places towards the weſt of Scotland; where, from their often ſinging the mournful pſalms, they were called the ſweet ſingers. But they had not long continued thus, till they fell into fearful deluſions, diſowning all but themſelves; for, laying more ſtreſs upon their own duties of faſting and devotion than upon the obedience, ſatisfaction, and righteouſneſs of Chriſt, they ſoon came to deny part of the ſcripture, and to reject the Pſalms of David in metre; which began firſt to be diſcovered at Lochgoin in Fenwick pariſh. But returning eaſtwards towards Darmead, faithful Mr Cargill had a meeting with them, and uſed all means with this madcap and his hair-brained followers to convict or reclaim them; but to no purpoſe. And when ſome aſked his mind anent them, he ſaid, he was afraid ſome of them would go great lengths, but be happily reclaimed; which came to paſs.--- "But for Gibb, there are many devils in him," ſaid he, "wo be to him; his name will ſtink while the world ſtandeth." They were all taken to Edinburgh tolbooth; and about the firſt of May gave in a paper to the Council, ſhewing how many days they had faſted all at once, how they had burnt the Pſalms, and renounced the Confeſſion of Faith, covenants, reforming acts of Aſſembly, the names of days, months, &c. Theſe extravagancies much pleaſed York, then in Edinburgh, who diſmiſſed them: after which, Gibb, the three men, and two women, went weſt to the Froſt Moſs, betwixt Airth and Stirling, where they burnt the Holy Bible, one night with a great light around them, with the moſt fearful expreſſions. Gibb and ſome of them were again apprehended, and taken to the Canongate tolbooth; where they took ſuch fits of faſting for ſeveral days, that their voices changed like to the howlings of dogs. Gibb became ſo poſſeſſed of a roaring devil, like another demoniac, that the ſufferers could not get exerciſe made in the room; which made two of them by turns lie upon him that time, holding a napkin to his mouth. But George Jackſon, martyr, coming there, he aſked, if that was his faſhion? they ſaid, it was. He ſaid, he would ſtay his roaring. After threatening to no purpoſe, he cauſed them to ſtop in worſhip, till he beat him ſeverely: after which, when they began, he would run behind the door, and, with the napkin on his mouth, ſit howling like a dog. About 1684, he and one D. Jamie were baniſhed to America; where, it was ſaid, Jamie became an atheiſt, and Gibb came to be much admired by the poor blind Indians for his familiar converſe with the devil, and ſacrificing to him, a thing then more common than now in theſe parts. In conſequence of ſuch a wretched life, he died a diſmal death as far down as 1720.---*Wodrow, Walker's Remarks.*

SIR ROBERT GRIERSON of LAG was another prime hero for the promoting of Satan's kingdom. We think that it was ſome time after

after Bothwell, that he was made ſheriff or ſheriff-depute of Dumfries. But to relate all the fining, ſpoiling, oppreſſion, and murders committed by this worthy of Satan, or champion of his kingdom, were beyond our intention. Beſides 1200 l. of fines exacted in Galloway and Nithſdale ſhires, he was acceſſory to the murdering, under colour of their iniquitous laws, Margaret M'Lauchlan, aged ſixty-three years, and Margaret Wilſon, a young woman, whom they drowned at two ſtakes within the ſea-mark, at the water of Bladnock. For his cold-blood murders, he cauſed hang Gordon and Mr Cubin, on a growing tree near Irongray, and left them hanging there, 1686. The ſame year, he apprehended Mr Bell of Whiteſide, D. Halliday of Mayfield, and three more, and, without giving them leave to pray, ſhot them dead on the ſpot. Whiteſide being acquainted with him, begged but one quarter of an hour to prepare for death; all he got from him was, "What the devil, have ye not "got time enough to prepare ſince Bothwell?" and ſo he was ſhot. The ſame ſummer, Annandale having apprehended G. Short, and D. Halliday, and having bound them, after quarters granted, the monſter Lag came up, and, as they lay on the ground, under cloud of night, cauſed ſhoot them immediately, leaving their bodies thus all blood and gore. Nay, ſuch was their audacious impiety, that he, with the reſt of his bon companions and perſecutors, would, over their drunken bowels, feign themſelves devils; and thoſe whom they ſuppoſed in hell, and then whip one another, as a jeſt on that place of torment. When he could ſerve his maſter this way no longer, he wallowed in all manner of atheiſm, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, and adultery; for which he was excommunicated by the church, after the Revolution; and yet, by the then powers, was made juſtice of the peace, ſome time before 1714; a diſgrace to any civilized nation, not to mention a Preſbyterian profeſſion. Death's pangs at laſt arreſting him, and all other refuges failing him, under the views of his former wicked nefarious life, in imitation of his maſter Charles, he feigned himſelf of the Popiſh profeſſion; becauſe a Popiſh prieſt made him believe, for money, he could pardon all his ſins; and even when in purgatory for them, he could bring him to heaven. He died Dec. 23. 1733, and there is little doubt, went down to Tophet, with a lie in his right hand, and ſo remains in ſpite of all the prieſt could mutter over him, as the author of his Elegy in his maſter's name, well expreſſes it:

For when I heard that he was dead,
A legion of my den did lead
Him to my place of reſidence,
And there he'll ſtay, and not go hence.
This Lag will know, and all the reſt,
Who of my lodging are poſſeſt,
On earth they can no more ſerve me;
But ſtill I'll have their company, &c.

CORNELIUS.

CORNELIUS ANDERSON, who was one of thoſe ten ſentenced to die at Ayr and Irvine, 1666, to ſave his own life, became executioner to the reſt, (when the executioner would not do it); for which divine vengeance did purſue him; for, coming down from the gibbet, the boys ſtoned him out of the town; and the noiſe of ſuch an infamous action running faſter than his feet could carry him, made him be hated of all honeſt men. This, and horror of his own conſcience, haunting him, made him go over to Ireland, where he was little better; almoſt no man would give him work or lodging. At laſt, he built a little houſe upon ſome piece of common ground, near Dublin, which, in a little after, accidentally took fire; and ſo he and it were both burnt to aſhes.---*Crookſhanks's Hiſtory, Walker's Remarks.*

PATRICK INGLIS, ſon to Captain Inglis, with a party, in May 1685, ſurpriſed ten or twelve men at a night-meeting for prayer, at Little Blackwood, (Kilmarnock pariſh). took ten priſoners, and ſhot James White, cut off his head with an axe, and carried it to New-milns, where one of them played with it for a foot-ball. Inglis procured a warrant to ſhoot the reſt, had they not, in the mean time, been relieved by the country. Whether it was Patrick himſelf, or one of the dragoons, we cannot ſay; but, it is ſaid, he who uſed the martyr's head thus, being got up unto the top of the garriſon-houſe there, a little after, when eaſing him over the battlement, fell backward over the wall, and broke his neck; which ended a wicked life, by a miſerable ignominious death.---*Crookſhanks, Appendix, A---d, R-- n.*

WILLIAM SMITH in Moor-mailing, with his brother, when returning home from Pentland, having ſtepped aſide to a neighbour's houſe, when near home, upon a certain errand; but not coming out ſoon, his brother went to ſeek for him. But when going paſt the window, he had a glance of two men and a woman ſtanding round his brother, and a ſpit run through his throat; this made him flee for his life. William was not to be found, and, as things then went, his brother durſt make no inquiry after him. Near thirty years after, ſome time after the Revolution, he was found in a clift of a moſs, ſtanding as if he had been put down wanting the head. His brother came upon the firſt notice, and not minding the ſituation, graſped him in his arms; upon which he crumbled all down to duſt. Whoſe remains they gathered up and buried; upon which a ſtone was erected with a motto, which is to be ſeen to this day. But let us hear what became of theſe murderers. One of the men, it is ſaid, died in great horror of conſcience; and would have diſcovered the fact, had not his brother and ſiſter accomplices, thruſt a napkin into his mouth, and ſo he expired. Some time after, the other brother being abroad, was got lying dead upon the way, in drink as was ſuppoſed. Laſt of all, the woman hanged herſelf, and was buried in two or three laird's grounds clandeſtinely, but ſtill raiſed by orders of the proprietors; till, being wearied, the buriers threw her carcaſe into an old coal pit, and ſo the tragical ſtory ended.---*A---d R--n.*

THE

THE Earl of Argyle (as already mentioned) having fallen, and ſeveral of his officers and men being taken, the gallant Col. R. Rumbol of Rye-houſe fled weſtward, and would, it is thought, have extricated himſelf, had not a number of cruel country-men riſen, and taken him weſt from Liſmahagow. It is ſaid, they were ſo cruel, that, while defending himſelf againſt three in number, one of them came with a corn-fork, and put it behind his ear, and turned off his head-piece; to whom he ſaid, "O cruel country-man! that uſed "me thus, when my face was to mine enemy." However, he was by them taken to Edinburgh, and from the bar to the ſcaffold, drawn up on a gibbet, then let down a little, and his heart taken out by the executioner while alive, and held out on the point of a bayonet, and then thrown into a fire; his body quartered, and placed on the public places of the nation.---But let us hear what became of theſe ungrateful wretches.

MARK KERR, one of the principal actors, and who was ſaid to wound him after he was taken, and who, it is ſaid, got his ſword, was afterwards killed on a ſummer-evening at his own door, (or run through by the ſame ſword), by two young men who called themſelves Col. Rumbol's ſons; and, as it is ſaid, went off without ſo much as a dog moving his tongue againſt them, *&c.*

GEORGE MAIR, being abroad, when returning, wandered and fell over Craignethen craigs, got one of his limbs broke, and ſtuck in a thicket, and when found next day, was ſpeechleſs; and ſo died in that condition.

One —— WILSON was killed by the fall of a loft. Another in Hamilton, (commonly called the long lad of the Nethertown) got his leg broken, which no phyſician could cure; and ſo corrupted, that ſcarce any perſon, for the ſtink, could come near him, *&c.*

—— WEIR of Birkwood fell from his horſe, and was killed; and his ſon, not many years ago, was killed by a fall down a ſtair in drink after a dregy.

GAVIN HAMILTON, who got his buff coat, (out of which Rumbol's blood could by no means be waſhed), lived a good while after a wicked and vicious life; yet his name and memory is become extinct, and the place of his habitation is razed out, and become a plain field.---*M. S.*

23 AP 57

But what needs more?---Examples of this kind are numerous. God has provided us with his wonderful works, both in mercy and judgement, to be *had in everlaſting remembrance*,---that their ends may be anſwered, and that they may ſerve for a memorial of inſtruction and admonition to thoſe *on whom the end of the world is come.*

The Lord is by the judgements known
which he himſelf hath wrought:
The ſinners hands do make the ſnares
wherewith themſelves are caught.

FINIS.